PRE-BUDDHIST INDIA

A POLITICAL, ADMINISTRATIVE, ECONOMIC, SOCIAL AND GEOGRAPHICAL SURVEY OF ANCIENT INDIA BASED MAINLY ON THE JĀTAKA STORIES

BY

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"Let me light my lamp"

says the Star,

"And never debate

if it will help to remove the darkness"

—Rabindranath Tagore.

FOREWORD

INDIAN History is progressing fast in the direction of its object, the past. Some years ago the History of India began with Alexander's campaign through the Panjab and the East. Then the rise of Buddhism and Jainism was added. The present book deals with a period prior to the appearance of Gautama and Mahāvīra. The book is all the more welcome since the author has taken as a subject a portion of that period which has been styled "the Dark Ages of India."

This denomination refers to the subjective state of ignorance of the students of history, rather than to the objective panorama of the past, which was not dark at all.

Illustrious kings ruled the country with justice and wisdom. Of one of them, Aśvapati Kaikeya, who ruled in the North-Western area, the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*, V, 11, 5, states that when he got up in the morning he said: "In my country there are no thieves, nor misers, nor drunkards, nor people who do not perform sacrifices, nor ignorant, nor debauchees, nor much less harlots." Such personal statement of the king himself is a credit to the excellent administration that India enjoyed in that early age. The student of history, while going through the pages of this book, will easily detect some of the principles that later on crystalized in the immortal *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭalya, and which were so much admired by the Greek envoy Megasthenes.

The economic conditions of India were also prosperous. Agriculture, mining, fisheries, farming, cottage industries, building industries and other sources of wealth are described minutely, and sometimes with such abundance of detail as to make us believe we are living in those remote ages. Trade was brisk, and the reports we have about sea-voyages incline us to believe that it was the cause of many settlements of Indians abroad, both in the east and in the west.

Special interest is attached to the sociological conditions of the country, which may be wisely compared with those prevailing at present. The superiority of the kings in matters spiritual is indeed an eye-opener which has not been sufficiently accounted for. Those good administrators of the country were also profound thinkers and wise philosophers, at whose school many eminent brāhmaṇas learned the secrets of the ancient lore of India. Some authors have seen in them representatives of the old pre-Aryan rulers of the country, and if this view is finally accepted, it will lead us to revise our opinion about the origin of Indian

philosophy and asceticism. Such kings, whose intellectual pursuits still shine after perhaps thirty centuries, fostered liberal education in their dominions. It was precisely during this period that the first *āśrama* of life was constituted on practical bases. The agglomerations of *Brahmacārins* in the same towns were the *nuclei* of all those ancient famous centres of learning, the main ones being Takṣaśilā and Vārāṇasī, which were rivalled by Nālandā, Odantapura, Vallabhīpura and others in a subsequent historical period.

This one, the history of which Mr. Ratilal N. Mehta presents to the public to-day, is a period of extraordinary importance, during which the final amalgamation of the two main races of India, the Drāvidians and the Āryans, which began in the *Vedic* period, was accomplished. The student of Proto-Indian History will easily discover the constituent elements of this amalgamation in many pages of this book. This is a subject of research which Mr. Mehta had neither time nor opportunity to study in the course of his post-graduate research. It was totally outside the scope of his work. Other students may undertake it, and the country will be grateful to them for it. It is a subject about which much *darkness* still prevails in the minds of many.

The main source of information which the author has tapped has been the collection of Buddhist stories of the pre-births of the Buddha, called the *Jātakas*. These stories undoubtedly depict conditions and situations of a period of time prior to that of the revered teacher. The fact that similar episodes are at times found in the *Jātakas* and in the *Mahābhārata* seems to point to a common older source, which is now lost. About the historicity of these stories we cannot doubt at present. The very incidental way in which they are narrated, is a guarantee of their trustworthiness and accuracy. Whenever the mythical element is introduced, it is easily detected.

The work of Mr. Ratilal N. Mehta is a credit to him and to this Institute, his *Alma Mater*. His views are always impartial, his method is faultless, his criticism well founded and precise. I hope that his work will be widely read throughout this country and abroad, and help to dispel the darkness still perhaps existing in some minds, and to disclose the brilliancy of that ancient culture which was the foundation of the culture and achievements of the Indians of later periods.

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July 23, 1939.

AUTHOR'S PREFACE

IN the following pages a humble attempt has been made to visualise the picture of Ancient India through the *Jātaka* stories. Ever since the publication of these stories, scholars have attempted to draw from them as much help as they could to enhance their researches. They have been studied and utilised by various hands for shedding more light on the various aspects and problems of Ancient Indian History. And they have undoubtedly been recognised as an important source for this purpose.

A synthetic history embracing the long period through which Indian Life and Society have grown and developed is yet a *desideratum.* Before this is possible, an intensive study has to be made of the different ages through which they have grown. And this study of a particular age or period has to be made through different sources—literature, art, archaeology, ethnology, anthropology and the like. It is obvious that this is not the task for one hand. Various hands have to work to create a complete whole. Thus what Zimmer in his *Altindisches Leben* has done for the early *Vedic* Period, still remains to be done for the subsequent periods. The Buddhist and Jaina literatures together must yield a sufficiently clear picture of Ancient India of the period immediately encircling round the figures of the Buddha and Mahāvīra. An attempt in this direction was made years ago by Prof. Rhys Davids, in his *Buddhist India.* But he mostly relied upon Buddhist sources, and that too not exhaustively, whereas the study of the history of the Buddhist period, to be complete, must be made by a careful collation of different sources, the *Upaniṣadic*, the Buddhist and the Jaina literatures, over and above the archaeological and other evidences. Every piece of literature has to be thoroughly ransacked. It was with this object that I took up the study of the *Jātakas*—a part of the extensive Buddhist literature.

As I said before, these stories have been utilised by various scholars. Richard Fick has studied these stories chiefly from the social point of view, keeping always the 'Caste' and the 'Priest' before his eyes, which fact, in my opinion, has at times hindered a purely impartial judgment. Dr. Ray Chaudhury has derived from these stories such data as could be helpful to his '*Political History*,' and this again not exhaustively. Mrs. Rhys Davids and Mr. N. S. Subbarao have given us the '*Economic Conditions*.' For '*Administrative Aspect*' something has been done by Mr. Beni Prasad in his work '*The State in Ancient India*.' Lastly I must mention a really valuable work by Dr. B. C. Sen, '*Studies in*

Jātakas,' published in the *Journal of the Department of Letters*, Calcutta University, dealing mainly with political and administrative matters. But all these studies were more or less isolated. In the absence, therefore, of a work comprehensive and critical in its treatment, and systematically written with a view to present a connected idea of Ancient Indian life as portrayed in these stories, I feel myself justified in taking up this subject. I have endeavoured, not only to gather all that research has done, but to put it in a systematic scientific and connected narrative form.

The work has, for convenience's sake, been divided into five Sections, dealing with five different aspects : political, administrative, economic, social and geographical. As regards political history, there are several chronological strata dimly recognisable in the stories. The kings and princes there mentioned did not belong to a single period of time : they were often wide apart from one another in respect of age. So that the information derived goes to supplement our knowledge of the political history from the *Vedic* times down to the time of the Buddha. Only the last chapter of this section, entitled the *Mahājanapada Period*, gives us a fair idea of the period immediately preceding the Buddha. And all the remaining aspects of life, namely, administrative, economic, social and geographical, delineated in the stories, fall, in my opinion, in this *Mahājanapada* or pre-Buddha period. Hence the title of this work.

It is a moot point whether history should be subjective or objective. To write objectively has been the avowed aim of historians from Herodotus to H. G. Wells. But it seems impossible for the historian to remain unperturbed over the vicissitudes in life which he observes. And even H. G. Wells had in the end to confess : "There never will be an outline of history written that is not tendential." These tendencies of the historian, his pre-conceived notions and prejudices, are bound to be interwoven in the delineation of the subject he treats. And what is wrong in it ? However unscientific this method of approach might be termed, it has its value and its interest. The historian should not dive into an ever-receding and irrevocable past, simply for the sake of the past. He has to revaluate the past in the light of the present. Instead of appearing in the fashion of a colourless spectator, he has to assume the rôle of a representative of the people of whom he speaks. He is to share their thoughts and reciprocate, or at least understand, their sentiments. He may grow eloquent over their glorious achievements, as he should stress their drawbacks. In this way, attempting to write history is, inevitably, though

imperceptibly, like subjecting oneself to psycho-analysis. It draws out not only the historian's opinions but his 'repressions,' not only his intellectual character but its 'complexes.' Even those historians who profess to be most impartial and purely objective have their hidden snags and tags.

Anyhow, it is quite obvious that every historical study should have more than purely academic interest. Up till now it has always been regarded as dry as dust, a jumble of dates, an unmeaning medley of wars and massacres. To have any value, history must be viewed as a kaleidoscope. It should be a presentation of life, complete and whole.

The *Jātakas* offer us a clear advantage in this respect. Though their aims and objects are not avowedly secular, they nevertheless depict society from an independent point of view, give details, specially of the darker phases of social life, with the fullness and variety that we naturally miss in the 'sacred texts.' We can see here merchants and artisans, workers and peasants, women and children, old people and ascetics, Brahmins and Princes—all engrossed in their daily life. The characters we witness are lively and realistic, and the incidents narrated are also taken from real life. In the words of Prof. Rhys Davids, the *Jātakas* are the oldest, most complete and most important collection of Folklore extant.

I am not unmindful of my inabilities. My claim to these stories as being a faithful representation of the pre-Buddha period will particularly be questioned. The fear of uncertain ground on which I was standing at first prevented me from giving the title which has been given to this work, and I thought it wise to make myself secure by vaguely describing the work as *Ancient India in the Jātakas.* But repeated reading of the book, page after page, while plodding through the unending proofs, reassured me, and finally encouraged me in giving the present title. I leave it now to the readers to decide whether the title is justified or not. But I take consolation in the fact that there was, after all, very little possibility of change in the general *milieu* of Ancient Indian life within a few centuries, as its persistent conservatism is only too well-known.

The present work is a revised form of the Thesis submitted to the University of Bombay for the M.A. Degree in 1935. It took two years for it to go into the Press, and it is after about the same period that it comes out of the Press, to see the light of day. Four long years have thus passed by since it was written. Journalism having lured me away from an academic career, it was well-nigh impossible for me to keep pace with the fast-growing

tempo of Historical Research Work. If, therefore, the work suffers from any defects, I crave the indulgence of my readers. I shall deem my labours amply rewarded if the work lightens even a single obscure corner of our Ancient History.

I take this opportunity to express my gratitude to Rev. Fr. H. Heras, S.J., the Director of the Indian Historical Research Institute, St. Xavier's College, Bombay, but for whose guidance and constant encouragement it would have been impossible to produce this work.

Finally, I have to acknowledge my indebtedness to the University of Bombay for the substantial financial help it has granted towards the cost of the publication of this book.

RATILAL MEHTA.

Bombay, September 4, 1939.

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TRACING UP

THE HOMOGENEITY OF THE JĀTAKAS AND THEIR AGE

THEIR NUMBER.

The *Jātakas*, on which the whole of the present work is based, are, as is well-known, a collection of stories included in the *Khuddaka-Nikāya* of the *Suttapiṭaka* of the Pāli Canon. These stories, as edited by Fousböll, number 547. But as in some of these numbers, several stories are included, while others only contain references to later *Jātakas*, and also as sometimes the same stories recur in different versions, the figure 547 does not agree exactly with the actual number of the stories.[1] The *Culla-Niddesa* gives the number as 500 (*pañca-jātaka-satāni*).[2] The collection is obviously incomplete. It does not, and could not, include all the stories current at the time of its final redaction or compilation, probably in the 5th century A.D ;[3] neither does it include all the inscribed episodes still to be seen on the remnants of the Barhut railing,[4] nor does it include all *Jātaka*-like stories to be found in other canonical works.[5]

DIFFERENT PARTS.

Now, every single *Jātaka*, in the present collection, consists of the following parts : (*a*) An introductory story, *Paccuppannavatthu*, *i.e.*, 'story of the present time' which relates on what occasion the Buddha himself told the monks the *Jātaka* in question ; (*b*) *Atītavatthu*, *i.e.*, 'story of the past' in which a story of one of the former births of the Buddha, in other words, a *Bodhisatta* story, according to later Buddhist dogmatics, is told ; (*c*) the *Gāthās* or verses which, as a rule, constitute the *Jātaka* of the *Akkhāna* type and form part of the story of the past, are supplemented by the *abhisambuddhagāthās* as these latter are generally termed ;[6] (*d*) short commentary (*Veyyākaraṇa*) in which the *Gāthās* are explained word for word ; and (*e*) the 'connexion' (*samodhāna*) in which, finally, the personages of the 'story of the present' are identified, by the Buddha himself, with those of the 'story of the past,' and the psychological effect of the discourse on the mind of the hearers is described. These are the different parts which form a single

1. The *Culla-Niddesa*, II, p. 80, an old commentary (probably of 1st or 2nd century B.C.) on the *Pārāyaṇavagga* of the *Sutta-Nipāta*, speaks of 500 *Jātakas* : Fa-hien too, (*Record of the Buddhist kingdoms*, transl. by J. Legge, Oxford, 1886, p. 106) speaks of pictures illustrating '500 *Jātakas*' which he had seen in Ceylon. See Barua, *I.H.Q.*, I, p. 247 ; II, pp. 723 *ff.* Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature*, II, p. 124 n. 1. See now, B.C. Law, *J.R.A.S.*, April, 1939, pp. 241-255.

2. *Culla-Niddesa*, II, p. 80 ; noticed by Barua, *op. cit.*, p. 247 ; also *Indian Culture*, Vol. V, No. 2.

3. The authorship of Buddhagoṣa (*Gandhavaṁsa*, *J.P.T.S.* 1886, p. 59), has been questioned : Rhys Davids, *Buddhist Birth Stories*, pp. LXIII *ff* ; Burlingame, *Buddhist Legends* (*H.O.S.*) pp. 49, 59 *ff.* But see Law, *J.R.A.S.*, April, 1939, p. 243.

4. *Cf.* Foucher, *J.B.O.R.S.*, VI, pp, 470, 472-3.

5. Rhys Davids, *Dialogues*, I, p. 164; also *Buddhist Birth Stories*, Intro., p. lxxxi ; *cf.* Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature* II, p. 115 n., 4 ; Gokuldas De, *Cal. Rev.* Aug. 1929, 256 *ff.* B. C. Law, *J.R.A.S.*, April, 1939, pp. 241-55, puts a strong Case for the traditional number 550.

6. *i.e.*, 'verses spoken by the Buddha after his enlightenment'. *Cf.* Senart, *J.A.*, 1901 pp. 385 *ff.*

Jātaka in this huge narrative work, the *Jātakaṭṭhavaṇṇanā*. Out of these, again, we have chosen to take our stand, for drawing up a picture of Ancient India, only on the 'story of the past' (prose) and the *Gāthās* or verses which both easily join one another and together form a beautiful whole (*Atītavatthu*). The stories of the present (*Paccuppannavatthu*) are left aside, for they are sometimes only duplicates of the 'stories of the past,' sometimes foolish and entirely worthless inventions, and at best narratives which have been borrowed from other parts of the Canon, *e. g.*, *Vinayapiṭaka*, *Suttanipāta*, *Apadāna* or from other commentaries, and are not therefore as valuable as the actual *Jātakas*, or the 'stories of the past.' Similarly the commentary (*veyyākaraṇa*) and the 'connexion' (*samodhāna*), being solely the work of the later-day compiler, are left out.[1]

ACTUAL JATAKA.

Now, the actual *Jātaka* is a story in which the *Bodhisatta* plays a part in one of his former births, whether as the hero of the story or as a secondary character or as a spectator only. So that it was possible to change into a *Jātaka* any story which was told among the people or which was known from literature, by identifying the best character, according to the Buddhists who handled it, with the *Bodhisatta*, or the Buddha himself in some previous birth. In this way all kinds of stories, fairy-tales, fables, anecdotes, traditional ballads (*akkhāna : anussuti*) were utilised,[2] And even the Buddha, as we read in the *Saddharma-Puṇḍarīka*, for instance,[3] one of the earlier Buddhist Sanskrit texts, taught by means of *Sūtras*, *Gāthās*, legends and *Jātakas*.

We do not however mean to enter into a detailed discussion about the history *of* the *Jātakas* as we have them, their origin, growth and development, when and how they were included in the Buddhist canon in their original form, and how they were finally compiled in their present form. These problems, very intricate indeed, are more or less exhaustively dealt with by other scholars.[4] In order to understand, as far as possible, the real nature of the basis on which we stand, we have to note certain important points with the help derived from the painstaking researches of these eminent scholars.

PROCESS OF DEVELOPMENT.

Mr. Gokuldas De, in one of his essays on the *Significance of the Jātakas*, has conclusively shown that, bereft of the *Bodhisatta* idea, a *Jātaka* originally consisted of a verse or verses embodying in a concise form a past episode, generally with a moral understood with the help of a prose narration which for the most part remained implicit rather than explicit, changing according to circumstances.[5] That originally the *Jātakas* were folk-tales in verses

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1. See Winternitz, *op. cit.*, II, p. 123 ; Gokuldas De, *Cal. Rev.* Feb. 1931, pp. 298 *ff.*
2. See Winternitz in *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, VII, p. 491.
3. II, 44 (*S.B.E.*, XXI, p. 45). The division of the Buddhist Scriptures into nine *aṅgas*, *viz.*, *Suttaṁ*, *geyyaṁ*, *veyyākaraṇaṁ*, *gāthā*, *udānaṁ*, *itivuttakaṁ*, *jātakaṁ*, *abbhutadhammaṁ vedallaṁ*, is very old: *Dīpavaṁsa*, Ch. IV ; See Thomas, *I.H.Q.*, IX, 32 *ff.*
4. The latest among them are Dr. Winternitz, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 113-56, and Dr. Bimala Churn Law, *A History of Pāli Literature* ; also Gokuldas De, *Significance of the Jātakas*, being a reprint of articles published in the *Calcutta Review*. Law, *J.R.A.S.*, April, 1939, pp. 241-55.
5. *Calcutta Review*, Jan. 1930, pp. 78 *ff.*

is not only a natural assumption but has been very ably established by him.[1] The Sinhalese tradition also asserts that during the process of translation into the Old Sinhalese language and retranslation into Pāli of the *Jātakaṭṭhakathā*, it was only the prose which was open to this process, the *Gāthās* were preserved unchanged in Pāli. And it is only these *Gāthās*, the verses, which were included in the Canon whenever it was compiled.[2] The same tradition says that the canonical texts were first transmitted orally, until under the Sinhalese king Vaṭṭagāmaṇī, in the first century B.C., they were committed to writing, and this, according to Dr. Winternitz, sounds quite trustworthy.[3] Originally both prose and verse of the *Jātakas* came down orally; but naturally the prose had a less stable form than the verse, being more exposed to changes and enlargements, so that when the canon was composed, and subsequently when it was written down, in the 1st century B.C. as noticed above, only the verses retained their original form, whereas the rendering of the prose was at first entrusted to the reciters who could recite the verses more faithfully than the prose, and it was only at a later period committed to writing by Commentators.[4] As Mr. Gokuldas De says, the *Jātakas* as a collection of selected verses go back to the time of the very Buddha if not earlier still.[5] "...And their antiquity will not preclude the possibility of a prose interpretation in the light of their progenitor following them from the very beginning. Though there is ample evidence in support of the fact that, ancient Indian literature was in verse, more so folk-lores called *Akkhānas*,[6] the Buddha, who is said to have enjoined his disciples not to use them in practical life, could not have entirely done away with their application and, in the absence of developed Buddhist literature, must have had recourse to such passages from these *Akkhānas* as seemed helpful to the propagation of his Doctrine of *Ahiṁsā* and *Kamma* mixing them with his own interpretations for safeguarding against the influx

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1. *Calcutta Review*, July, 1930, p. 68. It was hitherto thought that this canonical *Jātaka*, consisting entirely of verses, had been preserved in manuscripts. Frederick Weller, however, examined critically the Phyrae and two other MSS. from Mandalay of *Jātaka* verses, and came to the conclusion that these manuscripts only contain extracts from the *Jātaka* Commentary, but not the ancient verse-*Jātaka* which belongs to the canon. Dr. Winternitz while admitting that 'our hope and belief that the original verse *Jātaka* is still extant in MSS. has been shaken by Dr. Weller's arguments,' takes great pains to prove the existence of such an independent work: see *Jātaka Gāthās and Jātaka Commentary*, in *I.H Q.*, IV, pp. 1 *ff*. *History of Indian Literature*, II, p. 117 and note.

2. Even the tradition about the Four councils (*saṅgītis*) wherein the canon is said to have been compiled is disputed: See Winternitz, *History of Ind. Lit.* II, pp. 3 *ff*. But see R. C. Majumdar, *Buddhist Councils* in *Buddhistic studies*, pp. 26-72. On the whole the view of Dr. Winternitz (*op. cit*, p. 7.) that it is possible that the canon was not compiled all at once, but at several meetings of the monks, the most important of which was the Pāṭaliputta session (in Aśoka's time) seems correct.

3. *Op. cit.*, II, p. 8.

4. *Cf.* W. Geiger '*Pāli Literature und Sprache*,' in Bühler's *Grundriss*, 1916, pp. 14, 21; Lüder, *N.G.G.W.*, 1897, p. 119, n. 2. Oldenberg, *J.P.T.S.* (1910-2) p. 31. "Nevertheless we may certainly say that, on the whole, the *Gāthās* have a stronger claim to be regarded as canonical than have the prose portions of the *Jātakas*... Moreover, the language of the *Gāthās* is more archaic than that of the prose": Winternitz, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 119, 123; The difference of language is noted by Fousböll in Dines Anderson's *Index to the Jātakas, Intro.* pp. IV-VI.

5. *Calcutta Review*, July 1930, p. 83; See also J. Przyluski, *I. H. Q.*, V, p. 1.

6. Oldenberg's famous theory: *The Prose-and-Verse type of Narrative and the Jātakas.* *J.P.T.S.*, 1910-2, pp. 19 *ff*.; *I.H.Q.*, IV, p. 13.

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of vulgar ideas and misconceptions. These interpretations augmented and modified by various other hands supplied the prose of the *Jātakas* from the time of their origin onwards."[1]

The above discussion, then, brief though it is, points to the pre-Buddhistic origin of the *Jātakas—Jātakas* in the sense of versified stories. Says R. Otto Franke: "The bulk of *Jātaka-Gāthās* is the work of many, chiefly non-Buddhist authors, though one editor or compiler (not author) may, in recasting the whole, have altered and even added verses here and there."[2] Authors of folklore have always remained anonymous: the story originates in the mind of one man: he composes the verses and puts them afloat among the folk: in course of time these verses become the common possession of the whole folk: the verses are thus preserved, with very rare modifications: the prose which is only a commentary on these verses changes from mouth to mouth, until it settles in the form in which it is finally committed to writing. This is, in general, the life-story of a folk-tale. The same can be said with regard to the *Jātaka* stories.

NARRATIVE FORMS.

This is not to say that all the *Jātaka* stories, or even the *Gāthās* as embodied in our collection, were current at the time of the Buddha. It may however be conceded that the major portion was. It is also probable that even the verse-*Jātaka* of the canon, if it existed as an independent work, contained a smaller number of *Gāthās*. The number seems to have gradually increased. And as regards prose[3], too, it is the work of the later-day commentator, say of the 5th century A.D. But this is about the language with which we have no concern at present. We have to see what kind of material has been used in that prose. Dr. Winternitz[4] has analysed the different kinds and forms of narrative composition as represented in the *Jātaka*-collection: (*a*) First, there are narratives in prose with fable verses, fairy-tale stanzas, or aphorisms inserted here and there. Prose and verses easily join with one another, and together form such a beautiful whole that we cannot but assume that in these cases the *Jātakaṭṭhavaṇṇanā* used good old traditions for the prose also; (*b*) secondly, there are Ballads in dialogue form, in a mixture of conversational verses and narrative stanzas. The prose which we find in the collection is as a rule, in these cases, the entirely superfluous and insipid fabrication of some commentator, and as a matter of fact is not infrequently in actual contradiction to the verses; (*c*) thirdly, there are longer narratives, beginning in prose and continued in verse, or in which prose narration alternates with narrative and conversational verses. Here prose is indispensable, but the prose of the collection is not a faithful copy of the original prose, but greatly enlarged on, and disfigured, by commentatorial additions; (*d*) fourthly, there are collections of sayings on any subject, and, lastly (*e*) regular epics or epic fragments. In the latter two cases, the

1. *Calcutta Review*, Feb. 1931, pp. 279-80.
2. *W. Z. K. M.*, 20 (1906), p. 318.
3. *Cf.* Charpentier: "In general the *Jātaka* prose rests an ancient tradition." *Z. D. M.G.*, 66 (1912), pp. 41 *ff. W. Z. K. M.* 27, (1913) pp. 92 *ff.*
4. *History of Ind. Lit.*, II, pp. 124-5.

prose in the book is again a superfluous commentary, and mostly spiritless into the bargain.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE.

But, as we said, it is the material, the contents of the stories which are of more importance than the language of the prose in which they are written. And we cannot deny that the major part of the stories in the collection preserves older material. Even Dr. Winternitz has to admit in the face of archaeological evidence of a compelling character, that in the prose, too, much that is old may have been preserved.[1] This evidence comes from the precious monuments, the *Stūpas* of Barhut and *Sāñchī*, of the second or third century B.C.[2] The importance of the reliefs on the stone-walls around these *stūpas*, from the point of view of the history of the *Jātakas*, can hardly be overestimated. On these reliefs are depicted scenes from the *Jātakas*[3] including scenes which occur only in the prose. Not only this. Sometimes even the titles of the *Jātakas* are inscribed, which are sometimes the same as those in the *Jātaka* book, but which in other cases differ. These reliefs then prove, as admitted by Dr. Winternitz, that a number of stories, which are also to be found in the *Jātaka* collection, were in the second, perhaps even in the third century B.C., technically called '*Jātakas*' and were regarded as *Bodhisatta* stories[4] and that accordingly they must have been known in India long before, and possibly belonged to the pre-Buddhist period.[5]

NO DEFINITE DATE.

We do not at all dogmatise on the point. The composition of the *Jātaka*-collection has undoubtedly passed through several stages. It is utterly impossible to assign a definite date to the stories. Some of the poems and prose narratives must reach back to a great antiquity, even to the Vedic times. Some of the sayings, legends and ballads may belong to pre-Buddhist days. For the greater portion of the book, we may not urge any greater antiquity than the 3rd century B.C. And much of the prose decidedly belongs to the Christian era. In fact, we can generally hold, with Mr. Gokuldas De[6] that the prose stories of the

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1. *Op. cit.*, II, p. 120.
2. See specially Barua, *Barhut-Stone as a story-teller*.
3. More than thirty scenes have been as yet identified : See Barua, and Sinha, *Barhut Inscriptions*, pp. 78-99 ; also Oldenberg, *J. A. O. S.*, 18 (1897) pp. 183 *ff.* E. Hultzch, *J. R. A. S.*, 1912 pp. 399 *ff.* 406 ; Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, p. 209 ; Foucher, *The Beginnings of Buddhist Art*, pp. 61 *ff.*
4. But Gokuldas De, after a minute examination of the Barhut *Jātaka* label, comes to the conclusion that 'the *Jātakas* of Barhut have to be taken in their ordinary sense meaning stories or fables told by the Master in illustration of his Doctrine and not in the special sense in which the Buddhists used them in later times implying birth stories of the *Bodhisatta* before he became the Buddha.' *Cal. Rev.* Aug. 1929, pp. 257-64 : '*Barhut Jātakas in a New Light !*
5. *Hist. Ind. Lit.*, II, p. 121.
6. *Calcutta Review*, July, 1930, p. 83 : He has shown the growth of the *Jātaka* literature through these stages : Pre-Buddhistic times—*Akkhānas* as popular folklores and ballads in Prakrit; Time of Buddha and the 1st Council—*Jātakas* as popular folklore and ballads illustrating the doctrine of *Karma*, incorporated in *Āgama Piṭaka* ; Second Council—*Suttanta Jātaka* and *Jātakas* as moral stories incorporated with the *Dhamma Vinaya* ; Third Council—*Jātaka* collection as a separate book of verses included in the *Khuddaka Nikāya* : special *Jātakas* as *Cariyā Piṭaka* ; First Century A.D.—*Bodhisatta vs.* Devadatta stories from *Jātakas* and *Jātakas* as moral verses found in the *Milinda* ; Fifth Century A.D.—*Jātaka* verses found in the *Dhammapada Aṭṭhakathā* ; End of 5th Century A.D.—*Jātakas* of the *Jātaka* Book exclusively as birth stories of the *Bodhisatta* in *Jātaka-Aṭṭhakathā*." *Ibid*, p. 84.

Jātaka-Aṭṭhakathā compiled about the latter part of the 5th century A.D., and looked upon as expansions or *vitthāras* of *Jātaka verses,* many of which as old as the time of the Buddha, some even still older, are really a compendium of facts with dates ranging from the time of their origin up to that of their final redaction, *i.e.*, from pre-Buddhistic times down to the 5th century A.D., while we maintain that except in very rare cases, the claim to pre-*Nikāya* antiquity of the verses constituting the real *Jātakas* must be generally accepted.

THEIR HOMOGENEITY.

Thus, while recognising the uncertainty about the age of the *Jātakas*—our source of enquiry—we are unable to act up to the injunction laid down by Dr. Winternitz that 'not only every large section and every single narrative but often also every single *gāthā* will have to be tested independently as regards its age.'[1] While going minutely through the stories we have felt that they are more or less faithful in depicting the picture of ancient Indian society: this picture again seems to be a *homogeneous* one. Throughout, it seems, the story-teller, whoever he might be, has fixed his eyes on the period before the Buddha. Old verses may have been mixed up with new, and the prose considerably enlarged, the details of the contents may not *all* be assigned to an older period, but as Mr. B. C. Sen[2] has rightly observed, "the spirit of the old narrative was not sacrificed to novelty, and the literary embellishments, if introduced, did not apparently tend to produce an ill-assorted combination of things, belonging to different ages as found in many other works."

We have set ourselves to the arduous task of presenting, as far as possible, a clear and comprehensive portrait of ancient Indian Society as reflected in the *Jātaka* stories. We have slowly but carefully gone through the whole of this huge collection, noted down each and every single fact contained in it and, in the end, tried to arrange the facts thus collected in a systematic narrative form. During this process, moreover, each and every fact has been minutely examined in the light of literary and other evidence of the surrounding period. We have already admitted that all the stories in this collection are handled by a compiler or compilers of about the 5th century A.D. And we have also shown that the major portion of the material thus handled had come down through several centuries. But we again lay the utmost emphasis on this fact, that the compiler (or compilers) had focussed his (or their) attention on the days before the birth of the Buddha. As we in these days, while narrating stories to our children, fix our eyes on the period of which we may be speaking, taking care that modern things and individuals do not find their way in our narrations, so must have the *Jātaka* compiler taken care to see that the stories he handled were not out of tune with the pre-Buddhistic conditions of society as he himself had come to know through tradition and literature. Thus it was that a fair degree of homogeneity was accomplished for this collection of stories. This homogeneity will readily

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1. *Op. cit.*, II, p. 122. This is the task which some future Hopkins may well take up.
2. *Studies in Jātakas*, p. 189.

be discerned from the presentation given in the following pages. It will be seen that the political, administrative, social, economic and even geographical conditions, as herein presented, quite harmoniously fit in the pre-Buddhistic period, as our knowledge of post-Vedic and post-Buddhist periods shows. What we mean to say is, that the stories on the whole give us a harmonious and a homogeneous picture of the pre-Buddhistic period. You may question the existence of a particular article, or thing, or place or individual, or raise doubts about a particular form of administrative, social, economic or religious institution. These doubts may or may not prove to be true. At least to us they would seem difficult, if not impossible, to be satisfied finally. It is not our task, even if it were possible, to test independently each single piece of prose-story and every single *gāthā* as regards its age. We only say this, that the stories are decidedly of different periods—from the Vedic period down to the 5th century A. D., that the *gāthās* do claim a greater antiquity than the prose—for which reason we have throughout this work given the number of the *gāthās* whenever any references are taken from them —[1] but that the stories as a whole are homogeneous in their presentation of things of the pre-Buddhistic age.

This is all that we can say about the chronological aspect of the *Jātakas*, in the present state of our knowledge. And if therefore we are still inclined to hold with old scholars like Bühler,[2] Fick,[3] Rhys Davids[4] and Mrs. Rhys Davids[5] that the conditions of civilisation as reflected in the *Jātakas* date back in pre-Buddhist days, we may be excused by over-critical scholars.

THEIR IMPORTANCE.

The importance of the *Jātakas* can hardly be under-estimated. They are simple stories, no doubt. The general tendency among scholars was, and perhaps still is, sceptical about the usefulness of such stories as a source of history. Sooner this scepticism goes away, better will be the understanding of history. All folk-tales, originating as they do among the vast folk, must reflect their life. Prof. Lacote, who devoted many years of his life in the study of Indian tales, opines that the Indian tales are for its history, religious, literary and social, of an importance of which no comparison with other literatures could possibly give an adequate idea.[6] The *Jātakas* are of

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1. Mr. Gokuldas De's three articles on Ancient Indian Culture and civilization are based entirely on the *Jātaka gāthās*. The prose-portions have not been utilised. Still, it will be seen that his presentation, as far as it goes, does not materially differ from that of ours which is based on both the *gāthās* and the prose portions *Cf.* Do, *Jātaka Gleanings bearing on ancient Indian Culture and civilization : Sociology, Calcutta Review*, Sept. 1931, pp. 361-74; Oct. 1931, pp. 106-122; *Polity, Journal of the Department of Letters, Calcutta*, XXV, 1934.
2. *The Origin of the Indian Brāhma Alphabet*, 2nd ed. pp. 16 *ff.*
3. *Social Organisation*; preface, ix-x.
4. *Buddhist India*, p. 202.
5. *J. R. A. S.*, 1901, pp. 859 *ff.*
6. *Essai sur Guṇāḍhya Et la Bṛhadkathā* translated in *Q. J. M. S.* IV, pp. 64-85 "However fanciful it may be, it introduces us into a mixed world of princes, priests, merchants and artisans who feel, act and speak as men of their time, of their faith and caste... In a country so miserably poor in historical documents, tales are more than pleasing literary compositions. They are a mirror where the historian is allowed to contemplate, without being too deformed, a pretty exact image of the life of the people and the vicissitudes of the religious and social state."

inestimable value, not only as regards literature and art, but also from the point of view of the history of civilization[1]. Through all these centuries the *Jātakas* have enriched, directly or indirectly, the literature of many other peoples and have therefore been of immense importance in universal literature.[2] Similarly Indian and non-Indian art was aslo enriched by the *Jātakas*. "They belong to the oldest subjects that were pictorially represented in India, and to-day they are still favourite themes for sculpture and painting in all Buddhist countries."[3] They are found in the 3rd and 2nd centuries B.C. on the stone walls of Barhut and Sāñchī, in the 2nd century A.D. on those of Amarāvatī, and still later in the caves of Ajaṇṭā. Fa-hien in the 5th century A.D. saw in Abhayagiri in Ceylon five hundred *Jātakas* represented by figures. *Hiuen-Tsiang* saw many *Stūpas* on which the *Jatakas* were represented. And the temples of Boro-Budur in Jāvā (9th century) of Pagan in Burmā (13th century) and of Sukhodaya in Siām (14th century) are decorated by beautiful reliefs containing *Jātaka* illustrations.[4]

Such is the great value of these simple stories. They have penetrated deeply into the minds of the people among whom they have been told. Even to-day their popularity among Buddhist people is not lessened. To these stories the Sinhalese folk still listen all the night long with unaffected delight.[5] In Burmā too the *Jātakas* are, and have been for centuries, the delight of both learned and unlearned, of monks and laymen alike.[6] So also in Tibet, in China, and in other places where Buddhism has penetrated and flourished.[7]

We conclude with these instructive remarks of Prof. Rhys Davids: "The popularity of the *Jātakas* as amusing stories may pass away. How can it stand against the rival claim of the fairy tales of Science and the entrancing, many sided, story of man's gradual rise and progress? But though these less fabulous and more attractive stories shall increasingly engage the attention of ourselves and of our children, we may still turn with appreciation to the ancient book of the Buddhist *Jātaka* tales as a priceless record of the childhood of our race."[8]

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1. Winternitz, *op. cit.*, II, p. 156.
2. *Ibid*, p. 154. See also Rhys Davids, *Buddhist Birth Stories*, Intro, pp. l-xlviii
3. Winternitz, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 155.
4. Winternitz, *op. cit.*, *loc. cit.*
5. See *I. A.*, XXXII, (1903) p. 340.
6. *Epigraphia Birmanica*, Vol. II, pt. I.
7. Winternitz, *op. cti.*, II, pp. 153-4.
8. *Buddhist Birth Stories*, Intro. lxxxvi-vii.

SECTION I
GLIMPSES OF POLITICAL HISTORY

INTRODUCTION

A SYSTEMATIC chronological framework, however essential it may be for a chapter on political history, cannot be expected from such a class of literature as the *Jātakas*. However we do get here and there in the *Jātakas*, a number of clues, hints, indications or some data which may really prove valuable in the resuscitation of loose facts of political history supplied by Tradition. Thus this section will be based on such indicative data, aided by external corroboration wherever possible.

With the help derived from the *Vedic*, the Epic and the *Paurāṇic* traditions, we have tried to work out a plan by which to arrange the loose but varied mass of traditional historical facts embodied in the *Jātakas*, in some sort of chronological strata. "As Bacon said, Science is possible only on generalities. In a quest after the unknown, it is better to have an imperfect plan than no plan at all. In Science, a hypothesis has always, even when false, the advantage of suggesting researches and experiments, even though subsequently destroyed by these very researches and experiments. According to the inverse realization of the legend of Ugolin, every good theory is a coagulum of logical thought and certain number of known facts."[1]

In arriving at the plan of this work as suggested above, we have necessarily placed reliance upon other literary sources which preserve the names of kings and their traditional accounts, and which supply us with somewhat systematic and connected chronological strata based on generally accepted dates.[2]

On analysis of the contents of the *Jātakas* as regards political data, this plan would divide itself as follows :—

	Probable date.	*Period in History.*
(1)	B. C. 2000-1400	*Ancient Period:* (a) famous kings, some of whom are mentioned in the *Vedic* Literature, mentioned only in the *Gāthās;* (b) Ancient kings,
	,, 1400-1000	who are treated in detail.
(2)	B. C. 1200-1000	*The Kuru Pañcāla Kings.*
(3)	,, 1200- 800	*Videha and the lesser Kingdoms.*
(4)	,, 800- 600	*The Mahājanapada Period:*

1. A. Banerji Sastri, *J. B. O. R. S.*, XIV, pp. 390-91.

2. We should not, however, be unmindful of the fact, that the dates of these literary sources arranged by those eminent scholars, as the celebrated American savant W. D. Whitney said years ago, "are only pins set up to be bowled down again." Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature*, I, p. 25.

(a) *Rise and Supremacy of Kāsī.*
(b) *Nāga Ascendancy.*
(c) *Fall of Kāsī.*
(d) *Assaka-Kaliṅga.*

In accordance with the above sketch, the present section is divided into four Chapters dealing with the kings and traditions assigned to their respective periods. We do not, however, commit ourselves to an admission of the historicity or the authenticity of the individual kings or their accounts as herein given. We have stated the facts, compared them with others and suggested the hints or clues which may prove true in future. This is the only thing possible, we believe, in the present state of our knowledge of Ancient India, specially of the period just preceding the Buddha.

CHAPTER I

THE ANCIENT PERIOD

1. FAMOUS TRADITIONAL KINGS (2000-1400-B.C.)

IT WOULD REQUIRE a great amount of courage, now, to deny the fact that there was a *Kṣatriya* tradition side by side, and distinct from the *Brāhmaṇic* one, after the problem has so fervently and ably been thrashed out by Pargiter.[1] And it would be possible, though not quite correct' to say that the *Jātakas* preserve a third type of tradition, distinct from the other two, *viz.*, the *popular tradition*—a tradition which was a common heritage of the simple folk, and which was utilised by different sectarian hands for their own purposes. It may not be regarded as quite pure and unbiassed, as it is handled by later Buddhist propagandists. But its essence, as here and there perceived, will be found to be clearly a popular one and hence interesting and valuable.

The *Purāṇas*, over and above giving the regular genealogical lists, name some of the most famous ancient kings under various titles. Thus, some were *Cakravartins* and others *Samrāṭs* ; others, again, were those who became famous by giving gifts to Brāhmaṇas, and so on. The names of these traditionnal kings have been compiled by Pargiter[2] as follows :—

Māndhātṛ, Hariścandra, Sagara, Bhagīratha, Daśaratha and Rāma of Ayodhyā;
Śaśabindu and Arjuna Kārtavīrya among the Yādavas ;
Duṣyanta, Bharata, Ajamīḍha, Kuru and Śantanu among the Pauravas ;
Jahnu and Gādhi of Kānyakubja ;
Divodāsa and Pratardana of Kāśī ;
Vasu Caidya of Cedi and Magadha ;
Marutta Āvīkṣita and Tṛṇabindu of the Vaiśāla Kingdom ; and Uśīnara and Śivi of the Panjab Ānvas.[3]

Further, we know, the *Purāṇas* have preserved traditional accounts of these and other kings and they, also, reproduce 'eulogistic ballads' as those in praise of Māndhātṛ, Arjuna Kārtavīrya and others, which were current in those days.[4]

Now let us see how many of these names are to be found in the *Jātakas*, and what kinship does the *Jātaka* tradition about them bear with the *Vedic* and the *Paurāṇic* traditions. The discussion about the relation between the two does not fall within the purview of this section, since it has been tackled by a host of eminent scholars, though without definite results, and the question of priority, origin, or sources of different versions remains as vexed and undecided as ever.

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1. See his papers in *J. R. A. S.*, p. 1908, 1910, 1913 and 1914. The question is thoroughly dealt with in his work *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, pp. 58-77 ; Keith's protestations against the theory in *J. R. A. S.*, 1914, pp. 118 *ff.* ; 734 *ff.* ; 1915, p. 799.
2. *A. I. H. T.*, pp. 6-7 ; 39-42.
3. *Cf.* specially, the *Ṣoḍaśa-rājika* list given twice in the *Mahāhbārata*, VII, 55 *ff* ; XII 29 *ff* ; also I, 1,222-7 ; *A. I. H. T.*, p. 39, where a notable inclusion is that of Rāma Jāmadagnya who is usually known as a great sage and not as a king.
4. *A. I. H. T.*, pp. 15-16 ; 25.

The *Nimi Jātaka*,[1] has the following *gāthās* :—

"*Dudīpo Sāgaro Selo Mucalindo Bhagīraso*
Usīnaro Aṭṭhako ca *Assako* ca *Puthujjano*
Ete c'aññe ca rājāno khattiyā Brāhmaṇā bahū
Puthuyaññaṁ yajitvāna Petaṁ te nātivattisuṁ ;"

and the *Mahānāradakassapa Jātaka*[2] gives the following :—

"*Yathā ahu Dhataraṭṭho Vessāmitto ca Aṭṭhako*
Yāmata (-da) ggi......
Usīnaro cāpi Sivi ca rājā
Parivārakā samaṇabrāhmaṇānaṁ
Ete c'aññe ca rājāno ye Sakkavisayaṁ gatā."

Resembling in some respects,[3] but differing in others[4] from, the *Paurāṇic ślokas,* these *gāthās* stand as distinct forms of composition embodying a distinct tradition. The kings mentioned in the above *gāthās* are distinctly spoken of as belonging to bygone days (*porāṇakarājāno*), and cited as illustrations from past history (*udāharaṇavasena*). Though the names are jumbled up together without any regard paid to a dynastic, genealogical or even a chronological order,[5] most of these are included in Pargiter's list given above and can be arranged in some order in the light of *Paurāṇic* chronology as established by the same scholar.

DUDĪPA or Dujīpa can be no other than the *Paurāṇic* Dilīpa. But the *Purāṇas* know of at least three Dilīpas, *viz.*,

(*a*) the father of Bhagīratha, (b) the father of Raghu and (c) the father of Pratīpa of the Paurava line.[6] The most famous amongst these is, however, decidedly the 'Second Dilīpa' who is styled '*Khaṭvāṅga*' and who played a very important part in bringing Ayodhyā into prominence,[7] and whose eulogy has been sung by the great poet Kālidāsa in his *Raghuvaṁśa.*[8] We should not therefore hesitate in identifying our Dujīpa with Dilīpa II, the *Ailavila Khaṭvāṅga* of the *Purāṇas.* It is interesting to hear him praised in another place also, in a *gāthā* which runs as follows :

"*Mahānubhāvo vassasahassajīvī*
Yo pabbaji dassaneyyo ulāro

1. J. VI, p. 99-Gg. 420-421.

2. J. VI, p. 251-G. 1122. It seems to us that the third line of the verse should be shifted up to the second to fill up the gap which seems to have been wrongly put in the printed text of Fousboll.

3. For instance, in the general naming of the kings and the neumonic phrase '*Ete c'aññe*'—these and others. Cf. *MBH.*, 1, 1,222.

4. For instance, in the use of '*Samaṇabrāhmaṇā*' and 'the *Peta* and *Sakka* worlds,' which have a Buddhistic tinge.

5. So also in the *Purāṇas* : See *A. I. H. T.*, p. 42.

6. See Pargiter's Table of Royal geneaologies in *A. I. H. T.*, pp. 144-149.

7. *Ibid.*, pp. 39, 275.

8. *Raghuvaṁśa,* I-II.

hitvā apariyantaratham Sasenam[1]

rājā Dujīpo pi jagāma Saggam."[2]

SĀGARA is the famous *Paurāṇic* king Sagara, included in Pargiter's list given above. His eulogy is sung by a *gāthā* of the *Bhūridatta Jātaka*[3] runs as follows :—

"*Yo Sāgarantam Sāgaro vijitvā*

yūpam subham soṇṇamayam ulāram,

ussesi Vessānaramādadāno,

Subhoga devaññataro ahosi."

In a single *gāthā*, the unknown popular bard has so eminently summarized the whole career of that mighty king as we read in the *Purāṇas*—his terrible inroads against the Haihayas and other foreign tribes, his zeal for *Brāhmaṇic* ceremonies and his horse sacrifice.[4] He was an ancestor of Dilīpa II—Dudīpa—as the *Purāṇas* assert, and should therefore be placeed accordingly in our list.

SELA. No name corresponding exactly to this is to be found in the *Purāṇas*, as far as we can gather. But the *Mahābhārata* in one place,[5] mentions indeed an ancient king by name Śailālaya, who is said to have attained, by his penance, to the region of Indra. He should, for aught we know, be identified with our Sela which is a *Pāli* rendering of the *Sanskṛta Śaila.* In the above-mentioned passage of the *Mahābhārata,* Śailālaya is stated to be the grandfather of one Bhagadatta who is elsewhere known to have been the king of Prāgjyotiṣa (N. E. Bengal) and to have taken part in the Great Bhārata battle.[6] If this relation is to be credited at all, we shall have to bring down Sela much lower and nearer to the Bhārata battle. But this does not appear to be probable, looking to the pious remembrance of an ancient king.

A surer identification perhaps comes from another but less known direction. The Jaina *Nāyādhammakahā,*[7] curiously enough, mentions a Selaa

1. Cf. for this phrase, the following *śloka* from the *Raghuvaṁśa* I, 19 :

"*Senā pariccahadastasya dvayamevārthasādhanam.*
Śāstreṣvakuṇṭhitā buddhirmaurvī dhanuṣi cātatā."

2. J., VI, p. 203-G. 875.

3. J., VI, p. 203-G. 876 ; *Cf. Uttarādhyayana Sūtra*, XVIII, 34. The *Jātaka gāthā* also, in the *Paurāṇic* fashion, connects his name, *Sagara* with the ocean-*sāgara*. *Cf. Harivaṁśa*, XIV, 29 ; *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* (Wilson's translation), p. 379. But contrast *Ibid.*, p. 374.

4. Pargiter, *J. R. A. S.* 1910, pp. 9. 10 ; 1914, pp. 280-1; 1919, pp. 353 *ff* ; also *A. I. H. T.* pp. 270-2. Sagara is an ideal standard of comparison in the epigraphical records wherein the stock-phrase '*Bahubhirvasudhā bhuktā rājabhirsagarādibhiḥ*' quite frequently occurs. See for instance Fleet, *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 96.

5. XV. 20, 10 ; Sörensen's *Index to the Mahābhārata*, p. 182.

6. *A. I. H. T.*, p. 291 .

7. Chapter V; See *I. A.*, XIX, p. 68.

(or Śailaka) who was a *rājarṣi*-sage-king.[1] We cannot, however, locate him definitely in our list.

MUCALINDA or MUJALINDA. In another place in a *gāthā*[2] he is praised as a great sacrificer and as one who reached the divine Heaven :

"Mahāsanaṁ devaṁ anomavaṇṇaṁ
Yo sappinā asakkhi jetuṁ Aggiṁ
So yaññataṁ taṁ varato yajitvā
dibbaṁ gatiṁ Mujalind' ajjhagañchi."

The name itself is indeed curious and at first sight seems to be irreconcilable. Mucukunda, the third son of the great Māndhātṛ Yauvanāśva, is a famous king in the *Purāṇas*, about whom fables had sprung up in course of time.[3] It appears that we should equate Mucalinda with this Mucukunda. In doing this we are not quite without a base. There is nothing strange in the corruption or correction of the word *Mucukunda* into *Mucalinda* or *vice versa.* As a matter of fact, we find that if Mucukunda is the name of a lake,[4] Mucalinda is so in our *Jātakas.*[5] This similarity forces us, at least to suggest the proposed identification.

BHAGĪRASA is obviously the great king Bhagīratha of the *Paurāṇic* fame, included in Pargiter's list given above. He is also mentioned in the *Vedic* literature.[6] Our *Jātakas* have nothing more to say about him. According to the *Paurāṇic* genealogy, he comes four steps below Sagara.[7]

USĪNARA is mentioned in both the *gāthās* quoted above. He must be identified with his namesake mentioned in the *Purāṇas* and included in Pargiter's list given above. A legendary story about him is given in the *Mahākaṇha Jātaka.*[8] Sakka assumes the form of a hunter and, with Mātali made into a terrible hound, comes to Usīnara's kingdom to punish the irreligious and restore religion. At the end he reveals his character, declares the Law and strengthens the waning power of religion.[9] The Epic legend

1. Had 'Sela' anything to do with the Śailana school of teachers mentioned in the Vedic literature ? See, *Ved. Ind.*, I p. 288 ; II. p. 394. The fact of the difference as to one being a king and the other a Brāhmaṇa teacher should not alone frighten us much, as we have glaring examples of kings like Viśvāmitra and others having turned Brāhmaṇas. Even the phrase "*Khattiyā Brāhmaṇā bahū*' in our *gāthā*, itself seems to suggest that some of them were Brāhmaṇas . *Cf.*, also Jaina epithet '*rājarṣi*'. Sela occurs as the name of a great Brāhmaṇa in the *Sela-Suttanta* of the *Majjhima Nikāya*, II, 5, 2.

2. J., VI, p. 202-G. 874.

3. *A. I. H. T.*, pp. 41, 176, 262.

4. De, *Geographical Dictionary*, p. 132. Mucalinda is, according to the same authority, a name of a tank. *Ibid.* It occurs also as the name of a tree.

5. J., VI, pp. 519, 534-G. 2065 ; 585. Perhaps '*linda*' and '*Kunda*' mean a similar thing. I cannot decide it from Apte's Dictionary. If they prove really to be so, we shall have a stronger proof for our identification. Mucalinda, in Pāli Literature, occurs also as a name of a mountain, a Nāga and a tree. See Kern, *Manual of Buddhism*, p. 21, note 6.

6. *Jaiminīya Upaniṣad Brāhmaṇa*, IV. 6, 1, 2 ; Bhajeratha of the *Ṛgveda*, X. 60, 2; *Vedic Index*, II, pp. 93. 94.

7. *A. I. H. T.*, p. 147 Bhagīratha is an ideal king in the epigraphical records. See, for instance, *Gupta Inscriptions*, *p.* 74.

8. J., IV, pp. 181-6.

9. Are we to read here a faint recollection of some religious upheaval ?

about him is different. There he is depicted as rescuing and feeding the vulture[1] and giving away his flesh for the pegion.[2]

AṬṬHAKA. A natural Sanskritized equivalent for this would be *Aṣṭaka.* And one Aṣṭaka is known to have been a famous king, both in the *Vedic* Literature[3] and the *Purāṇas*,[4] and is stated to be one of the sons of Viśvāmitra. His connection with Viśvāmitra is attested also by the *Jātakas*, in that he is associated with him in both the traditional *gāthās* reproduced above. According to the *Purāṇas*, he succeeded Viśvāmitra in the throne of Kānyakubja.[5]

Aṭṭhaka is also mentioned in the prose and in the several *gāthās* of the *Sarabhaṅga Jātaka*[6] as being contemporary with Bhīmaratha and Kāliṅga, all the three being stated, in the prose portion of the story, to be subordinates to King Daṇḍaki.[7] Were these two then really one and the same? We do not think they were. As a matter of fact it seems to us, looking to the circumstances, that Aṭṭhaka of the *Sarabhaṅga Jātaka* must be a mistake for Assaka.

ASSAKA seems at first sight to be a generic name. Indeed the *Jātakas* themselves speak of several Assakas[8] who must however be placed much later in time. But if the present *gāthā* really means him to be an ancient king like the others there mentioned, he should rather be identified with Aśmaka of the *Purāṇas*, the son of Kalmāṣapāda Saudāsa, who is said to have been a '*rājarṣi*'.[9]

PUTHUJJANO is very probably the same as the *Paurāṇic Prithu Vainya*[10] and *Prithi* of the *Ṛgveda* and later *Vedic* Literature.[11] The *Jātakas* have nothing more to say about him. Both Pargiter[12] and the authors of the *Vedic Index*[13] regard him as a mythical personage,[14] but without any tangible grounds. He cannot, however, be arranged in any definite place in our list.

1. *Cf.* Sen, *op. cit.*, p. 20—"The story of Uśīnara's feeding of a vulture and that of Śivi's presenting his two eyes to a Brahmin seem to have been amalgamated together to form the basis of the well-known *Paurāṇic* legend about Śivi Auśīnara."

2. *M.B.H.* III, 130-131; Law, *Ancient Mid-Indian Kṣatriya Tribes*, I, pp. 157-8.

3. *Ait. Brāhm.*, VII, 17; *Śāṅkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra*, XV, 26; *Ved. Ind.* I, p. 45.

4. Pargiter, *A. I. H. T.*, pp. 142-3, 266-7.

5. *Ibid.*, his contemporariety with Śivi, Pratardana of Kāśī and Vasumanas of Ayodhyā is maintained by Pradhan, *Chronology of Ancient India*, pp. 23-5, but disputed by Pargiter, *A. I. H. T.*, pp. 142-3.

6. J., V. pp. 135, 137-G. 50, 144-G. 85.

7. *Ibid.*

8. J., II, pp. 155, 157—GG. 112, 113; 158; III, pp. 3, 8.

9. *MBH.* I, 179, 47 (*Aśmako nāma rājarṣiḥ.*) See Pargiter, *op. cit.*, pp. 91-2, 131-2, 148-150. *etc.*, He may be however only an eponymous hero.

10. Included in the *Ṣoḍaśarājika* group: *A. I. H. T.*, pp. 39-41.

11. *Vedic Index*, II, pp. 16-17.

12. *A. I. H. T.*, p. 40 and note where *Paurāṇic* references are given.

13. II. pp. 16-17.

14. See Buddhaghoṣa's fanciful explanation of the word '*Puthujjano*' in the *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī.* (P. T. S.), p. 69; but *Cf. Harṣacarita*, ch. III; *Manu*, VII, 42; XI, 66-7. King Vena is mentioned as a great conqueror in the Khāravela Inscription, *J. B. O. R. S.*, XIII, pp. 224-5. *Cf.* also Fleet, *Gupta Inscriptions*, pp. 20-21.

DHATARAṬṬHA is also a puzzling personage. Of course the name represents Dhṛtarāṣṭra. But identity of names does not necessarily imply identity of persons. We know that Dhṛtarāṣṭra, the son of Vicitravīrya and father of the Kauravas, is a well-known figure in the Great Epic, as also in the *Purāṇas.*[1] Again *Vedic* Literature knows of two Dhṛtarāṣṭras, sons of Vicitravīrya, both of whom however are taken to be identical with each other but different from the Epic and *Paurāṇic* one, by the authors of the *Vedic Index.*[2] Hopkins, on the other hand, seems to go to the length of saying that the Epic and *Paurāṇic* Dhrtarāṣṭra is not a reality of the period, but only an irresponsible borrowing of the older *Brāhmaṇic* king.[3] If the last view be taken as correct our Dhataraṭṭha must be identified with that of the *Brāhmaṇas.* The question however is difficult to be decided finally.

VESSĀMITTA is of course none other than the famous Viśvāmitra. He is a great celebrity both in the *Vedic* and the *Paurāṇic* literature. The *Jātaka* tradition, as read from the *gāthā*, may be taken to lend support to the Epic one in representing him as first a king, and then a Brāhmaṇa.[4] It is true that, "there is no trace of his kingship in the *Ṛgveda,*[5] but that he is, there, only a *ṛṣi* to whom the third *maṇḍala* is attributed by tradition[6] and is, in later *Vedic* literature, a mythical sage usually mentioned in connection with Jamadagni."[7] But this in no way enables us to dismiss it as a 'mere legend' as the *Vedic Index,*[8] tries to do. The unanimous Indian tradition knows him as first a king of Kānyakubja under the name of Viśvāmitra and then a great sage.[9] The *Paurāṇic* genealogy places him a few degrees below Śivi Auśīnara.[10]

YĀMATAGGI or YĀMADAGGI is evidently an equivalent of Jāmadagni who is so wellknown to the Epic and *Paurāṇic* tradition. According to this, he was the son of the Bhārgava Jamadagni by Reṇukā, the princess of Ayodhyā.[11] His grandmother Satyavatī, also, was a *Kṣatriyāṇī*, being the daughter of Gādhi, King of Kānyakubja, and sister of the great Viśvāmitra.[12] Thus he was more of a Kṣatriya than of a Brāhmaṇa.[13] He should be placed just one or two degrees below Vessāmitta.

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1. *A. I. H. T.*, pp. 148, 282.
2. *Kāthaka Saṁhitā*, X. 6; *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, XIII, 5, 4, 22, where he is a king of Kāśi. *Ved. Ind.*, I. p. 403.
3. *J. A. O. S.*,, 13, pp. 65-6. Raychaudhury, *P. H. A. I.*, p. 15, note. It may be mentioned in passing that Dhataraṭṭha, in the *Jātakas*, is also the name of a Nāga king. See J., III, p. 257; VI, p. 162. 163-G. 763; 186, 195--G 853; 196; 200-G. 867; 219-G. 945; *Cf.*, Hopkins, *Epic Mythology*, pp. 24, 146.
4. Note the phrase '*ete c'aññe ca rājāno Khattiyā Brāhmaṇā bahū.*'
5. *Vedic Index*, I. p. 311.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 310.
7. *Vedic Index*, p. 311. *Cf.* our *gāthā*, where also Yāmataggi occurs.
8. II, p. 312 and note.
9. Pargiter, *A. I. H. T.*, pp. 18, 151, 205; *Cf. Nirukta*, II, 24; *Pañcaviṁśa Brāhmaṇa*, XXI, 12, 2; also *Ait. Brāh.*, VII, 18, 9; *Manu*, VII, 42—"*Brahmaṇyaṁ caiva Gādhijaḥ.*"
10. Pargiter, *op. cit.*, pp. 144-5.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 151.
12. *Ibid.*
13. He is even included in the *ṣoḍaśarājika* list in one place; See Pargiter, *op. cit.*, p. 39 and his remarks on the point, p. 40. For his glorious career see, *Ibid.*, pp. 199, 205, *etc.* The Jāmadagnis are mentioned in the later Vedic literature: *Ved. Ind.*, I, pp. 276, 284.

SIVI must be identical with the famous *Paurāṇic* king mentioned in Pargiter's list given above and also included in the *ṣoḍaśa-rājika* group.[1] He is also mentioned in the *Baudhāyana Śrauta Sūtra*,[2] as a 'son of Uśīnara and protégé of Indra who sacrificed for him on the *Vārṣiṣṭhīya* plain and saved him from fear of foreign invasion.' From him the Śivi people are said to have originated.[3]

His piety and self-sacrifice are related in several *gāthās* of the *Sivi Jātaka*[4] which relates the story of his giving away of his eyes to a Brāhmana who begged for them.[5] He was the son of Uśīnara.[6]

Our discussion about the 'famous traditional kings' included in the above two '*group-gāthās*', as we might call them, ends here. Now leaving these '*group-gāthās*', we search for the names of other ancient kings in the body of the *Jātakas*, and we find several of them, spoken of also in the *gāthās*, who should, if we accept the *Paurāṇic* chronology, be treated as belonging to this part of the Ancient Period.

MANDHĀTṚ, who is included in Pargiter's list given before, is a famous Ancient king. The *Jātakas*, in two places[7] give his descent in a genealogical table, from *Mahāsammata*—a name meaning a great personage *chosen by the people* and hence, a *biruda* not a proper name—who is said to have flourished at the dawn of history (*pathama Kappe*). The legendary table runs as follows:

Mahāsammata
|
Roja
|
Vararoja
|
Kalyāṇa
|
Varakalyāṇa
|
Uposatha
|
Mandhātā
|
Varamandhātā
|
Cara
|
Upacara

1. *A. I. H. T.*, p. 39.
2. XXI, 18; *Vedic Index*, II, p. 380; The *Anukramaṇī* of the *Ṛg-Veda* ascribes one hymn (X. 179) to him: *Ibid*, I, p. 103.
3. Pargiter, *A. I. H. T.*, p. 264. They are the Śivas of the *Ṛgveda* VII, 18, 7, whom the *Vedic Index*, II, pp. 381-2, identifies with the Siboi of the Greeks, who dwelt between the Indus and the Akesines (Asiknī) in Alexander's time.
4. J., IV, pp. 401 *ff*. *Cf*. his extollation in *MBH*., III, 197.
5. The *Mahābhārata*, III, 196, 207 etc., has a different fable: See *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, (N. S.) IV, p. 126, while in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, II, 14, 5, it is king Alarka, and not Sivi, who gives away his eyes to a Brāhmaṇa.
6. Other Sivi kings are mentioned: J., V. pp. 210 *ff*; VI, pp. 480 *ff*.
7. J., II, p. 311; III, p. 454; *Cf*. Hardy, *Manual of Buddhism*, 128-40 *ff*. Rockhill, *Life of Buddha*, pp. 7, 9.

The table, of course, has no historical value, since none of the names, except Mandhātā and Upacara, is known to the *Purāṇas*, or to *Vedic* Literature. The *Mandhātu Jātaka*[1] glorifies him in all the mysterious colours familiar to the *Jātakas*, only to bring him to an unhappy end, which was the result of his unsatiate greed 'the root of all pains'. Leaving aside the mysterious career of his victories in heaven, this much impression we may keep with advantage, that he was remembered as a *Cakkavatti*, a king who had wide conquests to his credit. This is confirmed by the *Paurāṇic* evidence, which makes him the son of Yuvanāśva and the father of Mucukunda.[2] Moreover, we know that eulogistic ballads in praise of him were sung in those days and are preserved in the *Purāṇas*.[3] Our *Jātaka* also, not unsurprizingly, shares the credit of preserving a verse of these ballads. The *gāthā* runs as follows :

> "*Yāvatā Candimasūriyā (pariharanti)*
> *disā bhanti Visecamānā*
> *Sabbe va dāsā Mandhātu*
> *(ye) pāṇā paṭhavinissitā.*"[4]

The *Paurāṇic* parallel is :

> "*Yāvat sūryasya udayo*
> *yavadastamanaṁ bhavet*
> *sarvaṁ tad yauvanāśvasya*
> *Māndhātuh kṣtramucyate.*"[5]

We should place Mandhātā above Mucalinda, if our identification of the latter with Mucukunda of the *Purāṇas* be accepted as correct.

AJJUNA. He is the great *Paurāṇic* king Arjuna Kārtavīrya, the greatest of the Haihayas. He is regarded as both a *cakravartin* and a *samrāṭ*.[6] Evidently he was a great conqueror.[7]

The *Jātakas* mention him in several places. The topic in connection with which he is mentioned is, in one place,[8] the performance of sacrifices and the giving of gifts to the Brāhmaṇas—where he is extolled along with Sagara, Bhagīratha, Dilīpa and others—and elsewehre[9] that of sinning against holy sages and consequent destruction—where on the other hand, he is associated with Kalābu, Nālikira and Daṇḍaki.

1. J., II, pp. 311-313.
2. *Viṣṇu P.*, IV, 2 ; *Vāyu P.*, 88, 68 ; Pargiter, *A. I. H. T.*, pp. 39-40. 261-2 "He was a very famous king, a *Cakravartin* and a *Samrāṭ* and extended his sway very widely, over Kānyakubja and the Pauravas right up to Gāndhāra." He is also mentioned in the *Ṛg-Veda* and the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* ; *Vedic Index*, II. pp. 132-3. He is referred to also in many an epigraphic record as an ideal king : See for instance *Gupta Inscriptions*, pp. 146, 149.
3. Pargiter, *op. cit.*, p. 25. They were sung by the historians of those days—*Purāṇajñas*.
4. J., II, p. 311-G. 22.
5. *MBH.*, VII, 62 ; XII, 29 ; *Vāyu P.*, 88, 68 ; *Viṣṇu P.*, (Wilson's tr.) p. 363 and note ; *A. I. H. T.*, p. 40 and note.
6. Pargiter, *op. cit.*, p. 41.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 151-3 ; 265 *ff.*
8. J., VI, p. 201-G. 872 ; *Cf. Harivaṁśa*, ch. 33, 14-16 ; *MBH.*, *XII*, 49.
9. J., V, pp. 135 ; 143-G. 68, 71 ; 267-G. 94.

Some of the epithets given to him in the *gāthās* deserve notice. As in the *Purāṇas*[1] so in the *Jātaka gāthās*, he is called "*Sahassabāhu*" or thousand-armed. Two of the *gāthās* try to give a rational interpretation for this term, *viz.*, that he was so called because he had the power and strength to wield five-hundred bows together (*vikāsitasa cāpa sataṁ pañca*), or a single bow equal to them (*mahissāso*).[2] It seems much more conceivable, as Pargiter says, that he had the name *Sahasrabāhu.*[3]

Another point to which attention may be drawn is the epithet *'Kekakādhipo'*—the lord of the Kekakas—given to him in a *gāthā* of the *Saṁkicca Jātaka.*[4] The *Paurāṇic* tradition is unanimous in describing him as the ruler of Māhiṣmatī which he wrested from the Karkoṭaka Nāgas and made his fortress-capital.[5] This Māhiṣmatī was, undoubtedly, in the south, whichever identification we may accept.[6] Thus the *Jātakas* would have us believe that the Kekakas or Kekayas lived in or around Māhiṣmatī. This is an important point which needs further orientation. We must hold, then, if we accept the statement of the *Jātaka gāthā* to be creditable, that the Kekayas who are generally connected with the Northern people like the Śivis, the Madras and others[7] migrated, at some period of our history, to the south.[8]

One thing more, in connection with Ajjuna. The *Jātakas* seem to preserve a traditional account of the end of Ajjuna Sahassabāhu. The cause of

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1. *Vāyu P.*, 94, 11, 15 etc. *Matsya P.*, 43, 14 etc. *A. I. H. T.*, p. 76.

2. *Cf.* the commentary on the *gāthā* in the *Bhūridatta Jātaka*, "*Sahassabhāhu ti na tassa bāhusataṁ Sahassaṁ pañcannaṁ pana dhanuggahasatānaṁ bāhusahassena ākaddhitabbena dhanuno ākaddhanaṁ eva evaṁ vutto*"—J., VI, p. 202; also .p 273. See *MBH.*, XIII, 152.—"but he had ordinarily only two at home." In J., V, p. 267, he is styled *atikāyo* and in J. VI, p. 201, *Bhimaseno.* This latter is very interesting in that it preserves the technical epithet from Bhīma, the Pāṇḍava hero, which still survives—'strong like Bhīma.

3. *A. I. H. T.*, p. 76: "This was a name, so also *Sahasrapād.*" See Sorensen's *Index*, *s. v.* Quite a novel interpretation was recently given by Mr. Karandikar of the Narmada-Valley-research fame, in a lecture he delivered at the Indian Historical Research Institute, St. Xavier's College, Bombay, in which he said that the 1000 arms were really 1000 boats given to him (Arjuna) as a present from Datta Ātreya.

4. J., V. p. 267-G 94.

5. Pargiter, *op. cit.*, p. 153 156, 262, 266 etc.

6. The identification of Māhiṣmatī has, uptil now, been a very vexed question. Several scholars have attempted to identify it with various places—Mandhātā, Maheśwara and others. It seems very likely, as Mr. Munshi has shown, that there were several Māhiṣmatīs which came into existence at different times at different places in more or less the same locality, *i.e.* around the Narmadā, and it appears wrong to equate them all. A Māhiṣmatī, said to have been built by Mucukunda, was, as Mr. Munshi says, different from that of the Karkoṭaka Nāgas and of Arjuna Kārtavīrya. This latter was destroyed by Rāma Jāmadagnya in his wrath. In the opinion of the above writer, Māhiṣmatī of Arjuna was somewhere near modern Broach. *I.A.* LI pp. 217-221; Mr. Karandikar however in a paper reported to have been read at the 7th Oriental Conference held at Baroda, locates the city on a small island called Mandhātā in the Narmadā river. For some of the attempts at the identification see Pargiter, *J. R. A. S.*, 1910, pp. 444-7, 867-9.

7. *Vedic Index*, I, pp. 185-6; *A. I. H. T.*, pp. 264, 276; Raychaudhury, *P. H. A. I.* pp. 41-2; also J., VI, p. 280-G. 1228 where the Kekakas are mentioned together with the Pañcālas, Sūrasenas and the Maddas.

8. Raychaudhury, *P. H. A. I.*, p. 42.

his destruction, they say, was that he sinned against, (*aparajjitvā* : *āsajja*) nay, killed outright (*heṭhayitvā*),[1] a holy sage Aṅgirasa, also named Gotama,[2] or more correctly, Aṅgirasa Gotama,[3] who was so forgiving (*khantī*), austere (*tapassī*) and a life-long celibate (*cirabrahmacārī*).[4] It seems illusive to try to discover a real personal name of the sage, for both Aṅgirasa and Gotama are either patronymic or *gotra* names.[5] And moreover there are instancess of sages with personal names who were both Aṅgīrasas and Gotamas.[6] So that it is quite impossible for us to know from this *gotra*-medley which Aṅgirasa Gotama the *Jātaka-gāthā*-compiler meant.[7]

Be that as it may, our main purpose was to see whether there was any sameness in the *Jātaka* and *Paurāṇic* traditions as regards Arjuna Kārtavīrya's end. The Paurāṇic tradition, as we know, says that he was killed by Rāma Jāmadagnya.[8] The cause given is, sometimes,[9] that Arjuna or his sons raided Jamadagni's hermitage, ill-treated him and carried off his calf, but more often the authorities state as the cause the curse of a holy sage named Āpava Vasiṣṭha whose charming hermitage near the Himalayas Arjuna burnt and destroyed.[10] And it is precisely here that we have to look for the much sought for agreement between the two traditions. It seems needless now to go further into details.[11] Suffice it to note that the *Jātakas* preserve a faint remembrance of Arjuna's conflict with the Brāhmaṇas, be they Bhārgavas or others, and his consequent death at the hands of the terrible Paraśurāma—our Yāmadaggi named in the '*group-gāthās*' cited above.[12] The curse cannot be taken in any other light than as a priestly or a moralist's feat of imagination so familiar to Indian mind.

2. LATER KINGS AND TRADITIONS ABOUT THEM (1400-1200 B.C.)

In the preceding part of this chapter on the Ancient Period, we spoke something about those traditional ancient kings who are mentioned in the *gāthās* alone, but, with two or three exceptions, are not treated separately in the prose portions of the *Jātakas*. This fact makes us believe in their higher antiquity, for by the time these verses were composed, say about the

1. "*Heṭhayitvā*" means, according to the Commentator, piercing by a poisoned arrow. He gives a story. The king once went on a hunting, and stopped at a secluded place in search of a deer. Not very far, the sage was plucking up fruits from a tree for eating. Seeing him the deer did not venture to come near. The king was angry with the sage and shot at him a poisoned arrow which pierced the poor sage outright and felled him from the tree." J., V, p. 145.
2. J., V, p. 135. *Ibid.*, p. 267-G. 94.
3. *Ibid.*, pp., 143-4-G. 71.
4. *Ibid.*
5. That there were definite families which were both Aṅgīrasa and Gotama, is clear from the *Vedic* and the *Paurāṇic* evidence, See for instance, *Vedic Index*, II, p. 235 ; Pargiter, *op. cit.*, pp. 157-161, 218 etc.
6. For instance Rāhugaṇa the *purohita* of Māthava Videgha, mentioned in the *Ṛgveda*, I, 78, 5 and the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* I, 4, 1, 10 *et seq.* *Ved. Ind.*, I. p. 235 ; Pargiter, *op. cit.* p. 224. Dīrghatamas, also a Vedic singer, was both an Aṅgīrasa and a Gotama : *Ved. Ind.* I. p. 366 ; Pargiter, *op. cit.*, pp. 157-9 ; 218 *ff.*
7. *Cf.* for this *Gotra*-confusion in the *Purāṇas*, Pargiter, *op. cit.* p. 190.
8. Pargiter, *A. I. H. T.*, p. 267.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 153 ; *Cf. Harṣacarita, Ch. III.*
10. *Matsya P.*, 43, 41-3 ; *Harivaṁśa*, 33 ; *MBH.* XII, 49 ; Pargiter *op. cit.*, pp. 153, 206.
11. The misfortune is that here again Āpava Vasiṣṭha is not a personal name but a patronymic : *Cf.* Pargiter, *op. cit.*, p. 206.
12. Kauṭilya names Arjuna, among others, as one who perished for being so haughty as to despise all people : *Arthaśāstra*, I, 6.

6th or 5th century B. C. or even before, those mighty kings of yore had evidently been reduced to mere names. Nothing definite about them could then be remembered except of course some exaggerated tales.

Now we take up those kings and princes who are both mentioned in the *gāthās* and treated in details in the prose portions and who in point of time come later.

RĀMA DĀSARATHI.

The first among these to be noticed is Rāma. His story is told in the *Dasaratha Jātaka.*[1] It agrees as far as it goes substantially with that given in the *Rāmāyaṇa.* But it also differs from the latter in some vital points.

It is not possible, nor is it necessary for our purpose, to go into minute details about the two versions. But some of the more prominent points of difference may here be noticed.

(*a*) According to our *Jātaka,* Daśaratha was a king of Benares and not of Ayodhyā. This may be explained as, perhaps, due to the general tendency of the *Jātakas* of showing special favour to that city.

(*b*) By his eldest queen, whose name is not given, he had two sons, Rāma Paṇḍita and Lakkhaṇa-Kumāra and a daughter named Sītādevī.

(*c*) After the death of his eldest queen, the king took another wife (name not given), who bore him a son named Bharatakumāra.

(*d*) The palace-intrigue is substantially the same, but here the king, fearing some mischief from the queen, asks his sons to go to a neighbouring kingdom or woodland and live there as long as he himself is alive (the period of 12 years is then settled by the soothsayers) and then return and take charge of the kingdom.

(*e*) The exiled princes, Rāma and Lakkhaṇa, together with their *sister* Sītā, go to the Himalayas, and not in the south, though, as we shall see in another place, a *gāthā* indicates its knowledge of the epic association of Rāma with the Daṇḍaka forest in the south.

(*f*) Lakkhaṇa and Sītā come back to Kāsī before the expiry of the full term (at the end of 9 years), Rāma remaining in the forest to complete it.

(*g*) At the expiration of the full term Rāma returns, marries his *sister* Sītā and assumes the crown.

These are some of the most divergent points in the *Dasaratha Jātaka*. Naturally, the question arises: why and how this difference? Does the *Jātaka* present an older form of the Rāma story, and if so, is it the source of the *Rāmāyaṇa?* This intricate problem has been agitating the minds of scholars who have been in the field, ever since the *Jātaka* was brought to light by D'Alwis in 1866.[2] The discussion resolved into three main theories, *viz.*

1. J., IV, pp. 124-30.

2. Referred to by Weber in his article "*Ueber das Rāmāyaṇa*", translated by Rev. D. C. Boyd; *I. A.*, I, pp. 120 *ff.* The *Jātaka* was critically edited with an English translation by Fousböll in 1871.

(*a*) The *Dasaratha Jātaka is* an older version and the source of the *Rāmāyaṇa.*

(*b*) It *is* an older version but *not* the only source of the *Rāmāyaṇa.*

(*c*) It is *neither* an older version *nor* a source of the *Rāmāyaṇa.*

It was natural for those who attempted to solve this problem earlier, *viz.* D'Alwis,[1] Weber,[2] and Burnell,[3] to see in the *Jātaka* an older version of the *Rāmāyaṇa.*

The first view has had no sufficient backing. Weber,[4] who partly held the second view, said that an ancient Buddhist saga of the pious prince Rāma which glorified him as an ideal of Buddhist equanimity was, later on, cast into a different form by the skilful hand of Vālmīki. He was followed by Sen,[5] and Grierson,[6] who upheld the same view with the help of fresh material. But this view again has not been able to stand against the severe attacks from Jacobi,[7] Luders[8] Keith,[9] and Utgikar,[10] who hold the opposite view, *viz.*, that the *Jātaka* prose version of the Rāma story presents a later and more confused form of the legend than the *Rāmāyaṇa.*[11] As regards the *gāthās* occuring in the *Jātaka,* Utgikar[12] has subjected them to a searching analysis and has shown that none of the four *gāthās,* which have any narrative application out of the total thirteen, seems to be the fore-runner of the *Rāmāyaṇic śloka.* Whether we accept this conclusion or not, the fact that some of the striking similarities,[13] literal or otherwise, still remain unexplained, holds good. And after all has been said, our faith in the priority of the *Jātaka* version has not, we must admit, been shaken. On the whole, we may stand with Prof. Winternitz, who seems to hold a much sounder view[14], *viz.*, that at the time when the *Tipiṭaka* came into being (in the 4th and the 3rd cent. B.C.) there were ballads dealing with Rāma, prehaps a cycle of such ballads, but no Rāma Epic as yet which was only created later on by Vālmīki who utilised those very ballads.[15]

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1. *Ibid.*
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 120 *ff.*
3. *Ibid.*, pp. 57-8 while reviewing Fousböll's edition of the *Jātakas.*
4. *Ibid.*, pp. 120 *ff.*
5. *The Bengal Rāmāyaṇa,* pp. 7. *ff.*
6. *J. R. A. S.*, 1922, pp. 135 *ff ;* while reviewing Sen's work.
7. *Das Rāmāyaṇa, Geschichte und Inhalt,* Bonn. 1893, pp. 84 *ff.*
8. *N. G. G. W.*, 1897, 1, pp. 40 *ff.*
9. *J. R. A. S.*, 1915, p. 323.
10. *Ibid., Centenary Supplement,* 1924, pp. 203 *ff.*
11. Is it not more probable, on the contrary, that the more confused the form, the more is it antiquated, and the more refined a work, the later is it in time ?
12. *Op. cit.*, pp. 207 *ff.*
13. Besides the apparent agreement of the 5th and the last *gāthās* with the *Rāmāyaṇic ślokas,* I can read some sameness, may it not be literal, of other *gāthās* also. Thus G2nd—Rā.. II, 106, 2; 6th—Rā., II, 105, 19-24 ; 8th—Rā., II, 105, 28 ; 10th—Rā., II, 105, 27 ; 11th—Rā, II, 105, 38-39.
14. *History of Indian Literature,* I, pp. 509-10.
15. One more remark of a scholar may be noted : "It rather puzzles me that while the equally late and much tampered with *Kāvya* version of the really ancient *Rāmāyaṇic* tradition is passed by scholars, the *Jātaka,* a Buddhist version, which, from the standpoint of historical criticism, is a much sounder source, should be viewed with unmitigated scepticism." S. C. Sarkar, *Some Aspects of the Earliest Social History of India.* 1928, Intro., p. ix note.

However, leaving aside this controversial matter, let us take the *Jātaka* material as a whole and see what it has to say about Rāma. Besides the *Dasaratha Jātaka* noticed above, there are two other allusions to Rāma, one in a *gāthā* of the *Jayaddisa Jātaka*,[1] and the other in a *gāthā* of the *Vessantara Jātaka*[2]...The former says that Rāma's mother won salvation for her son who was absent in the Daṇḍaka forest :

"As Rāma's fair-limbed mother won
Salvation for her absent son,
When woods of Daṇḍaka he sought,
So for my child is freedom wrought."

The latter is spoken by Maddī, Vessantara's wife :—

"I am a banisht prince's wife,
A prince of glory fame :
As Sītā did for Rāma
So I for my husband care."

Here the relation between Rāma and Sītā, even at the time of their exile, is clearly suggested as being that of husband and wife, and not that of brother and sister, though the Commentator, it is worthy of note, with a surprisingly uniformity, naively holds the latter view even here.[3]

Such divergences in the body of the *Jātakas* themselves, puzzling as they are, make it really difficult for us to say 'how much', as a learned scholar remarked, 'the uncertain drift of irresponsible tradition has to do with this process of distortion.'[4]

LOMAPĀDA

Lomapāda, the *Paurāṇic* King of Aṅga, is mentioned in a *Gāthā* of the *Bhūridatta Jātaka*[5] which says of him as follows :

"*Yassānubhāvena Subhoga Gaṅgā*
Pavattatha dadhisaññaṁ samuddaṁ
sa Loampādo paricariya-m-aggiṁ
Aṅgo sahassakkhapurajjhagañchi."

1. J., V, p. 29-G. 80. It is put in the mouth of the Buddha, a fact which may be taken by some to lower its value in this connection.
2. J., VI, p. 557-G. 2224.
3. J., VI, p. 538.
4. See the bitter remarks of Mr. Bhatakrishna Ghosh, *I. H. Q.*, V, p. 158, while reviewing the jain *Padmapurāṇa*. Whether that is really distortion we cannot definitely say. The *Dasaratha Jātaka* has its resemblance in many a Far-Eastern version of the story, *cf.* Lévi, *Bulletin l'ecole Française d'Extréme Órient* III, p. 741 ; Hüber, *Ibid.*, IV, pp. 698 *ff.*
5. J., VI, p. 203-G. 877.

By whose power the Ganges swelled to the curd-like ocean, he, Lomapāda, the Aṅga,[1] giving offerings to the fire went to the world of Sahasrākṣa *i.e.*, Indra.

Lomapāda is a familiar personage in the Epics,[2] and the *Purāṇas*,[3] all of which agree that he was the king of Aṅga. As to his being a contemporary with Daśaratha of Ayodhyā, *Rāmāyaṇa*,[4] is quite clear, while the *Purāṇas*,[5] at least suggest it. It is this testimony that lead us to place Lomapāda side by side with Rāma. The connection of Lomapāda with Ṛṣyaśṛṅga, the sage, is not brought out in the *Jātakas*, though they know the sage quite intimately as seen from the *Alambusā*,[6] and *Nalinikā Jātakas*.[7]

CECCA UPACARA-APACARA.

The *Cetiya Jātaka*,[8] after giving the legendary dynastic list of kings who preceded Upacara or Apacara of Ceti (Cedi),[9] goes on to relate his story in detail. The prose portion in the beginning speaks of him in a mythical strain, as is naturally to be expected. The story then has it that Upacara had a Brāhmaṇa *purohita* named Kapila, whose younger brother Korakalambaka was his class-mate. While a prince, Upacara had made a promise to his class-mate that he would make him his *purohita* when he would ascend to the throne of Ceti. But he could not keep his promise as he was not able to remove the old *purohita* Kapila. Kapila, afterwards, turned out an ascetic and managed to place his own son in his office. The king however tried to fulfill his promise by telling a lie, despite the oft-repeated warnings of the old ascetic Kapila, with the result that he had to go to the Avici hell. And so this ancient *gāthā* :—

"Cursed by a sage, Cecca,
Who once, could tread the air, they say,
Was lost and swallowed
By the earth on his appointed day."[10]

We may dismiss the foregoing story as a fabrication on the part of the story-teller. But in the above *gāthā*, old as it seems to be, and in the prose passage that follows, we have to look for something traditionally historical.

1. Cowell and Rouse, perhaps by following the commentator, wrongly translate this as 'Aṅga, Kāsī's lord': Cambridge edition, J. VI, p. 108. The Commentator seems generally prone to describe Kāsī as the kingdom to whatever king he may come across whose identity is otherwise not given in the original.
2. *Rāmāyaṇa*, I, 9-11; *MBH.*, III, 110-113.
3. *e.g.*, *Viṣṇu P.*, IV, 18.
4. I, 11 3.
5. *Cf.* Wilson, *Viṣṇu P.*, p. 445 and note. Out of the confusion with regard to the relation of Śantā, they wrongly equate Daśaratha and Lomapāda.
6. J., V. pp. 152 *ff.* His epithet '*Kassapa*' is known—*Ibid.*, pp. 157-G. 118; 159-G. 129.
7. J. V, pp. 193 *ff.* H. Lüders, *N. G G. W.*, 1897, pp 1 *ff.* 1901, pp. 1 *ff.* has analysed the Ṛṣyaśṛṅga story as occurring in these two *Jātakas* and compared it with its different versions in India Literature. His conclusion is that the *Jātakas* preserve a more ancient form of the story, because in the Buddhist story, it was the Princess, and not the courtesans as stated in the epic, that seduced and brought over the sage from the forest, this being, as Lüders thinks, the orignal trait of the story.
8. J., III, pp. 454-61.
9. *Supra.*
10. J., III, p. 460-G. 58; repeated at J., V. p. 267-G. 98.

The identity of this Cecca Upacara with the *Paurāṇic* Caidya Uparicara Vasu has long since been recognised.[1] That Upacara ruled at Soṭṭhivatīnagara is in full agreement with the *Mahābārata*,[2] which names Vasu's capital as Śūktimatī or Śūktisāhvaya. This latter stood on the river of the same name identified by Pargiter,[3] with the modern Ken, thus locating itself in the neighbourhood of Banda.[4]

The *Jātaka* statement that Cecca could tread the air is only in keeping with the latter-day misunderstanding of the title "*Caidyoparicara*" which means simply, as rightly pointed out by Pargiter,[5] "the overcomer of the Caidyas," and which he obtained after conquering the kingdom of Cedī which belonged to the Yādavas.

Further, the *Mahābhārata*,[6] admirably supports our *Jātaka* in stating that Vasu Uparicara sank down into *Rasātala* by telling a lie, meaning thereby that he met an unhappy end.

Let us turn finally to the last prose passage in the *Jātaka*. It informs us that the five sons of King Upacara founded five different kingdoms on the advice of the same old Kapila.[7] This fact is corroborated by the evidence furnished by the *Mahābhārata*,[8] and the *Purāṇas*,[9] which also give the names of those five sons not remembered by the *Jātaka*. They were Bṛhadratha, Pratyagraha, Kuśāṁba surnamed Maṇivāhana, Yadu or Lalittha or Matsya and Māvella.[10] According to the *Jātaka*, the five sons founded respectively the five cities, *viz.*, Hatthipura in the East, Assapura in the South, Sīhapura in the West, Uttarapañcāla in the North and Daddarapura in the North-West. We cannot ascertain how much truth there is in the account. It is also difficult to identify correctly the places mentioned. Hatthipura may however be taken to represent Hastināpura traditionally identified with an old town in Mawāṇā tahsil, Meerut.[11] Sīhapura may represent the Seng-ho-pu-lo or Singhapura of Yuan Chwang, situated at 117 miles to the east of Taxila.[12] Assapura, again, may possibly be the same as mentioned in the *Majjhima Nikāya*[13]

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1. Raychaudhury, *P. H A. I.*, pp. 91-2; Pradhan, *Chronology of Ancient India*, pp. 63 *ff*; Law, *Ancient Mid-Indian Kṣatriya Tribes*, I p. 96. Some are inclined to identify him with Kaśu Caidya of the *Ṛgveda*, VIII, 5, 37 : Rapson in *C. H. I.*, I, p. 309 note.
2. I, 63; III, 22; XIV, 83; *Cf.*, De, *Geographical Dictionary*, p. 196
3. *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, p. 359.
4. *Ibid.*
5. *A. I. H. T.*, p. 118. See the Epic and *Paurāṇic* references to this misunderstood idea of treading the air—'*antalikkacaro pure*' given in the footnote by Pargiter, *Ibid.*
6. XII, 338.
7. J., III, pp. 460-1.
8. I, 62.
9. *Viṣṇu P.*, for instance, IV, 19.
10. Pargiter, *A. I. H. T.*, p. 118; Pradhan, *op. cit.*, pp. 63-4.
11. Law, *Geography of Early Buddhism*, p. 24.
12. *Ibid.*, A Singhapura is identified by Jayaswal, *History of India*, 150-350 *A.D.*, pp. 89 *ff*, with Jalandhara.
13. I, 4, 9-10. Here it is a city in the country of Aṅga.

and the *Mahābhārata*.[1] Uttarapañcāla is of course well-known, corresponding roughly to Bareilly, Budaon, Farrukhābād and the adjoining districts of the United Provinces.[2] Daddarapura may be taken to represent a place somewhere in the present Dārdistān as we have tried to show elsewhere.[3] If these identifications be correct, they would seem to refer to the kingdoms of Kuru, Gandhāra, Aṅga, Pañcāla and Nāga kingdom,[4] respectively. According to the Paurāṇic account, Bṛhadratha took Magadha, and founded the famous Bṛhadratha dynasty, Kuśāmba had Kauśāmbī, Pratyagraha may have taken Cedi. and Yādava Karūṣa while the fifth kingdom was probably Matsya.[5] Whatever the difference, due credit must be paid to the *Jātaka* for preserving, though in a mythical garb, faint traces of traditional recollection about Vasu Caidya Uparicara and the founding of different kingdoms by his sons. Its ignorance of real fact may only prove the antiquity of the happenings of the remote past.

After Upacara, the Ceti country seems to have sunk into unimportance, since with Bṛhadratha, the eldest son of Vasu, according to the *Purāṇas*, Magadha takes a prominent place in traditional history.[6] Subsequently as will be shown, Ceti underwent a constitutional change when it became a republic.[7]

THE PĀṆḌAVAS.

The text of the *Kuṇāla Jātaka*,[8] the only *Jātaka* which gives us a version of the Pāṇḍava story, is quite unsatisfactory. It is almost impossible, in many places, to distinguish between the various portions of the *Jātaka*. We cannot ascertain which portions belong to the '*atītavatthu*' proper and which to the commentary or the '*paccuppannavatthu*'. Both the *gāthā*, which names the five Pāṇḍavas, and the prose portion which relates the story in detail are, in Fousböll's edition, printed in smaller types, which fact, according to the general method followed in that edition, would assign these passages to the commentarial portions. But looking minutely into the context, a distinction might possibly be made. Thus the *gāthā* which is preceded by the phrase : '*bhavati ca pan uttaretha vākyaṁ*'—'here too we have a further verse—: should be taken, as we believe, to have been a part of the '*atītavatthu*' proper. While the prose portion which relates the story in detail should be relegated to the commentarial portion, since it only repeats at length, that is comments upon, that which has already been said before. This latter procedure has been resorted to also in respect to other stories of the same type occurring in the same *Jātaka*.

1. II, 27, 20. In later period it was a seat of a feudatory dynasty of the Vākātakas : See Jayaswal, *History of India*, 150-350 A. D., pp. 89 *ff*.
2. Raychaudhuiy, *op. cit.*, p. 47.
3. See *Infra*, under Geographical Lexicon.
4. See J., III, pp. 16-7, where the Daddara Nāgas are mentioned.
5. Pargiter, *op. cit.*, p. 118.
6. Pargiter, *op. cit.*, p. 282.
7. See J., VI, pp. 480 *ff*; where we hear of *Cetirājāno*—the kings of Ceti, evidently meaning an oligarchical state.
8. J., V. pp. 412 *ff*.

viz., those of Saccatapāvī, Kākātī and Kuraṅgavī.[1] This however does not take away the value that attaches to the novel version of the story before us.

Let us then examine the story as it is. The *Gāthā* says :—

"*Ath Ajjuno Nakulo Bhīmaseno*
Yudhiṭṭhilo Sahadevo ca rājā
ete patī pañca-m-aticca nārī
Akāsi khujjavāmanena pāpaṁ ti".[2]

The lady, named Kaṇhā just above the *gāthā*,[3] says the *gāthā*, not content with the five husbands sinned with a hunchbacked man. This incident is then further explained in the prose portion. Kaṇhā was the posthumous daughter of a king of Kosala who had been killed in a battle and whose pregnant queen had been carried away by a certain Brahmadatta of Kāsī. They arranged a *svayaṁvara* or choice marraige for her in Benares. Just at that time the five sons of King Pāṇḍu, Ajjuna, Nakula, Bhīmasena, Yudhiṭṭhila and Sahadeva, who had completed their education at Takkasilā and who were now travelling about the country, came to Benares. They attended the *Svayaṁvara* and Kaṇhā chose all of them as her husbands. Now, sometime after she fell in love with her hunchbacked servant. This unchasteness, disloyalty and depravity of hers were exposed by the eldest prince Ajjuna, whereupon the five brothers in sheer disgust renounced the world to pass their remaining lives in the Himālayas.

This is, in short, the life-history of the Pāṇḍavas according to the *Jātaka*. It is in singular contrast with the story as given in the *Mahābhārata*, or for the matter of that, in the whole range of Hindu Literature and tradition.

As we said above, this detailed story appears to be a fabrication, or, may be, a corruption of the original, by the commentator of the 5th or the 6th century A. D. The principal aim of the story teller is here to show the feminine depravity. It is true. But why and how did he fall upon this particular instance—this Kaṇhā who is one of the most magnificent characters in the whole of the Epic and later literature—is utterly inexplicable.[4] That she was married to the five Pāṇḍavas may be taken to be a *fait accompli,* in as much as it is in perfect agreement with the Epic and Tradition. But there is, at least as far as we can see, not an inkling, or even a concealed suggestion of her unchastity in the whole range of Hindu Tradition. Had she really been so, as the *Jātaka* depicts her, the fact would, anyhow, have leaked out, try however the Epic writers might to conceal it. The libel is really malicious, may be an outcome of blissful ignorance of facts.

1. J., V, pp. 427-30.
2. *Ibid*, p. 424-G. 288.
3. The *Jātaka* knows and uses this original and real name of the lady—Kaṇhā-Kṛṣṇā—but does not know her by the famous epithet Draupadī, daughetr of King Drupada or Pāñcālī, the woman of Pañcāla. Kṛṣṇā is the real name in the Epic also.
4. The reason, to our imagination, seems to have been this. The *Jātaka* compiler in the 4th or 5th century A.D. in his enthusiasm, misguided though, to hurl down his wrath against womankind, caught hold of Kaṇhā, thinking that a woman who had married five husbands could never in the world be chaste or loyal. He had evidently no genuine recollection of facts and was influenced by later day explanations and Buddhist morality. And he created the hunchbacked servant.

Two other glaring descrepancies are : (*a*) the education of the five Pāṇḍavas at Takkasilā and (*b*) the Kāsī-Kosala incident and the consequent double parentage (*dvepetikā*) of Kaṇhā. Both of these can be accounted for as due to the general tendency of the *Jātakas* to bring in, wherever they like, Takkasilā and Benares—traits which were common for the *Mahājanapada Period* that preceded the Buddha and which produced these stories.

The fact that the *gāthā* makes Ajjuna the eldest brother may have some significance.[1] It may not have been a fact. But the early heroic bard, most probably, considered Ajjuna as a type of hero and had, therefore, given him the first place he deserved. The same idea was perhaps taken up in the *gāthā*.

The most valuable support that the *Jātaka* gives to the Epic account is in stating that Kaṇhā married the five Pāṇḍavas. It was a fact, though the *Jātaka* may try in its own way to justify it as does the Epic itself.[2] It seems futile and sentimental weakness now to try to deny or justify and explain the simple fact of an ancient family custom of polyandry. That the Pāṇḍavas belonged to a different family, or rather a tribe, at a level of culture lower than that of the Kurus or the Pañcālas is a fact difficult to deny.[3] It would be much wiser in the interests of Truth to face and recognise the fact.

Finally, the *Jātaka* does not make any reference to the Great War or to the connection of the Pāṇḍavas with Vāsudeva Kṛṣṇa or to the death of Jarāsandha.[4]

VASUDEVA KAṆHA AND KAMSA.

There is nothing in the *Jātakas* themselves, it is true, that can support us in our attempt to speak of Kaṇha and Kaṁsa just after the Pāṇḍavas. Our attempt is due therefore to an inclination to accept the *Paurāṇic* traditional genealogy as worked out by Pargiter[5] to be plausible, if not absolutely correct.

1. Siddhanta, *The Heroic Age of India*, *p.* 66 note.
2. *Cf.* Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature*, I. pp. 337-8 and note.
3. See Hopkins, *J. A. O. S.*, 13, pp. 64-6 ; *Great Epic of India*, pp. 376-397 ; *Religions of India*, pp. 388, 466-7 ; Siddahnta, *op. cit.*, 24-27, 122, 220 *etc.* "The shadowy figure of Pāṇḍu, the birth in the forest, the unknown parentage, the custom of polyandry—all these would go to suggest the foreign origin of the Pāṇḍus." *Ibid.* Dr. Raychaudhury's attempt to justify his opposition does not carry much weight. That Patañjali calls the Pāṇḍus as Kurus or that *Niyoga* is known to be an ancient Hindu custom and is not far from Polyandry, are weak arguments : See *P. H. A. I.*, pp. 25-6 ; *Early History of the Vaiṣṇava Sect*, pp. 26-7, *Pāṇḍava* occurs in a *Jātaka* II, 98-99-G. 65, as the name of a horse. Does it signify anything ?
4. Whether Kṛṣṇa was really connected with the Pāṇḍavas, in any way, is doubtful. See Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature*, I, p. 457 and note. But the story of Heracles and Pandias narrated by Greek writers undoubtedly proves the antiquity of the tradition regarding this connection. *Cf.* Raychaudhury, *Early History of the Vaiṣṇava Sect*, p. 45.
5. *A. I. H. T.*, pp. 148, 166, 282-4. About the relation between Kṛṣṇa and the Pāṇḍavas. *Cf.* Winternitz, *op. cit.*, I, p. 457 note : "It seems to me however that the warrior Kṛṣṇa, not the God Kṛṣṇa is too closely bound up with the main narrative for the Epic to be imaginable entirely without him." See also S. L. Katre "Kṛṣṇa and Jarsāsndha," *I. H. Q.*, VIII, p. 500.

Our source here of the history of Kaṇha and Kaṁsa is chiefly the *Ghaṭa Jātaka.*[1] The main purpose of the *Jātaka* as related here is assuredly to show the uselessness of wailing after death. It is quite natural, therefore, that at the end of the story it should, as it really does, come to a point where this sentiment is exemplified. And the major prose portion of the story, thus, devotes itself to the main theme—the legend of Kṛṣṇa and Kaṁsa—while it is only towards the end that the *gāthās* embodying the above sentiment are introduced. These *gāthās,* though they may have otherwise some significance, have no direct bearing upon the main story told before, and are practically of no use to us to glean out something historical or traditional from them. So that we are left solely to the prose portion to extract whatever material we can for our purpose. This may, however, appear to discount the value of our results, but, as we shall presently see, on comparing it with other data, it would appear to preserve, substantially, a correct version of the tratition about Kṛṣṇa and Kaṁsa. Let us then turn to the story itself.

King Mahākaṁsa, who ruled in the city of Asitañjanā in the Kaṁsa district (Kaṁsabhoga) in the Uttarāpatha, had two sons named Kaṁsa and Upakaṁsa and a daughter Devagabbhā. After his death, he was succeeded by Kaṁsa, Upakaṁsa becoming the viceroy. When Devagabbhā was born it was prophesised that a son born of her would destroy the Kaṁsa line together with the Kaṁsa country. Mahākaṁsa, her father, could not put her to death out of affection for her and when Kaṁsa came to the throne, he too could not think of doing so for fear of a general outcry of condemnation from the people. So having resolved not to give her in marriage to anyone, the two brothers put her in a solitary tower built for the purpose. She was given two attendants—Nandagopā and her husband Andhakaveṇhu. At that very time, after the decease of King Mahāsāgara of Uttara Madhurā, his elder son Sāgara succeeded him, the younger Upasāgara becoming the viceroy. This Upasāgara fled from his brother's Kingdom where he had intrigued in the harem, and came to his old friend Upakaṁsa. There, in Asitañjanā, he again began to pay stealthy visits to Devagabbhā in her solitary prison. The lady was easily won over by him. By and by it became known that she was big with child and Nandagopā was compelled to relate the whole story before the two brothers who then thought, that if she gave birth to a son, they would at once put him to death, and if it was a daughter she should be spared. With this decision they married Devagabbhā to Upasāgara, 'the discredited young prince from Madhurā'. A daughter was born to them and was named Añjanā. The two brothers now allotted to the pair an estate—a village (*bhogagāma*) named Govaddhamāna where they settled. In course of time Devagabbhā bore ten sons successively—Vāsudeva, Baladeva, Candadeva, Suriyadeva, Aggideva, Varuṇadeva, Ajjana, Pajjana, Ghaṭapaṇḍita and Aṅkura. They all were managed to pass as Nandagopā's sons, and the ten daughters of Nandagopā similarly passed as the dauhgters of Devagabbhā.

1. J., IV, pp. 79-89. The Kṛṣṇa story as reflected here has been examined with a view to compare it with other sources by Jacobi, *Z. D. M. G.* 42 pp. 493 *ff;* Hardy, *ibid.*, 53, pp. 25-50, Lüders *ibid*, 58, pp. 6 87 *ff.* and Winternitz, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 471-2 and note, to all of whom our best respects are due.

The ten brothers, now known as the sons of Andhakaveṇhu, grew big and strong and fierce and ferocious withal, they went about plundering. King Kaṁsa came to know of these plundering raids. The real identity was then disclosed and Kaṁsa devised a plan to put an end to them. He invited the two brothers, Vāsudeva and Baladeva, to a wrestling fight. The two came to the place making havoc all the way through. Baladeva easily put the two royal wrestlers, Cānūra and Muṭṭhika to death, and Vāsudeva killled Kaṁsa and his brother by throwing a wheel. The crowd which had gathered to witness the performance was terrified and at once accepted Vāsudeva as their protector.

Then began the career of conquest. The ten brothers first of all surrounded the city of Ayojja, cleared the jungle around it and took the king, Kālasena, prisoner. From Ayojjā they proceeded to Dvāravatī. Now, this was a wonderous city. On one side of it there was a mountain and on another the sea. Being unable to capture it they took the advice of sage Kaṇhadīpāyana who was their friend. They fixed four iron pillars at the four gates of the city and clumped them with chains of iron. Thus enabled they entered the city, killed its king and captured the country. After this they conquered three and sixty thousand cities all over India and then lived at Dvāravatī dividing the kingdom in ten shares. At the generous suggestion of the youngest Aṅkura, his share was conferred upon lady Añjanā. In course of time their parents died.

Then died one dearly-loved son of King Vāsudeva. The king, overwhelmed with grief, gave himself up to mourning, neglecting everything. Then Ghaṭapaṇḍita, wishing to relieve him, made a trick. He said he wanted 'the hare within the moon'. 'This was absurd,' pointed out Vāsudeva. Ghaṭa, then, showed with wise sayings, that his mourning too was futile. Thus consoled, Vāsudeva Mahārājā ruled the kingdom righteously.

After a long time the sons of the ten brothers visited Kaṇhadīpāyana of divine insight (*dibbacakkhuka*) to test him. They procured a young lad and dressed him up and by binding a pillow about his belly, made it appear as though he were big with child. "When, Sir, will this woman be delivered?" they asked. The sage perceived everything. He replied, "this man on the 7th day from now will bring forth a knot of accacia wood (*khadiraghaṭikā*) with which he will destroy the line of Vāsudeva." "Ah, false ascetic!" said they, "a man can never bring forth a child," and they killed the sage at once.

Some time after, the kings proposed to enjoy a sport in the water. In a gorgeous pavillion they sat, ate and drank. They began to go quarrelsome and divided themselves into two groups. At last one of them picked a leaf from the *eraka* plant, which, even as he plucked it, became a club of accacia wood in his hand. With this he beat many people. Then the others also did the same, and cudgelling one another they all were killed. Vāsudeva, Baladeva and sister Añjanā fled in a chariot with the *purohita*, while the fight was on.

Baladeva was killed in the forest of Kālamuṭṭhika by Muṭṭhika, the wrestler, who had been born again as a *yakkha*. Vāsudeva, with his sister and the *purohita* came to a frontier village. He lay down in a forest, sending his sister and the *purohita* into the village to get some food. A hunter named Jarā, passing by the way, took him to be a pig and threw a spear which pierced his feet. The wound proved fatal. Thus excepting Lady Añjanā, they perished everyone, it is said.

It will be readily seen from the foregoing summary that, leaving out some statements of purely mythical and legendary character, there is a *nucleus* of a really historical tradition. Our task must be to compare this version with others and get at the Truth, at least to a probable degree.

First to take the identity of names. Our *Jātaka* knows that Vāsudeva was also called Kaṇha (Kṛṣṇa) which was his *gotta* name.[1] His father's name is given as Upasāgara, quite an unfamiliar name, while the Epic,[2] the *Purāṇas*[3] and the Jaina *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra*[4] unanimously give the name Vasudeva. His mother's name, according to our *Jātaka*, is Devagabbhā, which is identical with Devakī of other authorities.[5] That he had a younger brother named Baladeva is vouchsafed by other sources also.[6] The names of Añjanādevī, Kaṇha's sister, and the eight brothers[7] seem to be free inventions of the laterday commentator.

Dr. Raychaudhury, in his valuable monograph on '*The Early History of the Vaiṣṇava Sect*' has thoroughly examined all the available sources for the life history of Kṛṣṇa Vāsudeva and has maintained with good reasons, that Kṛṣṇa Vāsudeva of the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*,[8] *the Aṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini*,[9] the *Indika* of Megasthenes,[10] the Jaina *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra*,[11] the *Ghaṭa Jātaka*,[12] the *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali,[13] the *Mahābhārata*,[14] and the *Purā-*

1. J., IV, pp. 79-89-GG. 139, 147, 148; *Cf.* also J., VI. pp. 421-G. 1485. Sir R. G. Bhandarkar took the two names as denoting two different individuals. Vāsudeva, in his opinion, was a Kṣatriya belonging to the Yādava, Vṛṣṇi or Sātvata race who founded a theistic system. Later on he was identified with Kṛṣṇa whose name had been handed down as that of a holy seer *Ind. Ant.* 1912, p. 13. But, as Keith opines, the separation of Vāsudeva and Kṛṣṇa as two entities, it is impossible to justify. *J. R. A. S.*, 1915, p. 840.

2. *MBH.* xiii, 147, 33-5.

3. See Pargiter, *A. I. H. T.*, pp. 104-7.

4. *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra*, xxii.

5. See above; also *Chāndogya Upaniṣad.* III, 17, 6; *Cf.* Bhitarī Pillar Inscription of Skandagupta (5th cent. A. D.) "*jitamiti paritoṣānmātaram sāsrunetrām Hataripuriva Kṛṣṇo Devakīmabhyupetaḥ.* Fleet, *G. I.* No. 13, p. 54.

6. *MBH.*, II, 79, 23; *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra*, IV.

7. These names betray the later-day conception of the legend as a Nature-myth: *Cf.* Keith, *J. R. A. S.*, 1915, pp. 839 *ff.* Aṅkura—Akrura ?

8. III, 17, 6.

9. IV, 3, 95; IV, 3, 98-99.

10. McCrindle, *Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian*, p. 201.

11. Lecture, XXII.

12. J., IV, pp. 79-89.

13. See *Ind. Ant.*, III, 1874, pp. 14-6.

14. *Cf.* *Sörensen's, Index to the Mahābhārata, sub. voc.*

ṇas,[1] is one and the same person.[2] This illuminating identity does not at all seem improbable when we try to visualise the simple, inornate and human figure of Kṛṣṇa from out the entangling 'prodigious after-crop of fable' that has grown around him. It is a remarkable way of looking at things legendary that has led scholars to interpret Kṛṣṇa as a solar divinity,[3] or a god[4], or even a vegetarian deity,[5] like the Greek Dionysos. It was the same process by which that talented French Savant,[6] was dragged on to represent Gotama Buddha as a Solar type, and the history of the reformer as a sun-myth. It is a wrong process, this, to begin at the wrong end with the late epic and *Paurāṇic* legends which have completely overshadowed the original figure, instead of at the right end with the earlier sources which preserve it in its original colours.[7]

Kṛṣṇa is not a mythical personage. Our *Jātaka* lends support to the *Upaniṣad* and the Jaina *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra* in manifesting the simple and human character of Kṛṣṇa.[8] The *Jātaka* presents him as only a powerful warrior and a great king 'who has not even sufficient self-control for checking his feelings at the death of his dear son, and some wise sayings of his brother Ghaṭa Paṇḍita,[9] restore him to his normal peace of mind.'

The *Jātaka* knows that Vāsudeva was a scion of the royal family—the Yādava, Sātvata or Vṛṣṇi of the *Purāṇas*-of Mathurā—Uttara Madhurā.[10] The existence of a city named Asitañjanā and a separate district of Kaṁsa is unknown to other sources.[11]

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1. See Pargiter , *A. I. H. T.*, pp. 104-7.

2. Raychaudhury, *Early History of the Vaiṣṇava Sect.*, pp. 34-5. The identity of the Epic and *Paurāṇic* Kṛṣṇa with the *Upaniṣadic* Kṛṣṇa is denied by Max Müler, *S. B. E.*, I, p. 52 note ; Macdonnell and Keith doubt it : *Ved. Ind.*, I, p. 184. Barth accepts it rather reluctantly : *Religions of India*, p. 168. *cf.* Keith. "The epic has a god, the *Upaniṣad* a man, and the means of connexion are not apparent." *J. R. A. S.*, 1915, p. 839.

3. Barth, *op. cit.*, pp. 166, 167 and note.

4. Hopkins, *Religions of India*, p. 467.

5. Keith, *J. R. A. S.*, 1915, pp. 839 *ff.*

6. Emile Senart, *Essai Sur la l'egende du Buddha*, 2nd ed., Paris, 1882.

7. Raychaudhury, *Early Histosy of the Vaiṣṇava Sect*, p. 24.

8. Though, we must observe here, the *Jātaka* seems to be conversant with the popular deification of him in that his epithet *Kesava*, so well-known in the Epic and the *Purāṇas* is known to and used by, the *gāthās*, nos. 139, 144 of this *Jātaka*. *Kesava*, as we know from the *Baudhāyana Dharmasūtra*, II, 5 , 24, was an epithet of Nārāyaṇa-Viṣṇu : Rayachaudhury, *Early History of the Vaiṣṇava Sect*, p. 62. Grierson points out that the deificaion of Kṛṣṇa was an accomplished fact as early as the time of Pāṇini (8th B.C.) *I. A.*, 1908, p. 253. But this is a matter of controversy. See Jayaswal *Hindu Polity*, I, pp. 120-2. *I. H. Q.*, I. pp. 483 *ff;* II, pp. 186 *ff*· 409 *ff.* 856-6. But Epigraphic evidence shows that the deification was complete before 2nd B. C. See Lüders, *Brāhmī Inscriptions*, *E. I.*, X, Appendix, nos. 6, 669, 1112.

9. There is nothing to corroborate this incident which seems to us to have risen out of the imagination of a latter-day commentator. One may however be tempted to try to discover some link between these *gāthās* of Ghaṭa and the philosophisings of Ghora Aṅgīrasa of the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*. Is Ghaṭa identical with Gaya Sukumāla of the *Antagaḍadasāo*, pp. 62, 71 ?.

10. *Cf.* the statement of Megasthenes regarding the connection of the Indian Herakles (*i.e.*, Kṛṣṇa already deified) with the Sourasenoi (Surasena is mentioned in a *Jātaka*, VI, p. 280-G. 1228) and Methora : McCrindle, *Megasthenes and Arrian*, p. 201.

11. In the Epic and the *Purāṇas*, it is Mathurā over which Kaṁsa ruled: Pargiter, *op. cit* pp. 167, 171, 282, 291.

It is not a little surprising to learn that the *Jātaka* takes *Andhakaveṇhu* (*Andhakavṛṣṇi*) as a name of one particular person who was the slave husband of Nandagopā, the maid servant of Devagabbhā in her confinement,[1] and after whom Kṛṣṇa and his brothers were known as *Andhakaveṇhudāsaputtā*, the sons of Andhakaveṇhu, the servitor.[2] Whereas the *Paurāṇic* tradition, we know, makes Andhaka and Vṛṣṇi two sons of Sātvata, the Yādava, after whom their descendants were together known as *Andhakavṛṣṇis*.[3]

The *Jātaka* does not give us any definite account of Vāsudeva's childhood, except that he and his brothers are said to have grown very naughty, plundering wherever they liked.[4] Neither those miraculous youthful performances of his, so elaborately described in the *Purāṇas*, nor his questionable relations with the '*gopis*' are thrust upon us by the *Jātaka* which only knows the simple story.[5]

The story of his quarrel with Kaṁsa, and the eventful death of the latter appears on the other hand to be founded on fact. As early as the time of Patañjali (2nd B.C.) this event was clearly remembered, though believed to have occurred at a very remote time, and was the subject of dramatic representation.[6] The real cause of this quarrel is unknown to the *Jātaka*, which does not portray Kaṁsa in essentially bad colours as does the *Paurāṇic* account, but makes him, on the contrary, a kind king who readily hears and decides the complaints of his subjects. The prophesy, both here and elsewhere, is only an ignorant sheath for the real cause.[7] The incident of

1. In the *Purāṇas*, they are Nanda and Yaśodā respectively, *Cf. Harivaṁśa*, 59.

2. J., IV , p. 81.

3. If the *Jātaka* conception about the Andhakavenhus has any value, and if we are not wrongly obcessed with its idea, we have our misgivings about the true denotation of the term '*Andhakavṛṣṇis*' of the *Purāṇas*. Is it really a combination of the two words, *Andhaka* and *Vṛṣṇi*, or is it one single word as the *Jātaka* boldly declares? Andhakas are not known to Vedic literature, which indeed knows the Vārṣṇa (Vṛṣṇi) family : See *Vedic Index*, II, pp. 289-90. On the other hand so old an authority as Pāṇini knows both of them as a joint name : *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, IV, 1, 114 ; VI, 2, 34. Kṛṣṇa himself is generally supposed to belong to the Vṛṣṇi family, (*Cf. Gītā*: *Vṛṣṇināṁ Vāsudevohaṁ*) but the Mandasore stone Inscription of Yashodharman (6th A. D.) would seem to connect him with the Andhakas : Fleet, *G. I.*, p. 153. Vidūratha, again who is placed by the *Purāṇas* in the Andhaka line, is taken by Bāṇa (7th A. D.) as a Vṛṣṇi : *Harṣacarita*, Cowell, p. 193. Ugrasena, generally an Andhaka, is, in the *Mahābhārata*, I, 221, 8, a powerful king of the Vṛṣṇis. How are we to reconcile these conflicting statements ? May be, the difference is only outwardly. See, now J. Przyluski, *The name of the God Viṣṇu and the Kṛṣṇa legend. Q. J. M. S.*, XXV, pp. 39 *ff.*

4. Dr. Raychaudhury, *Early History*, p. 45, accepting his identity with Kṛṣṇa Devakīputra of the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*, says that "as a child he most probably lived with his preceptor Ghora Aṅgirasa and returned to Mathurā on arriving at adolescence."

5. *Cf.* Hopkins, "It is not till he becomes a great, if not the greatest god, that tales about his youthful performances when he condescended to born in low life begin to rise." *Religions of India*, p. 467.

6. See passages from Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya* examined by Sir R. G. Bhandarkar : *I. A.*, III (1874), pp. 14-6 : "*Asādhurmātule Kṛṣṇaḥ*," shows that Kṛṣṇa was not well-disposed towards his maternal uncle ; *Cirahate Kaṁse*" and "*Jaghāna Kaṁsaṁ Kila Vāsudevaḥ*" assert that in remote times Vāsudeva killed Kaṁsa. This event is also depicted in the delightful drama '*Bālacarita*' ascribed to Bhāsa, who preceded Kālidāsa : Keith, *The Sanskrit Drama*, pp. 98-100.

7. The *Jātaka* does not know Jarāsandha, King of Magadha, whose two daughters, as the *Paurāṇic* accounts tell us were married to Kaṁsa and whose favour empowered Kaṁsa to tyrannise over his own subjects, thus enraging Kṛṣṇa against himself : Pargiter, *op. cit.*, p. 282,

the wrestling match may have some historical basis, since it is commonly related by various authorities.[1]

After the death of Kaṁsa, the people chose Kṛṣṇa to be their lord and protector. Then followed the career of conquests. Only two out of these conquests are specifically mentioned in the *Jātaka*. First, they invaded the city of Ayojjā, captured it and took its king Kālasena prisoner. Then they proceeded towards Dvāravatī which they could not easily capture. It was only after various tactics learnt from sage Kaṇhadīpāyana that they were able to take possession of it and then they settled there.[2]

The *Jātaka* does not at all refer to Kṛṣṇa's connection with the Pāṇḍavas or Jarāsandha which must have been intimate if the Epic and *Paurāṇic* accounts are to be believed.[3]

The *Mahāummagga Jātaka* preserves, it seems, a genuine tradition when it states in a *gāthā* that Vāsudeva Kaṇha had for his beloved queen Jāṁbavati, a Caṇḍāla woman, the mother of King Sivi.[4]

The story of the Andhakaveṇhu youths testing the divine sight of the wise sage Kaṇhadīpāyana, in a rather indecent manner, and the consequent rage of the latter and the slaying of him by the youths, might appear to have been originated in fact, as it is related by various other authorities in common.[5]

This brings us to the final phase of the life of Kṛṣṇa and his kinsfolk, *viz.*, the final destruction of the Andhakaveṇhus. Besides the detailed and well-nigh picturesque account given in the present *Jātaka*, there are two *gāthās* which summarize the episode, in a nut-shell as it were. The one in the *Kuṁbha Jātaka*[6] says :—

"'Twas after drinking this, I ween,
The Andhakas and Vṛṣṇi race,
Roaming along the shore, were seen,
To fall, each by his kinsman's mace :"

1. J., IV, pp. 81-2 ; *Bālacarita*, Act V ; *Harivaṁśa*, 83 ; *Viṣṇu P.*, *V*, 20.

2. According to the clear testimony of the Epic and the *Purāṇas*, it was through fear of Jarāsandha, the mighty foe, and their incompetence to resist his forces that Kṛṣṇa together with all his people migrated from Mathurā to Dvārakā, See S. L. Katre, *op. cit.*, pp. 856, 858, 863-5. Pargiter, *A. I. H. T.*, p. 282. See for an interesting suggestion from Dr. Raychaudhury *P. H. A. I.* p. 100, regarding the probable cause of this Yādava exodus.

3. See *Supra*, also see Katre, *l. c.* Some may venture to see a concealed reference to Jarāsandha in the use of the name *Jarā*, the hunter, in our *Jātaka*.

4. J., VI, p. 421-G, 1485. *Cf. Viṣṇu P.*, V. 37 ; IV, 15 ; *Bhaviṣya P.*, 139 ; *Antagaḍadasāo*, pp. 79, 84, all of which name the son as Sāmba not quite dissimilar a name from Sivi Pāṇini, the poet, is said to have composed a poem named *Jāṁbavatī-pariṇayaṁ* or marriage of Jāmbavatī : Bhandarkar, *Collected Works*, II, pp. 167, 360, 364, 368 : *Cf.* verses quoted in Thomas, *Kavīndravacanasamuccaya*, pp, 51 *ff* : See Keith, *A History of Sanskrit Literature* pp. 45, 203-4-, 430.

5. *MBH.* XVI, 1 ; *Viṣṇu P.*, V, 37 ; *Arthaśāstra*, I, 6 ; *Antagaḍadasāo* pp. 80-2. The story of Kaṇhadīpāyana—the famous Kṛṣṇa Dvaipāyana Vyāsa, the traditional compiler of the great Epic—as found in the *Ghaṭa* and the *Kaṇhadīpāyana Jātakas*, J., IV, pp. 87-8 ; IV, pp. 27 *ff.* has been examined with its parallel in the great Epic by Prof. Utgikar, *J.B.B.R.S.*, IV (N.S.) pp. 120-4. The irreverent attitude of the Andhakaveṇhus towards Brāhmaṇas may have some significance in connection with Aryan expansion if the episode was a reality. *Cf.* Rayachaudhury, *P. H. A. I.*, p. 100. Yādavas as an Asura tribe, see A. Banerji Sastri, *Asura India*, pp. 83 *ff*.

6. J. V. p. 18-G, 57.

and the other in the *Saṁkicca Jātaka*[1] reads :—

"Assailing black Dīpāyana, the men of Vṛṣṇi race[2]

With Andhakas sought Yama's realm, each slain by other's mace"[3].

This incident of the pathetic ruin of the Andhakaveṇhus by fratricidal strife, which occurred a few years after the great Kurukṣetra war,[4] must, we think, be regarded as historical fact.[5]

Vāsudeva and his favourite brother Baladeva were the sole survivors.[6] Both of them leave the fatal place at once. Baladeva dies on the way and Kṛṣṇa himself lives a few days more.[7] Thus ends this tragic, but completely misunderstood, chapter of the remote period of our history which, though unsupported by any definite contemporary records, has sufficient naturalness and vividness to be taken as historically true.

The disunited remnants of this great and distinguished family of Dvāravatī (Dvārakā) then abandoned their main stronghold—Dvārakā, on which the sea encroached as the *Paurāṇic* accounts say—and retreated northwards but were attacked and broken up by the rude Ābhīras of Rājputānā.[8] Their descendants, however, reappear in history as one of the powers which arise on the ruins of the Mauryan Empire in the second century B. C. and the name of their corporation (*rājanya gaṇa*) has been preserved by a unique coin.[9]

3. SOME LESS KNOWN KINGS.

Here may also be included, we think, the names of some less-known, but apparently ancient, kings who are known to the *Jātaka gāthās* as ancient and traditional ones.

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1. *Ibid.* p. 267-G. 97.

2. The English translation has '*Viṣṇu*' for *Vṛṣṇi*.--which is evidently a wrong interpretation arising from the later connection of Kṛṣṇa with the God Viṣṇu. *Cf.* also Utgikar, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 123.

3. *Cf. MBH.* XVI, 3 ; *Viṣṇu P.*, V. 37 , *Arthaśāstra*, I, 6 ; *Antagaḍadasāo*, pp. 80-2.

4. This incident according to the solitary statement of the *MHB*, XVI, 1, 13, occurred 36 years after the Great Battle. Pargiter thinks this to be an exaggeration, *op. cit.*, p. 282 and note.

5. See Pargiter, *op. cit.*, p. 284. N. K. Siddhanta, *The Heroic Age*, p. 123 ; N. K. Dutt, *Aryanisation of India*, p. 126 ; N. C. Banerji, *I. H. Q.*, I, p. 97.

6. *Cf. MBH.*, XVI, 3.

7. The throwing of an arrow by the hunter named Jarā and the consequent death of Kṛṣṇa as related in our *Jātaka* are also described in the *Purāṇas* and the Jain *Antagaḍadasāo*. *Cf. Viṣṇu P., l. c., Antagaḍadasāo, l. c.* This must be taken to be an allegorical aspect of the end of the great person, if Jarā has any significance, though the popular belief is still there and the place where the incident happened is shown and worshipped, a few miles far from Prabhāsa pāṭana, Kāthiāwāḍ. It is known as *Dehotsarga*.

8. Pargiter, *A. I H. T.*, p. 284.

9. N. K. Dutt, *op. cit.*, p. 126; Majumdar, *Corporate Life in Ancient India* pp. 279-80; Raychaudhury, *P. H. A. I.*, pp. 99-100.

With Ajjuna leading, these kings stand in one line *i.e.*, those who according to the *Jātakas* were remembered to have perished long before for their wrong deeds.

The *gāthā*,[1] which contains the names of four kings together is this :—

> "*Yathā ahū Daṇḍakī Nālikīro*
> *Ath' Ajjuno Kalābu cāpi rājā*
> *tesaṁ gatiṁ bruhi supāpakammanaṁ*
> *katth' upapannā isinam viheṭhakā*"

From amongst these four kings, Ajjuna has already been dealt with. Daṇḍaki is a later king as will soon appear. Here we should therefore take up the other two.

KALĀBU

The *Khantivādī Jātaka*,[2] relates the whole story in detail, how a faultless and forgiving sage met his unhappy end at the hands of this cruel and arrogant king, Kalābu. Towards the end of the story there are two *gāthās*,[3] which contain the purport of the story in short. The prose-portion says that Kalābu was the kingof Kāsī. So also does the *Sarabhaṅga Jātaka*[4] which also knows the story and has the traditional *gāthā*.[5] We have no mention of this king, as far as we can gather, in any other literary or traditional source. It may be noted, *en passant*, that '*lābu*' and '*alābu*' from which is apparently derived the word *kalābu*, are words of Austro-Asiatic origin and mean, in Malaya language, 'gourd'—*Lagenaria vulgaris*.[6] Kalābu, then, may perhaps be found out to be a king of one of the islands of further India or Greater India. But this is only a delightful surmise, a speculation.

ĀLIKIRA

Nālikira is a curious word indeed. It seems *Nālikira*, *Nālikera*, *Nalikela* and *Nārikela* are all only different pronunciations of one and the same word connected with the cocoanut tree.[7] The *gāthā*[8] cited for him is in the same line as the others. For torturing a sinless ascetic, Nālikira, it says, perished.

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1. J., V, p. 143-G. 68.
2. J., III, pp. 38 *ff.*
3. *Ibid.*, GG. 49, 50.
4. J., V, p. 135.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 144-G. 72.
6. See J. Przyluski, '*Non-Aryan Loans in Indo-Aryan*'—Bagchi, *Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian in India*, pp. 155 *ff.* "*Ka* is a prefix frequently met with in these languages. *e.g.*, *timnu-Katimun : lābu-alābu-Kalābu.*
7. The change of '*ra*' into '*la*' and *vice versa* is a well-known phonetic rule. *Cf.* Pāṇini ; *ralayorabhedaḥ.*
8. J. V, p. 144-G. 72.

The commentary on the *gāthā*, which also gives the story of this sinning, makes Nālikira a king of Kaliṅga.[1] This is suppported by the Ceylonese tradition also.[2] It is not improbable, for Kaliṅga is rich in cocoanuts.[3]

BHARU

The *Bharu-Jātaka*[4] relates the story where two bands of ascetics fall in dispute with regard to a banyan tree. They go to the king to settle their dispute. Each gives him bribes. The case is settled, and both the parties have to repent. But the king, it is said, was destroyed with all the land submerged into the sea, because he took bribes. So the *abhisaṁbuddha gāthā:*

"The King of Bharu, as old stories say,[5]
Made holy hermits quarrel on a day :
For the which sin it fell that he fell dead,
And with him all his kingdom perished."

'*Bharu*' is obviously the *Pāli* form of *Bhṛgu*.[6] We cannot ascertain at present whether here is any indication of some historical or a geological fact.[7]

MEJJHA

There is a *Gāthā* in the *Mātaṅga Jātaka*,[8] repeated elsewhere,[9] which speaks of King Mejjha thus :

"Mejjha, for famed Mātaṅga's sake fell from its place of pride
The land became a wilderness and king and people died."

Thence it was, it is said, that the land was called *Mejjhāraṇṇaṁ* 'the forest or desert of Mejjha'. The story is told, in full, in the *Mātaṅga Jātaka*,[10] wherefrom we learn that the sixteen thousand Brāhmaṇas of Benares who were made to taste the leavings of a Caṇḍāla and were put out of caste by other Brāhmaṇas, departed, in shame, from Benares and went to the kingdom of Mejjha where they lived with the king of that country. The above fact, we mean

1. J., V, pp. 144-5.
2. Hardy, *Manual of Buddhism*, p. ṓo.
3. See *J. B. O. R. S.*, xv, p. 628.
4. J., II, pp. 171-2.
5. Mark the phrase '*iti me sutaṁ*'—thus I hear—quite in the *Paurāṇic* traditional fashion
6. *Cf.* Bharu-Kaccha—Bhṛgu-Kaccha.
7. Does the *Jātaka gāthā* refer to the submerging of Dvārakā which was not very far from Bharukaccha and could well have been included in the 300-leagues-wide Bharu realm. See *Viṣṇu P.*, V, 38 ; *Purātatva*, IV, pp. 101 *ff.* The scholiast commenting upon the *gāthā* says that after the submerging of the kingdom there sprang up some islands which now form the Nālikera islands—perhaps referring to the Western coast of India.
8. J., IV, p. 389-G, 24.
9. J., V, p. 267-G, 96.
10. J., IV, pp. 388-9.

that of the excommunication and the consequent migration of the Brāhmaṇas of Benares to a presumably foreign country,[1] may have some historical significance, though we have nothing to ascertain it. Mejjha, it is however interesting to note, seems to be a *Pāli* rendering of the *Saṁskṛta Medhya* and from the *Mahābhārata*,[2] at least we do get the name of Medhyāraṇya corresponding to our Mejjhāraṇṇaṁ, and also of a river called Medhyā. But this identification does not lead us any further. It may, moreover, be mentioned in this connection that some of the Pāla Inscriptions[3] name the Medas along with the Andhrakas and the Caṇḍālas, as low-caste people, thus suggesting a possible affinity with our Mejjha. But this again gives us nothing more than that it raises a suspicion whether Mejjha had any connection with the Medes of Ancient Persia. M. de St. Martin connects the Medas referred to by Manu and named in the Pāla Inscriptions mentioned above as low caste people, with the Maccocalingae of Pliny and with the Maga peoples who are in their turn to be associated with the Median Magi.[4]

MAGA

This very naturally brings us to an interesting reference to a Maga king in a *gāthā* of the *Saṁkicca Jātaka*[5] which runs as follows :—

"*yo ca rājā adhammattho raṭṭhaviddhaṁsano Mago*

tapayitvā janapadaṁ Tapane pecca paccati."

From the nature of its occurrence, it is difficult to hazard even a surmise of what is meant by this Maga king. We have no reference, as far as we know, in any other Indian literary source to a Maga king, excepting one of the Edicts of Aśoka[6] which does mention a Maga king of Cyrene along with other Hellenistic kings—Antiochos Theos of Syria, Ptolemy Philadelphos of Egypt, Antigonos Gonatas of Macedonia and Alexander of Epirus (or of Corinth).

But as regards the *Maga Brāhmaṇas*, we have ample authorities. These Brāhmaṇas gave the name to the country of their last adoption—Magadha, *i.e.*, *magān dhārayati* or Maga-land. "The inhabitants of this region still call it Maga," says Rapson,[7] "a name doubtless derived from Magadha." The

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1. It must have been a foreign country or one inabited by Non-Aryan people, which would not object to these 'defiled' Brāhmaṇas, but rather, welcome them as it seems to have been suggested in the Mejjha king's favourable treatment towards these Brāhmaṇas.

2. III, 222 ; 295 ; See Sorensen, *op. cit.*, p. 477.

3. *Cf. The Bhāgalpur Plate of Nārāyaṇapāla, I. A.*, XV, p. 306. *The Mungir Copper-plate grant of Devapāladeva, I.A.*, XXI, p. 256. *Cf.* aslo *Manu*, X, 36; 48. See McCrindle, *Megasthenes and Arrian*, pp. 133-4 notes.

4. See McCrindle, *op. cit.*, pp. 133-4 notes.

5. J., V. p. 267-G, 103.

6. Rock Edict XIII, See Mookerji, *Aśoka* p. 166 n., Bhandarkar *Aśoka*, pp. 45-6, also *C. H. I.*, I, p. 502; Raychaudhury, *P. H. A. I.*, pp. 225-6.

7. *C. H. A. I.*, I., p. 182.

Viṣṇu and the *Bhaviṣya Purāṇas*, it is interesting to note, relate in detail the traditional migration of the Magas from Śākadvīpa or Persia into India.[1] Even one of our *Jātakas* knows a Brāhmaṇa boy of Magadha styled Magakumāra.[2] These sun-worshipping Maga Brāhmaṇas are doubtless the Magi of Iran as Sir R. G. Bhandarkar[3] showed long ago. However, for us it is quite impossible to see anything substantial in the solitary *gāthā* quoted above—as to whether it refers to a king of the Maga Brāhmaṇas domiciled in India or to one of the Magis of Persia.[4]

1. See Wilson, *Viṣṇu P.*, Intro., pp. XXXIX-XLI.

2. J., I, p. 199.

3. *Collected Works*, IV, pp. 218-21, For Maga Brāhmaṇas and their connection with the Magi of Persia, see Spooner, *J. R. A. S.*, 1915, pp. 422 *ff.*; McCrindle, *Megasthenes and Arrian*, pp. 133-4 and notes; A. Banerji-Sastri, *Asura India*, p. 72, Hodiwala, *Parsis of Ancient India*, pp. 28, *ff.* 73 *ff.*

4. What does "*raṭṭhaviddhaṁsana*" "the destroyer of the realm" of our *gāthā* refer to? Does it refer to the revolt of the Magians against the Zoroastrian religious revolution, the setting up by them as king of the false Smerdis, and the suicide of Cambyses at Harran (522 B. C.) which brought the sternly Zoroastrian Darius, son of Hystashis to the throne of Egypt? See *Cambridge Ancient History*, III, p 313.

CHAPTER II

THE KURU-PAÑCĀLA KINGS

(1200-1000 B.C)

WE HAVE DESIGNATED the period with which we were concerned in the preceding chapter as the "ancient period," in order just to retain its obscure and uncertain character. It has not moreover been possible to give anything like a historical narrative, of that period. The only chronological strata that can be discerned are those of ancient traditional kings, mentioned only in the *gāthās*, and of those others who are treated in detail in prose portions. The time limit, ranging from 2000 B. C. to 1400 B. C., given to that period, cannot be anything but arbitrary or at the most approximate. It must be remembered, however, that this approximation rests on the assumption, that some of the names of kings discussed here are to be found in the *Vedic* Literature, which, according to the majority of *Vedic* scholars,[1] corresponds to the earlier period of Indo-Āryan expansion—second millenium B. C.

During, and probably long before, this period the Āryans were pouring into India, through the North-west of India along the high mountains of Himavat, Mūjavat and Trikakud, and across the rivers Suvāstu, Krumu and others.[2] We see them coming into conflict with the Non-Āryan Dāsa people of the east and south and with the Asura people from along the Sindhu-Sarasvatī waterways.[3] The conflict terminates with the Dāsarājña battle on the Paruṣṇī (Rāvī) where the Ārya-Bhāratas emerge victorious and lead their way into the 'interior'. The Asura-Pūrus, with their ten allies, suffer defeat and are pushed to further east. The Dāsa is also vanquished and driven away among the hills.[4] Then follows a remarkable process of amalgamation, by which the Tṛtsu-Bhāratas merge into the Kurus on the Sarasvatī,[5] the Asura-Pūrus into the Pāñcālas,[6] and at last in the Brāhmaṇa Period we see the United nation of the Kuru-Pāñcāla[7] inhabiting the region which latterly becomes the hallowed Kurukṣetra. "Indo-Āryan genealogy starts a fresh page with the Kuru-Pāñcāla—Pauravas of Hastināpura".[8]

1. See Keith in *C. H. I.*, I, pp. 76, 110 *ff*; Winternitz, *op. cit.*, I pp. 290 *ff*; Haug, *The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, I, Intro., pp. 47 *ff*; Kaegi, *The RgVeda*, pp. 38 *ff*; 109; N. N. Dutt. *Aryanisation of India*, pp. 39 *ff*, 65; A. Banerji Sastri, *op. cit.*, p. 34 *etc.*
2. A. Banerji Sastri, *Asura India*, p. 34.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 38.
4. *Ibid*, pp. 40, 49.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 55; Schröder, *Indien Literature und Cultur*, p. 465.
6. Geldner, *Vedische Studien*, 3, p. 108.
7. See Oldenberg, *Buddha*, pp. 406-9.
8. A. Banreji Sastri, *op. cit.*, pp. 69-70.

This brief and running sketch of the period, which must have absorbed centuries, only supplies us with faint, though impressing, glimpses of the remote past—of the civilization buried under the ruins at Mohenjo-dāro in Sind and at Harappā in Panjab.[1] We felt it necessary to give this sketch in order to maintain the connecting link between the story and the detached periods with which we have to concern ourselves here.

The next stage in Indo-Āryan history begins, as we saw above, with the appearance of the Kurus and the Pañcālas who were, in the Brāhmana Period, settled in the Middle country—the *madhyamā dik* of the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*.[2] Even though the two peoples are often seen to be referred to in the *Brāhmaṇas* as a united nation,[3] it does not necessarily follow that both lived under one kingship. As a matter of fact, the relations between the two were sometimes friendly,[4] and then tied with matrimonial alliances,[5] but at other times, hostile. This conflict drags on till the great Bhārata war,[6] and later. It is precisely here that we should usher in the *Jātaka* evidence for this period which forms the subject of this chapter.

As the *Jātakas* do not give us much that can be said as co-relative to the two kingdoms of Kuru and Pañcāla, it would be better, we think, for the sake of clearness, to treat them separately and notice the relation between the two wherever possible.

THE KURUS

The Kuru kingdom, as known to the *Jātakas*,[7] had an extent of three hundred leagues. Its capital was Indapatta,[8] (modern Indrapat near Delhi) which is sometimes said to have extended over seven leagues.[9] The reigning dynasty belonged to the *Yudhiṭṭhila gotta*, *i.e.*, the family of Yudhiṣṭhira,[10] a fact which shows that the *Jātakas* are familiar only with the events that occurred after the Great war, one of which was the inclusion of the Pāṇḍavas in the famous Kuru line.[11] The date of the Bhārata war is still a matter of

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1. See now Sir John Marshall, *Mohenjo Dāro and the Indus Civilization*, (London, 1931,) 3 volumes.
2. VIII, 14; *Vedic Index*, I. p. 168: Oldenberg, *Buddha*, pp. 392-3.
3. *Vedic Index*, I, pp. 165, 468; also see *C. H. I.*, I. pp. 119-20.
4. As the common occurrence of this in the *Brāhmaṇas* indeed shows.
5. Keśin Dālbhya, for instance, a king of the Pāñcālas, was sister's son to Uchchaiḥ-Śravas, King of the Kurus. See Raychaudhury, *P. H. A. I.*, p. 49.
6. "Those two tribes whose mighty battles form the nucleus of the great Indian Epic, the *Mahābhārata*" Winternitz, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 195-6. *Cf.* Hopkins, *J. A. O. S.*, 13, p. 69 but contrast Pargiter, *J. R. A. S.*, 1920. p. 101. *A. I. H. T.*, pp. 285, 326, who dates the fusion of the two people of the *Brāhmaṇas* much later than the Bhārata battle.
7. J., II, pp. 214-G, 154, 366; III, p. 400; IV. pp. 361, 444; V, pp. 57, 474, 481—"*tiyojanasate*"; VI, pp. 255, 329.
8. The older capital Āsandivat of Janamejaya Pārīkṣita had already vanished: *Ved. Ind.*, I, p. 72; Raychaudhury, *P. H. A. I.*, pp. 16, 24. The *Jātakas* do not know of Hastināpura.
9. J., V, p. 484. But these measurements are only conventional.
10. J., III, p. 400; V, p. 457.
11. See Law, *Ancient Mid-Indian Kṣatriya Tribes*, I, p. 33; Pargiter, *op. cit.*, pp. 283-4.

controversy. But between the two plausible extremes of 15th century B. C.[1] and the 10th century B. C.,[2] we may take the 12th century B. C. as the *via media*.[3]

The *Jātakas* mention only a few kings of this line. Those who find mention are: Koravya,[4] Dhanañjaya Koravya,[5] Sutasoma[6] and perhaps Reṇu[7]. Of these, Dhanañjaya Koravya appears to have been the most familiar, as he must have been also very popular in those times, and his relation with his minister Vidhurapaṇḍita forms the subject of some of the stories, Who is this Dhanañjaya ? In the Epic Dhanañjaya is an ordinary epithet of Arjuna.[8] But there are indications in the *Jātakas* themselves which tend to connect it with Yudhiṭṭhila himselt. Thus the *gāthās* of the *Saṁbhava. Jātaka* have the refrain :

"Rañño 'haṁpahito dūto koravyassa yasassino

Atthaṁ dhammaṁ ca pucchesi 'iccabravi Yudhiṭṭhilo".[9]

Again Dhanañjaya is said to have been remembered for his skill in the game of dice (*jūtavittako*),[10] which qualification, according to the Epic, applies well to Yudhisṭhira[11]. He is moreover described as a pious, righteous and charitable king,[12] which again is in complete agreement with what we know of Yudhisṭhira from the Epic[13] and later Hindu tradition[14].

With Dhanañjaya Koravya is mentioned his almost inseparable companion Vidhurapaṇḍita[15] who is generally known as a minister and a teacher of law, morality and polity. One *Jātaka*[16] prose unnecessarily makes him the *purohita* of a king of Benares, though the *gāthās* do not suggest anything of the kind. Similarly the prose of the *Vidhurapaṇḍita Jātaka*[17] seeks to describee him as a Brāhmaṇa and the son of a Brāhmaṇa Canda, while the *gāthās* are clear in representing him as a Kuru councillor, holding the status of a noble

1. Jayaswal, *J. B. O. R. S.*, I. p. 111.
2. Pargiter, *A. I. H. T.*, p. 182.
3. Pradhan, *Chronology of Ancient India*, pp. 248 *ff*, on the *Paurāṇic*, astronomical and other evidences, actually comes to this date.
4. J., IV, p. 361 ; V, p. 457.
5. J., II, p. 366 ; III, p. 400 ; V, p. 57 ; VI, pp. 255.
6. J., V, p. 457.
7. J., IV, p. 444.
8. See Sörenson, *Index to the Mahārbhārata*, sub. voc. ; Dhanañjaya is a king of Benares in J. III, pp. 97 *ff*.
9. J., V, pp. 57 *ff*-GG. 145, 149, 171.
10. J., VI, pp. 255,271.
11. *Cf. M.B.H.*, II, 59, 19-"who is there who can stake equally with me ?" asks Yudhisṭhira to Śakuni.
12. J., V, pp. 57-8-GG. 135-141.
13. See Siddhanta, *op. cit.*, p. 28 : "Yudhisṭhira, on the other hand, is made to be the pattern of a virtuous prince."
14. The tradition had passed down even to the south where in Māmallapuram near Madras we find a temple raised in his honour (*Dharmarāya ratha*) in the 7th century A.D. See Havell, *The Ancient and Medieval Architecture of India*, p. 86.
15. He of is course the Epic Vidura who is however there associated with Dhṛtarāṣṭra. *MBH.*, I, 63,100 *ff*. For the difference in spellings of his name, see Barua and Sinha, *Brāhmi Inscriptions*, pp. 95-6.
16. J., V, pp. 57 *ff*
17. J., VI, p. 262.

of the royal family of the Kurus, though born in a natural state of servitude[1] That he was born of a slave is proved by his own declaration *'addhā hi yonito ahaṁ pi jāto'*,[2] thus agreeing with the Epic account of his birth, though related in the usual miraculous manner.[3]

Vidhura is a just and truthful man, possessing great power of eloquence, so much so that all kings from India are said to have approached him and—sat at his feet to hear the *Dhamma.*[4] His discourse on a householder's life and happiness, and his advice to young aspirants to the king's court, testify to his genius and political insight.[5] In the *Dasa-Brāhmaṇa Jātaka,*[6] he figures as an advocate of a revolting opinion about the Brāhmaṇas of his time, which may well have some historical significance.[7] The *Vidhurapaṇḍita Jātaka* relates at length, predominently in *gāthās* which run in the epic strain, the story of Vidhura and the Yakkha prince Puṇṇaka : [8] the Nāga queen Vimalā's desire for the heart of Vidhura, the princess Irandatī's search for a husband to fullfil that desire, her union with the Yakkha prince Puṇṇaka, his victory at a dice play with king Dhanañjaya and the consequent winning over the wise man, their return to the Nāga capital, the queen's humbling down at the sight of the great man, and his final release and a gift of a precious jewel from Puṇṇaka which he delivered to the Kuru king—all this may only be a fable, pure and simple, though as old as the second century B. C..[9]

One more point to be noticed in connection with Dhanañjaya Koravya. In the *Dhūmakārī Jātaka*[10] he is represented as showing favour to new comers (*āgantukānaṁ yeva saṁgahaṁ akāsi*) neglecting the old and faithful soldiers (*porāṇakayodhe agaṇetvā*). This policy was responsible for his defeat in a battle in a disturbed frontier province. He came to realize his mistake with the help of his wise councillor Vidhura. How far this incident can be taken as historical, we are not able to ascertain, it being left uncorroborated, as far as we know, by further evidence.

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1. Barua and Sinha *op. cit.*, p. 95.
2. J., VI, p. 285-G. 1239.
3. *MBH.* I, 63, 113-4 ; 106, 23-28, V. 41, 5—"*Sūdrayonāvahaṁ jāta*"
4. J., VI, pp. 255-6.
5. J., VI, pp. 286-7—GG. 1244-50.
6. J. IV, pp. 361 *ff.*
7. Dr. Winternitz remarks in his valuable essay on the "*Ascetic Poetry,*"...."though the majority of the verses in this section (*i.e.*, the *Vidhurahitavākya, MBH.*, V, 32-40) contains rules of morality and wisdom, it aslo contains a great number of verses which teach what I call ascetic morality—verses which sound quite Buddhistic and some of which have actually been traced in the *Pāli* literature." *Calcutta Review, Oct.* 1923, p. 8.
8. The story is found depicted in the sculptures of one of the railings of the Barhut Stupa, with a label bearing the inscription "*Vitura-Punakiya-Jātakaṁ*"—of the seccond century B.C. See Barua and Sinha, *op. cit.*, pp. 94-5; Cunningham, *Stupa of Barhut,* plate XVIII.
9. See above ; Vidhura also occurs as the name of a wise monk in the *Majjhimanikāya* I, 5, 10 and the *Therīgāthā*, 1188.
10. J., III, pp. 400 *ff.*

For Sutasoma's historical existence, we cannot vouch. In the long, dreary and epic-like story related in the *Mahāsutasoma Jātaka,*[1] we find him as the Lord of the Kurus.[2] The king of Benares turns out a man-eater. Sutasoma, with his masterly genius, restores him to his senses and, at the end, establishes him on his throne. In the intervening *gāthās* we are given a glorious description of Sutasoma's virtuous reign.[3] The man-eater king, who is in the *gāthās* towards the end[4] named Kammāsapāda, restores the kings whom he had captured to liberty. The story of Kalmāṣapāda, the king of Ayodhyā, is well-known in the *Mahābhārata* and the *Purāṇas.*[5] But it has no reference to Sutasoma or any other person named in the *Jātaka* story. The story, with almost the same oft-repeated *gāthās,* occurs in the *Jayaddisa Jātaka,*[6] where however the hero-king is Jayaddisa of Pañcāla. All this makes us doubtful of the real existence of Sutasoma.[7]

Such is perhaps also the case with King Reṇu mentioned in the *Somanassa Jātaka.*[8] The *Jātaka* makes him the king of Kuru with Uttarapañcāla as his capital city, which is rather interesting. We cannot say whether this statement is based on fact or is an outcome of the confused ignorance of the *Jātaka* compiler. It must however be admitted that there is nothing improbable in this, since we know that 'a great struggle raged in ancient times between the Kurus and the Pañcālas for the possession of Uttarapañcāla'.[9] And king Reṇu, in this case, might in all probability have taken possession of Uttarapañcāla after a bitter struggle with a Pañcāla king and made it his seat of government.

The story relates, that once a rebellion broke out in the frontier. The king went to suppress it, leaving his son Prince Somanassa (by queen Sudhammā[10]) in charge of the government. On his return a false charge was brought against his son by a deceitful ascetic. Trusting upon the ascetic, the king ordered the prince to be executed. He however soon came to realize the falsity of the charge, and then began to implore his son to take the charge of the kingdom which the latter forsook in disgust and turned an ascetic. This is a story on which little reliance can be placed, in absence of further evidence to corroborate it. A king by the name of Reṇu is indeed mentioned in the

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1. J., V, pp. 457 *ff.*
2. *Ibid.,* p. 479-G. 396 : "*Koravyaseṭṭha Sutasoma.*"
3. *Ibid.,* pp. 491-2 GG. 429-438.
4. *Ibid.,* p. 503-GG, 471-2 This shows the inconsistent nature of the *Jātakas*—between the prose and the *gāthās.*
5. *MBH.,* I, 178-9 ; *Viṣṇu* P., IV, 4 ; See Pargiter, *A. I. H. T,* pp. 208 *ff.* According to the *Jātaka* story, it was after this king Kammāsapāda that a town named Kammāsadhamma was founded in Kuru Kingdom. *Cf.* Law, *op cit.,* I, p. 18 ; Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India,* p. 27.
6. J. V, pp. 21 *ff*
7. Sutasoma appears as the name of a son of Bhīma in the *MBH.,* I, 63, 122 ; 95, 74 ; the story of Sutasoma is referred to in the *Milindapañho* (1st cent. B.C.) ; The *Jātaka* is also depicted in a fresco at Ajaṇṭā.
8. J., IV, pp. 444 *ff.* Only one *gāthā,* 192, names him.
9. Rayohaudhury, *P. H. A. I.,* p. 94, *cf. MBH.,* I, 140.
10. J., IV, p. 452-G. 215.

Dīgha-Nikāya[1] and the *Mahāvastu*,[2] but the name of the kingdom over which he ruled is not specified.[3] The Epic and the *Purāṇas* also mention a king Reṇu of Ayodhyā whose daughter Reṇukā was married to Jamadagni, father of Paraśurāma[4]. But these scanty and imperfect evidences carry us no further.

Dr. Raychaudhury[5] draws our attention to the Jaina *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra* which mentions a king Iśukāra ruling at the town called Iśukāra in the Kuru country.[6] We are at once reminded of a king of the same or similar name Esukārī of the *Hatthipāla Jātaka*,[7] who seems to have been passed unnoticed by the learned Doctor. The story of Esukārī, as related in the above *Jātaka*, agrees remarkably well with that found in the Jaina *Sūtra*. Even some of the *gāthās* in both the versions agree literally.[8] These facts lead us to identify the two kings—Iśukāra and Esukārī. But there is one chief difference between the two that cannot be passed over. The *Jātaka*-Esukārī reigned in Benares and not in Iśukāra (in Kuru kingdom) as the Jaina *Sūtra* says. But here again, is not the *Jātaka* in all probability guilty of foisting upon the Kuru king its own pet kingdom of Benares ? It seems the Jaina tradition is much more reliable, and we may take it that Esukārī was a Kuru king. The interesting and untoward reference in a *gāthā* of our *Jātaka*,[9] to the fact that Esukārī's queenconsort was a Pañcālī. may, indeed, lend a significant support to our conclusion.

The long and short of the story itself, even if we confine ourselves to the *gāthās* alone, is this : King Esukāriī had no son. So he wanted to make one of the *Purohita's* sons king, but all of them turned out ascetics. So did also the *Purohita* and his wife ; then the king also embraced religious life, and last the queen :

"Thus Esukārī, mighty king, the lord of many lands,
From King turned hermit, like an elephant that bursts his bands".[10]

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1. II, 230 *ff*; *Dialogues of the Buddha*, II, pp. 266 *ff*.

2. See Law, *A Study of the Mahāvastu* p. 146. He is also referred to in the *Dīpavamsa*, III, 40, apparently as the king of Benares.

3. In the *Nikāya* passage his kingdom is said to have been, in the middle of the seven kingdoms of Kaliṅga, Assaka, Avantī, Sovīra, Videha, Aṅga and Kāsi. Prof. Rhys Davids in a note on the above passage, says : 'None of the seven kingdoms is in the midst of others. Benares would suit that position less badly than any other.' *op. cit.*, p. 270. If Reṇu's kingdom is not to be included in the list, Kuru may well be a better substitute.

4. Pargiter, *A. I. H. T.*, pp. 151, 199.

5. *P. H. A. I.*, p. 94.

6. It must be stated here that it is the commentary, and not the *Sūtra* text itself, that places the town in Kuru country : Jacobi, *Jain Sūtras, S.B.E.*, XLV, p. 61 note.

7. J., IV, pp. 473 *ff*.

8. Some of the verses occurring in both are traced even in the *Great Epic*, xii, 175, and the *Dhammapada*. It appears that this remarkable dialogue between Father and Son must have been very ancient to be the common source of the Buddhists, the Jainas and the Brāhmaṇas: Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature*, I, pp. 417-8 note; J. Charpentier, *Z. D. M. G.*, 62 (1908) p. 725 *ff*.

9. J., IV, p. 486-G. 312 : "*Eva pi maṁ tvaṁ udatāri bhoti Pañcāli gāthāhi subhāsitāhi.*" It is not improbable, we think, that herein is to be traced an unrecorded alliance between the Kuru and the Pañcāla kings, the outcome of which was the marriage of a Pañcāla princess with the Kuru king.

10. *Ibid.*, G. 313 (*abhisaṁbuddha gāthā*); *Cf.* the Jaina *Sūtra*, *loc. cit.* which quotes similar *gāthā*.

"It seems probable," says Dr. Raychaudhury,[1] "that after the removal of the main royal family to Kauśāmbī,[2] the Kuru realm was parcelled out into small states of which Indapatta and Iśukāra were apparently the most important. Later on the little principalities gave place to a Saṅgha or republic" known to Kauṭilya.[3]

Here finishes our information about the Kuru kings as supplied by the *Jātakas*, and we may now take up the Pañcāla Kings.

THE PANCĀLAS

The curious legend, given in the *Cetiya Jātaka* about the foundation of Uttarapañcāla by a Ceti Prince, may or may not have any historical value.[4] The *Jātakas*, curiously enough, speak of Uttarapañcāla both as a capital city in the Kingdom of Kaṁpilla[5] and as a kingdom with Kaṁpilla as its capital city.[6] It is to be noted, however, that not a single *gāthā* in the whole of the *Jātaka* book mentions Uttarapañcāla, but that it is Pañcāla simply that finds repeated mention in a number of *gāthās*.[7] The two terms must therefore be clearly understood. No trace of such a division of Pañcāla as the northern (*Uttara*) or the southern (*Dakṣiṇa*) is to be found in the *Vedic* or *Brāhmaṇic* Literature.[8] They know the Pañcālas,[9] and the town of Kaṁpilla[10] which is really known in later times to be their capital. It follows, then, that this division must be a later one. Even the Great Epic itself, if we condescend to believe it, clearly says that the division took place sometime before the Great war, when the Pāṇḍavas defeated Drupada king of Pañcāla and handed over the Pañcāla kingdom to their preceptor Droṇa as promised, who, by way of kindliness, kept the northern half of the kingdom for himself and returned the southern half to Drupada, river Bhāgīrathī forming the dividing line.[11] The capital of the former was at Ahicchatrā which is unknown to *Vedic* Literature, and that of the latter at Kāṁpilya, *Vedic* Kampila. *Ahicchatrā* appears to be a later form of *Adhicchatrā* preserved in the famous Pabhosā cave

1. *P. H. A. I.*, p. 94.

2. This happened in the reign of Nicakṣu, the fifth successor of Janamejaya Pārīkṣita when Hastināpura the old capital was destroyed by the Gangas 'flood' or rather by the inroads of the locusts (*matachi*) presumably a few centuries after the Great War, *Ibid.*, pp. 27, 46-7.

3. *Arthaśāstra*, XI, 1. The existence of the Kurus can be traced as late as the time of King Dharmapāla of Bengal (800 A.D.) Dutt, *Aryanisation of India*, p. 125.

4. J., III, pp. 460-1. *Supra.*

5. J., II, p. 213; III, p. 79; IV, p. 430; V, pp. 21, 98; VI, pp. 391-392, 409, 415, 426, 461, 466. It is once a city in Kuru kingdom as already noticed.

6. J., III, p. 379; VI, p. 405.

7. J., II, p. 214-G, 154; III, pp. 80-GG. 90-1, 381-G, 94; VI, pp. 397-G. 1455; 424-G. 1491; 477-G. 1677. The name of Dakkhiṇapañcāla is conspicuously absent from the whole of the *Jātaka* book. Pañcāla roughly corresponds to Bareilly, Budaon, Farrukhabad and the adjoining districts of the United Provinces: Raychaudhury, *P. H. A. I.*, p. 47.

8. Raychaudhury, *P. H. A. I.*. pp. 47, 94; *Ved. Ind.*, I, p. 469. The solitary reference in a later *Vedic* text to the Prācya Pañcālas may perhaps only point to the Eastern inhabitants of the country and it cannot well be taken to refer to a division as such.

9. *Vedic Index*, I, pp. 468-9.

10. *Ibid.*, p. 149.

11. *MBH.*, I, 104: 168; *Harivaṁśa*, 20; Raychaudhury, *P. H. A. I.*, p. 94.

Inscription of the second century B. C..[1] It seems probable therefore that the above division is a later product when perhaps Adhicchatrā rose into prominence and succeeded in securing for itself a separate part from out the renowned kingdom of Pañcāla.

How then are we to reconcile this with the *Paurāṇic* accounts which, actually, give long lists of the two dynasties separately ?[2] We must admit our inability to decide the precise facts in the present state of our knowledge, especially in view of the fact that we have the confused *Paurāṇic* accounts as our sole guide in this direction. We should leave this problem for further light that future research may throw.

There is a very remarkable evidence, as regards the family or dynastic connections of the Pañcāla kings named in the *Jātakas*, which has not gained the prominence it deserves. As will be seen, most of the Pañcāla kings are connected with, what seems to be their family title, *Brahmadatta.* And a Brahmadatta is a famous king of south Pañcāla in the *Purāṇas.*[3] Now, to co-ordinate various other facts, two *gāthās*, at least, in our *Jātaka* book,[4] preserve a dim recollection of the dynastic descent of the Pañcāla kings from the Bhāratas of old, as the epithets *Bharatūsabha* and *Bhārata* given to these kings clearly show. This latter fact lends valuable confirmation to the *Vedic*[5] Epic[6] and *Paurāṇic*[7] evidence.[8] Thus it seems legitimate to infer that the Brahmadatta Dynasty of Pañcāla was of Bhārata-descent. Then again, as pointed out by Dr. Raychaudhury,[9] a king of Kāśī named Dhataraṭṭha is represented as a Bhārata prince in the *Mahāgovinda Suttanta* of the *Dīgha Nikāya.* "The Bhārata dynasty of Kāsī," adds the learned scholar, "seems to have been supplanted by a new line of Kings who had the family name Brahmadatta and were probably of Videha origin."[10] We may or may no place any great reliance on the solitary reference about the Bhārata connectiot with Kāśī. But as regards *Brahmadatta* being a family name of the Kān monarchs, our *Jātakas* are quite explicit, as will appear[11]. A questionśī naturally arises: had this Brahmadatta dynasty of Kāśī anything to do with the similarly named one of Pañcāla ? This is a subtle and an interesting question. Some of the *Jātaka* passages, as will be shown later on, have led Dr. Raychaudhury,[12] to assign a Videhan origin for the Brahmadattas of

1. *Epigraphica Indica*, II. p. 243 and note. See Majumdar, *C. A. G. I.* pp. 412 *ff*; 704 5.
2. *Cf.* Pargiter, *op. cit.*, pp. 146-8 ; Pradhan, *op. cit.*, pp. 83 *ff*; 103 *ff*.
3. Pargiter, *op. cit.*, pp. 42, 64-5, 69, 148, 164-6, 316-7 ; Pradhan, *op cit.*, pp. 106 *ff*.
4. J., IV, p. 435-G, 159 ; V, p. 99-G, 306.
5. See *Vedic Index*, II, p. 96 ; Oldenberg, *Buddha*, p. 408.
6. *MBH*, I, 94. Dhṛṣṭadyumna of the North Pañcāla line is called *Bharatarṣabhah* in the Epic. See Pargiter, . *op. cit.*, p. 113 note.
7. *Matsya P.*, 50, for instance.
8. *Cf.* Pargiter, *J. R. A. S.*, 1910, pp. 26, 28 ; 1914, p. 284 ; 1918, pp. 238-9 ; *A. I. H. T*, p. 113 ; Raychaudhury *P. H. A. I.*, pp. 48-9 ; Dutt *Aryanisation of India*, p. 108 ; A. Banerji Sastri, *op. cit.*, pp. 65, 69. Keith, in *C. H. I.*, I. pp. 118 *ff*.
9. *P. H. A. I.*, p. 51 . *Cf.* J., V, p. 317-G. 94 where a Kāśī king is addressed as *Bhārata*.
10. *Ibid.*, pp. 51-2.
11. See Bhandarkar, *Carmichael Lectures*, 1918, pp. 56-7.
12. *P. H. A. I.*, pp. 51-2.

Kāśī. Stray, and therefore insufficient, as these references are to warrant such a conclusion,[1] they are not altogether untenable. What is more, as it seems to us, Videha must have acted as a mediator between the two kingdoms of Pañcāla and Kāśī in supplying the title *Brahmadatta* to the latter from the former. By a mysterious process of alliances, unknown to us, the Brahmadatta kings of Pañcāla, very probably through the medium of Videha, transferred, and perpetuated, their dear title to the kings of Benares.[2]

To return to the Pañcālas. The *Jātakas*, as we just saw, know the Pañcāla-Bhārata connection, that old merging of the Vedic Bhāratas into the later Pañcālas. We also saw that most of the Pañcāla kings, mentioned in the *Jātakas*, bear the family title of *Brahmadatta*. As such, they may perhaps be convincingly regarded as kings of South Pañcāla of the *Purāṇas*. We shall now take up the individual kings.

Dummukha seems to have been a famous personality. According to the *Kumbhakāra Jātaka*,[3] his kingdom was styled Uttara-Pañcālaraṭṭha. His capital was Kampillanagara. He is represented to have renounced the world in company with his contemporary kings, *viz.*, Karaṇḍu of Kaliṅga, Naggaji of Gandhāra and Nimi of Videha.[4] The contemporariety of these four Kings is also attested to by the Jaina *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra*[5] in a similar *gāthā*. The *Vedic* evidence, as pointed out by Raychaudhury,[6] also goes in support of this. "Durmukha, the Pañcāla king, had a priest named Bṛhaduktha,[7] who was the son of Vāmadeva.[8] Vāmadeva was a contemporary of Somaka, the son of Sahadeva.[9] Somaka had close spiritual relationship with Bhīma, king of Vidarbha, and Nagnajit, king of Gandhāra".[10] Thus if the above synchronism be accepted as correct, we shall have to hold all these kings to be contemporaneous with one another, *viz.*, Somaka Sāhadevya,[11] Durmukha

1. See Sen, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

2. That there were wars between the Pañcālas and the Videhas is clear from the *Brāhmaṇas* as well as from the *Jātakas*: See *C. H. I.*, I, pp. 122-3; J., V, pp. 98 *ff.* After the struggle, there must have been matrimonial alliances between the two as is natural and as is in fact proved by the *Jātaka* instance of Pañcālacaṇḍī's marriage with the Vedeha: *ibid;* close relations between Videha—and Kāsī are known from the *Brāhmaṇas*: *C. H. I.*, I. pp. 122-3. Thus there is nothing improbable in this process of transferrence, though we must take it as hypothetical only.

3. J., III, p. 379.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 381-G. 94.

5. *S. B. E.*, XLV, p. 87. *Cf.* also J. J. Meyer, *Hindu Tales*, p. 121. On the slightly variant forms of the names in different versions Meyer remarks: "So the names speak for the priority, or at least, a greater originality, of the Buddhistic versions." *op. cit.*, and *loc. cit.* n.

6. *P. H. A. I.*, pp. 57-8.

7. *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, VIII, 23; *Ved. Ind.*, I, p. 370.

8. *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, XIII, 2, 2, 14; *Ved. Ind.*, II, p.71.

9. *Ṛg Veda*, IV, 15, 7-10; Pradhan *op. cit.*, pp. 99-100; Somaka and Sahadeva in the passage of the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, referred to above, are connected with the *ṛṣis*, Parvata and Nārada. See *Ved. Ind.*, II, p. 479.

10. *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, VII, 34; the passage names another king-Babhru Daivāvṛdhaḥ also.

11. Somaka Sāhadevya is represented in the *Purāṇas* as a king of the North Pañcāla line Pargiter, *A. I. H. T.*, p. 148; Pradhan, *op. cit.*, pp. 87 *ff.* So our Dummukha should naturally be regarded as a king of south Pañcāla.

Pañcāla, Bhīma Vaidarbha and Nagnajit Gāndhāra.[1] The Vedic texts do not mention Karaṇḍu or Nimi.[2]

Our *Jātaka*, as has been stated above, depicts Dummukha as renouncing the world on seeing the lustful nature of animals and their consequent ruin.[3] The *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, on the other hand, describes him as a great conqueror. "This great annointing of Indra," so declares the *Brāhmaṇa*, "Bṛhadukṭha, the seer, proclaimed to Durmukha, the Pāñcāla. Therefore Durmukha Pāñcāla, being a king, by this knowledge, went round the earth completely, conquering on every side."[4] It would seem probable that his renunciation, about which there can be no doubt,[5] took place towards the end of his glorious career as world-conqueror.

It is difficult to assign to him any particular date or place among the Pañcāla kings known to us. Janaka's Pañcāla contemporary, as we know,[6] was the famous Pravāhaṇa Jaivali. If the Nimi mentioned in our *Jātaka* as a contemporary of Dummukha be the same as the penultimate king of Janaka's family mentioned in the *Nimi Jātaka*,[7] then Dummukha must be placed after Janaka, and hence later than Pravāhaṇa Jaivali.[8] But this does not seem possible, for it would bring down Dummukha much lower in time, and would thus go against the unquestionable verdict of the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* which refers to him as an ancient king. Dummukha, therefore, appears to our mind to have lived prior to Pravāhaṇa Jaivali.[9]

Another really great king is Culaṇi-Brahmadatta mentioned in the *Mahā-Ummagga Jātaka*.[10] We may be quite sure that this Cūlaṇi-Brahmadatta is identical with that mentioned in the *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra*,[11] the *Svapnavāsavadattā*, a play by Bhāsa[12] and in the *Rāmāyaṇa*,[13] though the stories told about him in these works differ from one another. The *Uttarādhyayana*

1. This synchronism agrees, more or less, with the findings of Pargiter except that Durmukha and Nagnajit, are not mentioned in the genealogical list given by him. *A. I. H. T.*, P. 148.

2. Nimi's identification with Nami Sāpya of the Vedic texts is, as Raychaudhury points out, more or less, problematical: *P. H. A. I.*, p. 57.

3. It is interesting to note that the cause of renunciation is different in the Jaina version. Both the *Jātaka* and the Jaina versions have the four *Gāthās* spoken by the four kings but while the *Jātaka* is reticent about the respective names of the kings, the Jaina story gives them and, as such, may be taken as more correctly informed. According to the latter, Domuha renounced the world when he beheld the banner of Indra fall down. See *Hindu Tales*, p. 144.

4. *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, VIII, 23; translation by Keith, *Rg-Veda Brāhmaṇas*, p. 338.

5. The *Tibetan Tales* (Schiefner and Ralston) p. 11 and the *Divyāvadāna* (Cowell and Neil), pp. 211, 217, remember him as a *ṛṣi*—a sage.

6. Raychaudhury, *P. H. A. I.*, pp. 49 *ff.*

7. J., VI, pp. 95 *ff.*

8. *Cf.* Raychaudhury, *P. H. A. I.*, p. 49.

9. *Cf.* Keith, in *C. H. I.*, p. 121.

10. J., VI, pp. 391 *ff.*

11. XLV, 57-61; See also Meyer *op. cit.*, pp. 3. *ff.*, where Bambhadatta is a wicked king. "wooden statue of a sensualist."

12. *Svapnavāsavadattā* (ed. Gaṇapati Śāstrī), Act. V.

13. I, 33, 18 *ff.*

Sūtra seems to be more correct in interpreting the name of the king as '*Brahmadatta*, born of (queen) Cūlaṇī',[1] than the *Rāmāyaṇa* which invents a fanciful story of the sage named Cūlī who, through his austerities, bestowed upon a lady a son named Brahmadatta. The fact that he is a popular figure in all the various versions only strengthens our belief that he is a real historical personage. We cannot however ascertain at present whether he can be identical with the Brahmadatta of south Pañcāla found in Pargiter's dynastic list.[2] The least we can say is that the two, if not identical, were most probably connected with the same dynastic or lineal relation. This may gain confirmation by the fact that some of the direct descendants of the *Paurāṇic* Brahmadatta are, as will be shown, known to the *Jātakas*, though in a different garb.

The story as related in the *Mahā-Ummagga Jātaka* embodies in itself a great conflict between this great Pañcāla king and a Videha king. Even if we solely confine ourselves to the *gāthās*, we do visualise the picture of the conflict, with its various aspects, so vividly as to render the account historically probable.

On the advice of his Brāhmaṇa minister Kevaṭṭa, so runs the story,[3] King Cūlaṇi Brahmadatta started a vigorous career of conquest and succeeded in establishing his sway over the whole of India excepting Videha. Twice, in his attempts to capture Mithilā, the capital of Videha,[4] he failed, owing to the diplomatic opposition of the Videha minister-Mahosadha.[5] Baffled in these attempts, Brahmadatta now, again through Kevaṭṭa's advice, offered to marry his daughter Pañcālacaṇḍī to the Videha king, and invited him to the city for the purpose, with the ulterior motive of putting him to death during his stay there[6]. The Videha king was ready. But the unfailing alertness of Mahosadha again saved him from the treacherous design of Kevaṭṭa. He caused an underground tunnel from Mithilā to the Pañcāla city, had 300 ships ready within a short time, and in a most ingenuous manner carried out the safe escape of the king from the enemy's country, with Pañcālacaṇḍī who was now his wife, Pañcālacaṇḍa, the Pañcāla prince, and Nandā, Brahmadatta's wife[7]. Final reconciliation was then arrived at between the two kings. After the demise of his master, Mahosadha, as promised, left the kingdom of Videha and passed the remainder of his life with Cūlaṇi-Brahmadatta, now a sincere appreciator of his.

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1. XIII, 1, "*Cūlaṇie Baṁbhadatto.*"
2. *A. I. H. T.*, p. 148.
3. J., VI, pp. 396 *ff.*
4. *Ibid.*, GG. 1451-8—"*Pañcālo sabbasenāya Brahmadatto samāgato;*" and then follows the description of the army; "*tāya senāya Mithilā tisandhiparivāritā rājadhānī Videhānaṁ samantā parikhañati.*"
5. *Cf.* the characteristic words of the minister—"*Pāde deva pasārehi bhuñja Kāme ramassa ca, hitvā Pañcāliyaṁ senaṁ Brahmadatto pamāyati*"—*Ibid.*, p. 399-G. 1459.
6. "*Rājā santhavakāmo te ratanāni pavecchati—Pañcālā ca Videhā ca ubhe ekā bhavantu te*" *Ibid.* p. 412-GG. 1460-1 and "*ānayitvāna Vedehaṁ Pañcālānaṁ rathesabho tato taṁ ghātayissati nāssa sakkhi bhavissati*" *Ibid.*, p. 424-G. 1491.
7. Thus commands the minsiter to the servants: "*etha mānavā utthetha mukhaṁ sodhetha sandhino, Videho sahayamacchi ummaggena gamissati*" *Ibid.*, p. 444-G, 1555; also GG. 1552-61.

The story may essentially be legendary. But the easy flowing and the ballad-like *gāthās*, intervening the narrative, could not but force us to reproduce the account in a nutshell, with a view only to have a tentative recognition of its main historical character.[1]

Cūlaṇi Brahmadatta must really have been a great conqueror as the title of 'Universal Monarch' given to him by the *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra* clearly suggests. It seems probable from this, that he lived during the period when the erstwhile powerful kingdom of Videha was on its wane and when Kāsī had not yet raised its head against the powers of the North and the East. On the other hand, it is interesting to note that two *gāthās* in our *Jātaka* seem to say that the kingdom of Kāsī was under the overlordship of Cūlaṇi Brahmadatta, since the latter was prepared to give away eighty villages in Kāsī to Mahosadha by way of gifts.[2] This again is not impossible, in view of the fact that Kāsī, during this period, was an easy prey to the more powerful Kuru-Pañcāla kings.[3]

Finally, we should notice, a king named Saṅkhapāla, ruling over the kingdom of Ekabala, is mentioned in our *Jātakas*[4] as being contemporaneous with Cūlaṇi Brahmadatta and busy preparing for some war. The reference is made in a manner which would appear to locate this kingdom somewhere outside India. Neither the king nor his kingdom can however be identified.

The *Jayaddisa Jātaka*[5] mentions two kings of Pañcāla, *viz.*, Jayaddisa and his son Alīnasattu. The story relates an encounter of King Jayaddisa, while on a hunting with a man-eating ogre, Kammāsapāda, and the final taming of the latter by Prince Alīnasattu.[6] Little reliance can however be placed on the story, and we have nothing to offer to prove the historical existence of the two Kings named here.[7]

Such an uncertainty also prevails, we think, as regards the few other unnamed kings of Pañcāla mentioned in the *Jātakas*. A Pañcāla king is mentioned in the *Brahmadatta Jātaka*,[8] another in the *Sattigumbha Jātaka*[9] and a third in the *Gaṇḍatiṇḍu Jātaka*.[10] All these kings may be purely legendary, as the stories told about them are too much childish, except, perhaps, the one

1. There is nothing in our *Jātaka* to support the following remarks of Raychaudhury: 'The Rāmāyaṇic legend regarding the king is only important as showing the connection of the early Pañcālas with the foundation of the famous city of Kānyakubja in Kanauj". *P. H. A. I.*' p. 96.

2. "*Dammi nikkhasahassaṁ te gāmāsīti ca Kāsisu*"—J. VI, pp. 462. 464; GG. 1630, 1638

3. We know that Dhṛtarāṣṭra of Kāsī was defeated by Śatānīka Sātrājita, a Bhārata prince: *Vedic Index*, I, p. 403; II, p. 352.

4. J., VI, p. 390.

5. J., V, pp. 21 *ff*.

6. "*Pañcāla rājā migavaṁ pavuttho, Jayaddiso nāma yadissuto te, carāmi kacchāni vanaṁ cāhaṁ pasādamimaṁ khāda mamajja muñca*" *Ibid. p. 23-G.* 65—.... "*Ahaṁpi puttosmi Jayaddisassa mamajja khāda pituno pamokkha*" *Ibid.*, p. 30-G. 84.

7. Does the *Jātaka*, here, refer to the *Paurāṇic* king Jayadratha and his son Viśvajit of the South Pañcāla line, found in Pargiter's dynastic list? *A. I. H. T.*, p. 146; does the name *Alīnasattu*—the enemy of the Alīna—contain something which may connect it with the famous tribe—the Alinas—of the *Ṛg Veda*? See *Vedic Index*, I, p. 39.

8. J., III, pp. 79 *ff*.

9. J., IV, pp. 430 *ff*.

10. J., V, pp. 98 *ff*.

whose oppressive measures over his subjects and the devastated condition of his kingdom are so vividly and naturally described in the illuminating *gāthās* intervening the *Jātaka* as to give a historical tinge to the whole narrative.[1] But what is of more importance and value in this connection is the historical association of these unnamed Pañcāla Kings with *Brahmadatta,* their family title[2] and *Bhārata* their dynastic title.[3]

Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar[4] has identified Vissasena, Udayabhadda[5] and Bhallāṭiya of the *Jātakas*[6] with the *Paurāṇic* kings Viśvaksena, Udakasena and Bhallāṭa respectively. The identification was based merely on the striking agreement in names, which is after all not a very convincing argument, and doubts as regards these have rightly been entertained.[7] But several circumstances now tend to go in support of Prof. Bhandarkar's theory. First, the immediate predecessor of the *Paurāṇic* kings is Brahmadatta of South Pañcāla ; [8] secondly, Udaya of the *Gaṅgamāla Jātaka,*[9] but not Udayabhadda of the *Udaya Jātaka,*[10] as Prof. Bhandarkar has taken him to be, is called by the family name *'Brahmadatta'*[11] ; and thirdly, our above discussion on the relation between Brahamdatta and the Pañcālas results in favour of this identification. In view of this we may be inclined to hold that these three kings, whom the *Jātakas* regard, possibly through their usual obstinacy, as the kings of Kāsī, should be taken more correctly as kings of South Pañcāla in agreement with the *Paurāṇic* lists. But here a fresh difficulty faces us as regards Bhallāṭa. A single verse from the *Mahābhārata,*[12] which mentions the country of Bhallāṭa with the mountain Sūktimat, has been the basis of different theories with regard to the identification of this Sūktimt mountain. Dr. R. C. Majumdar[13] identifies the mountain with the Sulaiman range and Bhallāṭa with the *Ṛgvedic* Bhalānas who lived, according to Zimmer, in east Kabulistan and after whom the Bolan pass was named. He is supported by Harit Krisna Deb and Jayaswal.[14] But Dr. Raychaudhury,[15] with good reasons, comes to a different conclusion. According to him the

1. J., V, pp. 102-7—GG. 316-42.

2. In J. III, p. 80, G. 89 addresses the king as *'Brahmadatta'*, while the following two—90 and 91—address him as 'the lord of the *Pañcālas'* ; in J., V, pp. 102 *ff*, from G. 316 onwards the two forms—*Pañcāla* and *Brahmadatta*—recur alternatively, and one *gāthā*—322—has the two forms together—"*garayho brahme Pañcālo Brahmadattasya rājino.*" The mention of the 'hundred Brahmadattas' in the Epic and the *Purānas*, to be intelligible, must include these *Pañcāla Brahmadattas* : Se *MBH.*, II, 8, 23 ; *Matsya* P., 273, 71 ; Raychudhury, *P. H. A. I.*, p. 51.

3. J., V, p. 99, G. 306 addresses the Pañcāla king as *'Bharatūsabha'*, the best of the Bhāratas, while J., IV, p. 435-G. 159 has the appellation *'Bhārata'*.

4. *Carmichael Lectures*, 1918, p. 57.

5. See note below.

6. J., II, pp. 345 *ff*; IV, pp. 104 *ff*; IV, pp. 437 *ff*.

7. Sen, *op. cit.*, p. 11. Raychaudhury, *op. cit.*, pp. 69-70, keeps the identification as it is

8. *A. I. H. T.*, p. 148.

9. J., III, pp. 452 *ff*.

10. J., IV pp. 104 *ff*.

11. J., III, p. 452 "*kiṁ Brahmadatta iti rājānaṁ kulanāmena ālapitvāti*" and G. 42. It is this Udaya, and not Udayabhadda of Bhandarkar, who is distinctly associated with Kāsī in J., IV, p. 113-G. 58, and who is to be identified with the *Paurāṇic* Udakasena.

12. II, 30, 5—"*Bhallāṭamabhito Jigye Sūktimantaṁ ca parvataṁ.*"

13. *Proceedings, Second Oriental Conference*, 1923, pp. 609 *ff*.

14. *Ibid.*, preface p. xliii.

15. *Studies in Indian Antiquities*, p. 120.

Bhallāṭa country and consequently Sūktimat were situated in Central India. "The evidence of the *Mahābhārata* points to some range between Indraprastha (Delhi) and Lauhitya (Brahmaputrā) as the real Sūktimat"[1] ; and it also seems to locate Bhallāṭa before Kāsī and after Kuru, that is to say, in the region inhabited by the Pañcālas.[2]

Thus Prof. Bhandarkar's identification holds good and our inclusion of the three kings among the Pañcālas seems to be justified.

The foregoing discussion would appear to show, that some of the Pañcālas referred to above were real historical personages, and must have lived during the period that may be said to range between the 12th and the 10th centuries B. C..[3]

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1. *Ibid.*, p. 166.

2. This at least seems to us to be the real solution. Raychaudhury's suggestion that the *Mahābhārata* and the *Jātakas* connect Bhallāṭa with Kāsī is not valid. The epic verse clearly distinguishes Bhallāṭa—Sūktimat from Kāsī whose king it names as Subāhu. As to the *Jātaka*, we have already referred to its usual obstinacy to bring in Kāsī anywhere and every-where it likes.

3. Before the time of *Kauṭilya i.e.*, before the 4th century B.C., the Pañcālas seem to have established a *saṅgha* form of government of the *Rājaśabdopajivin* type : See *Arthaśāstra*, II, I, ; *P. H. A. I.*, p. 96 ; Bhandarkar, *C. L.*, pp. 164-5 ; Majumdar, *Corporate Life in Ancient India*, pp. 205 *ff*.

CHAPTER III

VIDEHA AND THE LESSER KINGDOMS
(1200—800 B.C.)

THE VIDEHAS

VIDEHA HAS GAINED an immortal fame through Janaka, the great philosopher-king of the *Upaniṣads*, who even to this day is revered by every pious Hindu. The fame and prosperity of the Kingdom are known also to the *Jātakas*.

It extended over three hundred leagues and was situated in Majjimadesa or Middle Country.[1] It comprised 16000 villages.[2] Its capital city Mithilā covered seven-leagues.[3] At its four gates were four market towns (*nigamagāmas*).[4] The following fine description of the city is given in the *Mahājanaka Jātaka*[5] :

"..This Mithilā spacious and splendid,
By architects with rule and line laid out in order fair to see,
With walls and gates and battlements—traversed by streets on every side
With horses, cows and chariots thronged, with tanks and gardens beautified,
Videha's far-famed capital gay with its knights and warrior swarms,
Clad in the robes of tiger-skins, with banners, spread and flashing arms,
Its Brahmins, dressed in Kāsī cloth, perfumed with sandal decked with gems,
Its palaces and all their queens with robes of state and diadems."

Videha roughly corresponds to the modern Tirhut in Bihar, and Mithilā is identified with Janakapur, a small town within the Nepal border, north of which the Muzaffarpur and Darbhanga districts meet.[6]

The *Makhādeva Jātaka*[7] and the *Nimi Jātaka*[8] mention a king named Makhādeva as the progenitor of the royal line of Mithilā, while the *Rāmāyaṇa*,[9] and the *Purāṇas*[10] name Nimi as the founder of the Videha dynasty. Both the latter authorities, again, mention Mithi as the son of Nimi and the builder of the city of Mithilā.[11] Some scholars[12] are inclined to take Mithi as identical with our Makhādeva. But this is not plausible. Real identification how-

1. J., III, p. 365; IV, p. 316.
2. J., III, p. 367-G. 76.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 365.
4. J., VI, p. 330.
5. *Ibid.*, pp. 46-7; also J., IV, pp. 358-9.
6. *C. A. G. I.*, p. 718. The territory suffered heavily during the recent earthquake.
7. J., I, p. 139.
8. J., VI, p. 96.—"*tesaṁ sabbapathamaṁ*" *Cf.* the *Makhādeva Suttanta*, of the *Majjhima Nikāya* and *Culla Niddesa*, p. 80.
9. I, 71, 3.
10. *Vāyu P.*, 89; *Viṣṇu P.*, IV, 5; *A. I. H. T.*, pp. 84, 95.
11. J., VI, p. 47-G. 155 names Somanassa as the builder of the city: "*māpitaṁ Somanassena*."
12. Sen, *op. cit.*, p. 14; Raychaudhury, *P. H. A. I.*, p. 35—"Mithi is reminiscent of Māthava."

ever is to be sought, as already suggested by Raychaudhury[1] between Māthava Videgha of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*,[2] and our Makhādeva or Maghādeva of the *Culla Niddesa* and the Barhut Stupa Inscriptions[3]. The remarkable passage of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* has, since the time of Weber, been taken, perhaps rightly, to indicate the progress of *Vedic* Āryan civilization from the North-west towards the East from the Sarasvatī to the Sadānīrā.[4] Whatever the merits of the interpretations given to this passage, it is certain that it refers to an earlier connection of Māthava Videgha with the Videha people. And moreover there is no difficulty, as shown by Barua and Sinha,[5] in establishing the phonological identification between the two names, Māthava and Makhādeva, both of which are but dialectical variants of one and the same word, Mahādeva. Thus the *Jātaka* may be given the credit of preserving, in common with the older *Brāhmaṇa*, the tradition about the man who should be regarded as the earliest known king of Videha.

Makhādeva, in our *Jātakas*, is represented as a pious and religious ruler (*dhammiko dhammarājā*). After a long reign of peace and prosperity, he is said to have renounced the world and assumed the garb of an ascetic, on seeing his hair turn grey.[6]

The *Jātakas* also know of more than one Janakas reigning at Mithilā, thus agreeing with the *Paurāṇic* statements about the '*Janakavaṁśa*' or the Janaka dynasty of Videha.[7] The *Mahājanaka Jātaka*[8] furnishes us with the following genealogical table which, of course, should not be taken as wholly reliable :—

Mahājanaka I

Ariṭṭhajanaka	Polajanaka
Mahājanaka II married ....×........	Sīvalīdevī.

Dīghāyu.

1. *P. H. A. I.*, pp. 35-36.
2. I, 4, 1, *et. seq.*
3. Barua and Sinha, *op. cit.*, pp. 78-80.
4. See *Vedic Index*, II, pp. 151, 298-9; Oldenberg, *Buddha*, pp. 398-9; Law, *Some Kṣatriya Tribes*, pp. 127-9; Bhandarkar, *C. L.*, p. 14; C. V. Vaidya, *I. H. Q.*, V, p. 257; Raychaudhury, *P. H. A. I.*, p. 35. contrast Pargiter, *A. I. H. T.*, pp. 224, 311.
5. l. c.; also Barua, in *I. H. Q.* IV, pp. 522-3. *Calcutta Review*, October, 1927, p. 66; Jayaswal, *J. B. O. R. S.*, V, p. 520; for Dr. Voegel's objection to the point. *J. R. A. S.*, 1927, p. 594.
6. J., I, pp. 137-9; VI, pp. 95-6; Cf. *Majjhima Nikāya, Suttanta* No. 83 The scene of the finding of a grey hair is marvellously sculptured on a railing of the Barhut stupa: See Cunningham, *Stupa of Barhut*, pl. xlviii; Francis and Thomas, *Jātaka Tales*, pl. i; the idea of renouncing the world when one's hair turn grey, is to this day very common with the Hindus. *Cf.* a similar utterance of the King in Tagore's *The Cycle of Spring.—'Fālguni.'*
7. *Mārkaṇḍeya P.*, 13, 11; Bhavabhūti, *Uttararāmacaritaṁ*, Act. I, verse 7: "*Janakānām*"; Pargiter, *op. cit.*, p. 96—"*Janaka rājāno bahavo*"; *Brahmāṇḍa P.*, 88, 22.
8. J., VI, pp. 30 *ff.*

Now, which of these two Janakas is identifiable with the one known to us from the *Upaniṣads* and the Epics ?. Dr. Raychaudhury[1] seems to be inclined to identify the *Upaniṣadic* Janaka with our Mahājanaka I. But the theory does not seem to be supported by strong reasons, as he himself admits. The learned doctor does indeed recognise the parallelism of a verse common to the *Jātaka*, the *Mahābhārata* and the *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra*. In the *Jātaka*,[2] it is Mahājanaka II who gives utterance to this famous verse :—

"*Susukhaṁ vata jīvāma yesaṁ no natthi Kiñcanaṁ*

Mithilāya dahyamānāya na me kiñci adahyathā".[3]

In the Great Epic,[4] too, in a similar context, the same verse is attributed to the philosopher king Janaka of Mithilā. Whereas—and this is the one stumbling block for Dr. Raychaudhury—the *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra*[5] attributes this saying to Nami. Thus the Epic and the *Jātaka* are at one with regard to this fact. The Jaina version should not make us hesitate in accepting the above identification. For, it is a simple fact of substitution of the name of Nami, who is more intimately known to the Jainas, for that of Janaka, the *Brāhmaṇic* philosopher-king.[6]

Furthermore, the *Jātaka* does not say much about Mahājanaka I, who is only mentioned as the father of two sons, Ariṭṭha Janaka and Polajanaka. It is, on the other hand, Mahājanaka II who is the central figure in the whole story. He is 'a towering and luminous personality, a clear-cut historical figure, having had a unique career in his early years and, in the later part of his life, exhibiting a great spirit of renunciation'.[7] This spirit of renunciation and the general outlook on life bear a great deal of kinship with the character of the *Vedic* Janaka. And even the *Mahābhārata*[8] relates an 'old incident' (*itihāsaṁ purātanaṁ*) of the Videha king's renunciation, and the discourse that follows between him and his queen who, grief-stricken, makes a pathetic entreaty to alter his resolve—which bears a remarkable resemblance to that which is related in our *Jātaka*. All this makes us feel certain about the identification of Mahājanaka II with the *Vedic* and Epic Janaka.[9]

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1. *P. H. A. I.*, p. 37—"But", he hesitates, "proof is lacking."
2. J., VI, p. 54-G. 245; also V, p. 252-G. 16; *Cf. Dhammapada*, 200
3. "The utterance" so admits Raychaudhury, "indeed reminds us of the great philosopher king"—*P. H. A. I.*, p. 36. The burning of Mithilā as suggested in this famous *gāthā* is however not a historical fact: See Rajwade, *Proceedings-First Oriental Conference*, II, pp. 115 *ff*.
4. XII, 18, 12—"*Mithilāyāṁ pradīptāyāṁ na me dahyati kiñcana*"; also XII, 219, 50.
5. IX, 14; *S. B. E.*, XLV, p. 37.
6. Rajwade, *op. cit.*, II, p. 123.
7. Sen, *op. cit.*, p. 13.
8. XII, 18, 12.
9. This view seems to have been entertained also by Rhys Davids, *B. I.*, p. 26.

With regard to the *Rāmāyaṇic* Janaka, the father of Sītā, no conclusive proof is forthcoming to identify him with the *Vedic*, the Epic and the *Jātaka* Janaka. It seems however that this Sīradhvaja Janaka was a different king whom later literature, through his connection with Rāma, the divine personage, naively identified with the older *Vedic* king.[1]

Neither the *Vedic* Literature nor the Epic and *Paurāṇic* accounts supply us with any information of historical value regarding the early life of this famous Janaka. And the *Jātaka* story depicting his adventures to Suvaṇṇabhūmī and his marriage with his own cousin Sīvalī seems essentially to be legendary, and no positive reliance can be put on it.[2]

Dr. Raychaudhury's identification of Ariṭṭha Janaka of our *Jātaka* with Ariṣṭanemi of the *Purāṇas*[3] has no good proof excepting the similarity in names.[4] One chief objection to this identification is that Ariṣṭa (-Nemi)'s predecessor was Ṛtujit and successor Śrutāyus,[5] while Ariṭṭhajanaka's predecessor was Mahājanaka I and successor Mahājanaka II. This, we admit however, is not a very solid argument looking to the legendary nature of the *Jātaka* evidence.

Another Videha king who can claim some historical importance is Nimi (or Nemi) mentioned in the *Makhādeva*[6] *Kumbhakāra*[7] and *Nimi*[8] *Jātakas*. The evidence at our disposal would seem to indicate that Nimi ruled after the great Janaka, as he is called the penultimate sovereign of the dynasty.[9] His identity with the *Vedic* king Nami Sāpya (*Vaideho rājā*)[10] is, as Raychaudhury remarks, more or less problematical. But as to his being identical with Nami of the *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra*[11] there seems to be no ground for any objection. Though Nimi appears to have been, like *Janaka*, a family title of the Videha kings, and there must have lived several Nimis, as there were several Janakas, it should be admitted that the famous and popular Nimi was one and one only, as the 'Janaka' was.[12]

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1. See *Vedic Index*, I, p. 273. "The identification of Janaka of Videha and the father of Sītā is less open to objection but it cannot be proved and is somewhat doubtful." Raychaudhury, *P. H. A. I.*, pp. 36, 56. It is indeed strange that Dr. B. C. Sen, *op. cit.*, p. 13, takes this identification as a *fait accompli*.

2. The tradition however as embodied in the *Jātaka* can be shown to be as old as the 2nd century B. C. since a scene from our *Jātaka* is seen sculptured on a railing of the Barhut Stupa with the inscription: "*isukāro Janako rājā Sīvalīdevī*"—The arrowmaker Janaka. Queen Sīvalī: Cunningham, *Stupa of Barhut*, pl. xliv. Barua and Sinha, *op. cit.*, p. 94.

3. *P. H. A. I.*, pp. 37, 56.

4. That Nemi should have been the son of Ariṣṭa and identical with Mahājanaka II is, as we have seen, not probable.

5. See Pargiter, *op. cit.*, p. 149.

6. J., I, pp. 137-9.

7. J., III, pp. 379 *ff.*

8. J., VI, p. 96.

9. J., I, p. 139; VI, p. 96.

10. See *Vedic Index*, I, p. 436. It is certain however, as we saw above, that Nami Sāpya must have lived later than Māthava Videgha who should be regarded as the earliest known king, if not the founder, of the Videha kingdom. *Cf.* Dutt, *Aryanisation of India*, pp. 113-4.

11. *S. B. E.*, XLV, pp. 87 *ff.*

12. Raychaudhury, *P. H. A. I.*, p. 57.

The *Jātakas* represent Nimi as a great king, devoted to pious and charitable activities. The greater part of the *Nimi Jātaka*, however, confused as it is, is devoted to the account of Nimi's journey to heaven and hell in company with Mātali. This is useless for our present purpose. The only thing that may be taken notice of is, that he is depicted as a searcher after the Eternal Truth. He is said to have entertained a sincere doubt whether almsgiving or holy life is more fruitful:

"There is king Nimi, wise and good, the better part who chose,
King of Videha, gave great gifts, that Conqueror of his foes;
And as these bounteous gifts he gave, behold this doubt arose
'Which is more useful—holy life or giving alms? who knows?'"[1]

The *Kumbhakāra Jātaka* as well as the *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra*, as we have seen before, make him a contemporary of Dummukha of Pañcāla, Naggaji of Gandhāra[2] and Karaṇḍu of Kaliṅga. This may well be taken to represent a historical fact, though conclusive proof is lacking.[3]

More valuable is the statement of the *Nimi Jātaka*, repeated in the *Makhādeva Jātaka*, that Nimi was born to round off the royal family of Videha. 'like the hoop of a chariot wheel' (—a play on the word '*Nimi*'). "Great King" say the soothsayers to the king, "this prince is born to round off your family. This your family of hermits will go no further."[4]

And the *Jātaka* ends with a significant statement that "Nimi's son Kalārajanaka brought his line to an end."[5] Whether we accept or not this relation between Nimi and Kalāra—for we have no other reasons for either—the association of the termination of the line of Videha with Kalārajanaka may readily be accepted as correct, in as much as we have some corroborative evidence on the point. The *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya[6] in the chapter on *Indriyajaya* mentions, among others, Karāla Vaideha as having perished along with his kingdom and relations for a lascivious attempt on a Brāhmaṇa maiden. This fact is confirmed by the poet Aśvagoṣa who says "and so Karālajanaka, when he carried off the Brāhmaṇa's daughter, incurred loss of caste thereby (*avāpa bhraṁśamapyeva*), but he would not give up his love."[7] This Karāla, the Vaideha, must be identified, as already pointed out by Rauchaudhury,[8]

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1. J., VI, p. 102-GG. 131-2; *Cf.* a similar verse in the Great Epic: "*Dānādvā Sarpa Satyādvā kimato gurudṛśyate* "*MBH.*, III, 181, 3; the question is asked by Yudhiṣṭhira to the snake.

2. A Gandhāra king and a Videha king are similarly associated also in the J., III, pp. 364 *ff.* referring, perhaps, to Nimi and Naggaji.

3. *Cf.* Sen, *op. cit.*, p. 6 "... there is at least some reason for regarding it as correct in as much as it may not be quite proper to think that all the different schools of writers conspired to err on this point, where we find them all agreeing in a striking manner."

4. J., I, p. 139: VI, p. 96.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 129-*Putto panassa Kalārajanako nāma taṁ vaṁsaṁ upacchinditvā apabbaji.*"

6. *Arthaśāstra*, I, 6.

7. *Buddhacarita*, IV, 80.

8. *P. H. A. I.*, p. 58.

with our Kalārajanaka who, as stated above, brought the line of Videha to an end. Kalārajanaka is again identifiable with the *Paurāṇic* Kṛthi with whom the race of Janakas is said to have ended.[1]

When precisely this important and memorable event, *viz.*, the termination of the Videhan monarchy and the inauguration of an aristocratic republic, presumably the Vajjian Confederacy, took place, we are unable to decide.[2] But its terminus *ad quem* may, not unreasonably, be taken to be the 8th century B. C., since it must have taken at least a century for the new powerful confederacy to have been firmly established, as we find it in the time of the Buddha and Mahāvīra in the 6th century B. C..[3]

Here may end, properly speaking, our discussion about the Videha kings. But there are yet several Videha kings mentioned in the *Jātakas* who must be noticed here, though for their historical existence we cannot speak with any certainty.

The *Sādhīna Jātaka*[4] mentions a king named Sādhīna who is said to have been very righteous in due accordance with the proverbial fame of Videha. The same *Jātaka* names Nārada[5] as seventh in direct descent from King Sādhīna, which is rather inconceivable.

The *Suruci Jātaka*[6] presents a rather interesting story. King Suruci I of Videha had a son named Suruci II. The latter, while a prince, was a great friend of a Barahmadatta prince of Kāsī. Both of them studied together at Takkasilā. Later on, when Suruci II was seated on the throne of Videha and Brhmadatta on that of Benares, the old friendship was strengthened by a matrimonial alliance. Prince Suruci III was married to Sumedhā, princess of Benares. The new pair had for a long time no issue.[7] When at last a child was born, there was great jubilation in both the kingdoms. The child was named Mahāpaṇāda. Of this Mahāpaṇāda it is said :—

> "*Paṇādo nāma so rājā*
> *Yassa yūpo suvaṇṇayo*
> *Tiriyaṁ solasapabbedho*
> *Uccaṁ āhu sahassadhā* .."[8]

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1. Pargiter, *op. cit.*, p. 96. The *Mahābhārata* also mentions Karālajanaka, but in altogether a different colour. He figures there as a very pious king engaged in discussing with the sage Vasiṣṭha, on some philosophical doctrines, See *MBH.*, XII, 303 *ff.* This is in agreement, if we may so take it, with the *Jātaka*, but differs widely from Kauṭilya and Aśvaghoṣa. The difference, though vital, is remarkably inexplicable.

2. Raychaudhury, *P. H. A. I.*, p. 58.

3. Raychaudhury remarks : "The downfall of the Videhas reminds us of the fate of the Tarquins who were expelled from Rome for a similar crime. As in Rome, so in Videha, the overthrow of the monarchy was followed by the rise of a republic—the Vajjian Confederacy. *P. H. A. I.*, p. 58. *Cf. Ibid.*, pp. 82, 84-5, 129 *ff.* ; Rhys Davids, *B.I.*, pp. 25-6 ; C. J. Shah *Jainism in North India*, pp. 82, 85, 102, 104 *ff.*

4. J., IV, pp. 355 *ff.*

5. *Ibid.*, p. 358—"*So kirassa sattano pana nattā;*" also *Ibid.* p. 359-G. 217.

6. J., IV, pp. 315 *ff.*

7. *Ibid.*, pp. 319-20-GG. 101 *ff.*—"*Mahesī Rucino bhariyā ānītā pathamaṁ ahaṁ*" etc.

8. J., II, p. 334-GG. 40-2 ; IV, p. 325. G (?) The verse also occurs in *Theragāthā* (*P. T. S*) p. 22.

"This great palace of golden pillars" that he had built sunk down in the Ganges near Payāga (Allahabad).[1]

The *Mahānāradakassapa Jātaka*[2] mentions a king named Aṅgati, who was a righteous ruler of Mithilā. He had a daughter named Rūjā and three ministers, Vijaya, Sunāma and Alata. Once he paid a visit to Guṇa, of the Kassapa family, an ascetic and a great scholar. The king imbibed heretical views from him. His daughter Rūjā tried hard to prove the worthlessness of Guṇa's doctrines. It was Nārada Kassapa, however, who succeeded in winning him back to the right path. The doctrines preached by this Guṇa Kassapa,[3] bear a striking resemblance with those of the famous Purāṇa Kassapa, the elder contemporary of the Buddha. Guṇa is an "annihilator' (*Ucchedavādī*) and an unbeliever in the results of good or bad actions, that is to say, a believer in the theory of the 'passivity of the soul'—the Jaina *Akiriyāvāda.* Such is also the philosophy of Purāṇa Kassapa.[4] If this identification be accepted as correct, and if Aṅgati is proved to be a real historical character, which is not impossible, and to be a contemporary of Guṇa, then he must be placed some where in the earlier part of the 6th century B. C..

Anyhow the kings of Videha, noticed in the latter part of our discussion, are more or less doubtful characters, and they must remain as such, until further corroborative evidence comes to their help and proves them otherwise.

SIVI-MADDA-MALLA-GANDHĀRA-KAMBOJA.

Somewhat less in importance, from the view point of the *Jātakas* of course, were the kingdoms of Sivi, Madda, Malla, Gandhāra and Kamboja, which must have flourished during this period (*i.e.*, 1200-800 B.C.), and should therefore be noticed here.

The kingdom of Sivi appears to have been very ancient. The Śiva people of the *Ṛgveda*[5] perhaps occupied this kingdom. During the time of Alexander the Great, there were the Siboi people. "It is probable," says Raychaudhury, "that Śiva, Sivi and Siboi were one and the same people,.... inhabitants of the Shorkot region in Jhang."[6]

The earliest kings of Sivi known to the *Jātakas* are Usīnara and his son Sivi, the two famous traditional kings of the *Ancient Period* discussed before.

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1. The *Cakkavatti Sīhanāda Suttanta* of the *Dīgha Nikāya* says that the palace was recovered by King Saṅkha of Kāsī: Rhys Davids, *Dialogues of the Buddha*, III, p. 74 and note. See also *Divyāvadāna*, pp. 57 *ff.* which in a verse makes Saṅkha contemporaneous with Piṅgala of Kaliṅga, Pāṇḍuka of Mithilā and Elāpatra of Gāndhāra.

2. J., VI, pp. 219 *ff.* The story is a lengthy one and is presented in a confused construction, which makes it impossible for us to distinguish between the different parts of the *Jātaka*.

3. *Ibid.*, pp. 225-6--GG. 979-990.

4 See Barua, *A History of the Pre-Buddhistic Indian Philosophy*, pp. 277 *ff*; Law, '*Six Heretical Teachers*' in *Buddhistic Studies*, pp. 74-6.

5. See *Vedic Index*, II, pp 381-2.

6. *P. H. A. I.*, p. 170.

The *Jātakas* mention Ariṭṭhapura[1] and Jetuttara[2] as the two capita-cities of the Sivi country. Ariṭṭhapura is, most probably, identical with Aristobothra of Ptolemy, in the north of the Punjab.[3] And Jetuttara is evidently Jattaraur of Alberuni, the capital of Mewār.[4] This perhaps indicates the spread of the Sivi people from the North to the South, and their migration to other places is also known.[5]

Ariṭṭhapura, if the *Jātakas* can be relied upon, was the earlier of the two capital cities, since Sivi, the Ideal king, about whom we have already spoken before, is associated with this city, whereas the later Sivi kings, like Vessantara, are said to have had their capital at Jetuttara and not at Ariṭṭhapura.

From the *Vessantara Jātaka*,[6] we get the following genealogical table which, we should note, remains uncorroborated by further evidence :—

Sivi (?) — Madda (?)

Sañjaya. m......... Phusattī | Madda (?)

|

Vessantara——married——Maddī (?)

|

Jāli — Kaṇhā.

From the above table, it will be seen that, even if the individuals mentioned therein may not all have existed at all, the fact that the two houses of Sivi and Madda were intimately connected by matrimonial ties has some appearance of reality. The fact that they were closely situated geographically renders it more probable.

The nucleus of the story, as related in this charming balladic *Jātaka*, centtres round Vessantara. He was a great donator. He was banished from the kingdom by the Sivi people for having given away a highly-prized elephant to the Brāhmaṇas of Kaliṅga. He, with his wife Maddī and the two children, Jāli and Kaṇhā, went to a forest and lived as a hermit. Afterwards he was reinstated on the throne of Sivi.

It is not possible to identify precisely the kings mentioned in this *Jātaka*. Dr. Pradhan,[7] let us note however, makes mention of a Sivi-Sañjaya, as an ancestor of Śākya of Devadaha. The identity does not seem to be possible.

1. J., IV, p. 401 ; V, pp. 210, 212 ; VI, p. 419.
2. J., VI, pp. 480, 484-G. 1698 etc.
3. De, *G. D.*, p. 11.
4. De, *op. cit.*, p. 81.
5. See Raychaudhury, *op. cit.*, pp. 170-1. "We find them also in Sind, in Mādhyamikā in Rājputānā, and, in the *Daśakumāracarita*, on the banks of the Kāverī." Before the end of the 2nd century B.C., the Sivis of Jetuttarra or Mādhyamikā had already established a republic, for we read on their coins '*Majjhamikāya Sivi Janapadassa*' : Majumdar, *Corporate Life in Ancient India*, pp. 280-2.
6. J., VI, pp. 480 *ff.* GG. 1698-1700, 1881.
7. *op. cit.*, p. 252.

Vessantara, *i.e.*, Viśvantara,[1] again reminds us of a *Vedic* prince named Viśvantara Sauṣadmana (descendant of Susadman),[2] whose conflict with his priests may well lead one to establish a connection between the two. But this too is hazardous.[3]

The Kingdom of Madda, with its capital Sāgala (modern Sialkot), is often mentioned in the *Jātakas*. As a tribe, the Maddas appear in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* and the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*.[4] Madda, in the *Brāhmaṇic* Period, appears as a centre of learning and noted for refinement in manners.[5]

The *Jātakas*, in common with the great Epic, represent the Maddas as living under a monarchical constitution. They do not unfortunately supply us with the names of any of the Madda kings. Nor do they give us any information about the manners and customs of the Maddas. The only prominent feature referred to about the Madda kings is, that they quite often enter into matrimonial alliances with the neighbouring, and often far-off, royal families. Thus the Madda house, as we have seen, was united with that of the Sivis through the marriages of Phussatī and Maddī with Sañjaya and Vessantara respectively. Princess Pabhāvatī, the eldest daughter of a Madda king, was married to the ugly prince Kusa, son and heir of a Malla king, Okkāka.[6] Then Candāvatī, the chief queen of the far-off king Kāsirāja of Benares, was a daughter of a Madda king.[7] So was also Subhaddā, the queen of another Benares king.[8] And lastly, a Madda princess was given to a Kaliṅga prince.[9] Whether these alliances are historically true or not, we have nothing to prove. But what signicant fact the *Jātakas* do perceive is, that the Madda princesses, owing to their exquisite beauty and virtuous demeanour, were in great demand in other royal families of India.[10]

It is interesting to note in this connection, that far from being a bliss, the beauty of their daughters was, not infrequently, a source of danger of invasions upon these Madda kings by other kings. And we twice[11] hear the threatening sound of the kings who had beseiged the capital of Madda for the hand of the princess.

1. A *gāthā*, however, derives the name from '*Vessavīthi*' the *Vessa* or *Vaiśya* street, where he is said to have been born: J. VI, p. 482 G. 1700. But this seems to be only a pun on the word. The real form, as is clear philologically, should be Viśvantara which we find in the Tibetan version: *Tibetan Tales*, pp. 257 *ff*.

2. *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, VII, 27, 3-4; 34; 7-8; *Vedic Index*, II, p. 309.

3. The story of Viśvantara is delineated in a fresco-painting at Ajaṇṭā caves, where the scene of Banishment is so touching and the face of the Brāhmaṇa Jujaka with all its greediness is so faithfully represented.

4. *Vedic Index*, II, p. 123.

5. Raychaudhury, *P. H. A. I.*, p. 43; Law, *Some Kṣatriya Tribes*, pp. 214 *ff*.

6. J., V, pp. 285 *ff*.

7. J., VI, p. 1.

8. J., V, p. 39.

9. J., IV, p. 231.

10. *Cf.* the descriptions of Pabhāvatī, J. V. pp. 283 *ff*. GG. 3-4, 37-44. The Madda women are characterised as white (*gaurī*) in the *Mahābhārata*, VIII, 44, 16 *ff*. So Bimbisāra is said to have married a Madda princess. *C. H. I.*, I. p. 183; Mādrī, wife of Pāṇḍu, is a well known personality in the Great Epic.

11. J., V, pp. 300 *ff*; IV, pp. 230-1.

Madda has no place in the traditional list of the *Solasamahājanapadas*, which flourished a little before the time of the Buddha. The reason is not far to seek. It is because of the fact, as Mr. H. C. Ray[1] points out, that in the period represented by the *Nikāya* and the *Bhagavatī Sūtra*, it was annexed to one of the neighbouring 'Great Countries,' probably Gandhāra. Thus it seems that Madda, an independent kingdom, flourished in a period prior to the 7th century B. C..[2]

The kingdom of Malla, with its capital Kusāvatī, is mentioned in at least three *Jātakas.*[3] The *Mahāsudassana Jātaka* mentions a king named Mahāsudassana whose queen was Subhaddā. In his reign the capital Kusāvatī was a very prosperous city.[4]

The *Kusa Jātaka*[5] mentions a Malla king named Okkāka (Ikṣvāku) with his queen Sīlavatī. For a long time, says the story, he had no son, and the people became anxious lest the kingdom should be seized and destroyed by a foreigner. At last the queen gave birth to two sons who were named Kusa and Jayaṁpati.

This Okkāka is surely not a personal name, and cannot therefore be identified. But, as Dr. Raychaudhury[6] rightly infers, the name probably indicates that like the Śākyas the Malla kings also belonged to the Ikṣvāku family.

King Kusa, of all the Malla kings, bears a remarkable appearance of a historical character. Though we have no positive evidence to prove this, the long ballad-like *gāthās* of the *Kusa Jātaka* speak of him in such a fervent and sympathetic manner as to make us feel confident and certain about his real existence. He is there said to have been ugly.[7] His marriage with Pabhāvatī, the Madda princess, is however accomplished with much dexterity.[8] Pabhāvatī, after a short time, recognizes the ugly face, and out of sheer disgust flies away to her parents. Kusa, an ardent and sincere lover of hers, goes after her and, bent upon getting her back, he lives disguised in the Madda palace, employing various ingenuous means to have a sight of his beloved. And at last, when the city is besieged by a host of kings who wanted the fair lady's hand, he comes out to the help of his father-in-law, and defeating the enemies by his valour, obtains back Pabhāvatī, now completely reconciled.

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1. *J. A. S. B.*, (N. S.), 1922, pp. 257 *ff.*
2. For detailed accounts of the Madras see H. C. Ray, *J. A S. B.* (N. S.) 1922, pp. 257, ff; Mr. H. K. Deb, has tried to identify the Madras with the Medes of ancient Persia The proposed identification is not without its value. See. *J. A. S. B.* (N. S.) 1925, pp. 205 *ff.*
3. J., I, p. 392; IV, p. 327; V, pp. 278 *ff.*
4. *Cf. Mahāsudassana Suttanta, Dialogues of the Buddha*, II. pp. 161-2.
5. J., V, pp. 278 *ff.*
6. *P. H. A. I.*, p. p. 89.
7. J., V, p. 282.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 285. It is related that the pair met only at night in the darkness, so that the ugly person of the King might not be recognised. The secret however was disclosed. Dr. Rabindranath Tagore has, apparently from this theme, worked out a beautiful lyrical drama entitled *Śāpamocana*, the Redemption.

Kusa is styled as the 'Chief ruler of all India.' In one place[1] he is said to be the grandfather of a Videha king.

We know from the Buddhist works, that before the time of the Buddha, the Malla monarchy had already been replaced by a republic, and once the prosperous metropolis of the kingdom, Kusāvatī, had sunk to the level of a little wattle and daub town, a branch township surrounded by jungles, and it had changed its name to Kusīnārā (modern Kāsiā, in the east of the Gorakhpur Dist.).[2]

The kingdom of Gandhāra with its capital Takkasilā, is mentioned not infrequently.[3] No names of Gandhāra kings are specified, except that of Naggaji who figures, as we saw before, as a contemporary of Nimi, Dummukha and Karaṇḍu. The kingdom included Kasmīra.[4]

The fame of Gandhāra, during this period, rested on its capital Takkasilā which was a great centre of learning and a resort of students from all parts of India[5]. Uddālaka and his son Śvetaketu, the two great celebrities of the *Upaniṣads*, are represented in the *Uddālaka Jātaka*[6] and the *Setaketu Jātaka*[7] respectively, as having studied at Takkasilā under a world-renowned teacher.[8]

In the 6th century B. C. Gandhāra was subject to the Achaemenidan Empire.[9]

Kamboja, constantly associated with Gandhāra in later literature, finds mention in a solitary *gāthā* of the *Bhūridatta Jātaka* which says :—

"Those men are counted pure who only kill
Frogs, worms, bees, snakes or insects as they will—
These are your savage, customs which I hate
Such as Kamboja hordes might amulate".[10]

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1. J., VI, p. 388 G. (?).

2. See Rhys Davids, *B. I.* pp. 19, 26, 29 ; Majumdar, *Corporate Life in Ancient India*, pp. 224, 250 ; Raychaudhury, *P. H. A. I.*, pp. 88-90; *Cf.* Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*, XI, 1.

3. J., I, pp. 191, 273, 285, 317, 395 ; II, p. 217. III, pp. 364, 377. Gandhāra corresponds to the modern Rāwalpiṇḍī (Punjāb) and Peshāwar (N. W. F. P.) districts. The name survives in Kandahār. The ruins of the great capital city are unearthed near Saraīkalā. See for its detailed description, Marshall, *A Guide to Taxila*, pp. 1, 4.

4. J., III, pp. 365, 378, This is confirmed by the evidence of Hekataios of Miletos, (B. C 549-486) who refers to Kaspapyros (Kāśyapapura, *i.e.*, Kāśmīra) as a Gandharic city : *P. H. A. I.*, p. 103.

5. Takkasilā maintained its reputation during the later *Mahājanapada period* as the innumerable references in the *Jātakas* show.

6. J., IV, p. 298.

7. J., III, p. 235.

8. *Cf. Vedic Index*, I, pp. 87-9 ; II, pp. 409-10 , Raychaudhury, *P. H. A. I.* pp. 39-41.

9. *P. H. A. I.*, p. 102 ; *C. H. I.*, I, pp. 336-7.

10. J., VI, p. 208—G. 903.

This indictment of barbarity must have been a product of a period later than that of the *Brāhmaṇas* which seem to speak of Kamboja in favourable terms.[1] As pointed out by Raychaudhury,[2] "already in the time of Yāska (8th century B.C.) the Kambojas had come to be regarded as a people distinct from the Āryas of the interior of India, speaking a different dialect".[3] Kamboja horses are praised in a *gāthā* of the *Campeyya Jātaka*.[4]

Ancient Kamboja is located more definitely now by Prof. Jayacandra Vidyālaṅkāra[5] in the Ghālchā Territory north of Kāshmīr.

Other countries that remain to be noticed here are those of the Macchas,[6] the Sūrasenas[7] and the Kekakas[8] associated with the Kurus and the Pañcālas just as in the *Brāhmaṇa* period. No names of kings survive.

THE DAṆḌAKA EMPIRE

Towards the end of the period which witnessed the waning power of Videha, the South of India was, it seems, undergoing a process of Rise and Fall of some states of which no sufficient connected records survive. A delightful ray of light coming from the *Sarabhaṅga Jātaka*[9] enables us, however, to peep a little through the darkness that surrounds this period.

The *Jātaka* mentions a king named Daṇḍaki,[10] as ruling over an extensive realm of sixty *yojanas* with Kumbhavatī[11] as his capital city. We are further told that within his realm ruled his three subordinate kings, (*assa raṭṭhasssa antararaṭṭhādhipatino*) *viz.*, Kaliṅga, Aṭṭhaka and Bhīmaratha.[12] Of these, Daṇḍaki evidently represents the *Saṁskṛta* Daṇḍaka, associated with the forest of that name in the South. Bhīmaratha, again, must represent a South Indian king. The *Mahābhārata*,[13] the *Purāṇas*[14] and even the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*[15] know Bhīma or Bhīmaratha (of which Bhīma is a shortened

1. See *Vedic Index*, I, p. 138.
2. *P. H. A. I.*, p. 105; *Cf.* Levi. '*Pre-Aryan et Pre-Dravidian dans Inde*,' tr. Bagchi, *op. cit.*, pp. 119 *ff*.
3. *Ibid.*
4. J., IV, p. 464-G. 242—"*Kambojake assatare sudante.*"
5. *Proceedings Sixth O. C.*, *Patna*, pp. 102 *ff*; See also Jayaswal, *I. A.*, LXII, pp. 130-1.
6. J. VI, p. 280-G. 1228. The country corresponds to parts of Alwar, Jaipur and Bharatpur: Bhandarkar, *C. L.*, 1918, p. 53.
7. J., VI, p. 280-G. 1228. The Surasenas were located around Mathurā on the Jumnā.
8. *Ibid.*, also J. II, pp. 213, 214-G, 154. They dwelt between the Sindhu and the Vitastā (Beas): *Ved. Ind.*, I, pp. 185-6.
9. J., V, pp. 127 *ff*.
10. Besides the prose, two *gāthās* also mention him: J., V, p. 143. GG. 68, 69.
11. According to the *Rāmāyaṇa*, VII, 79, 18, the capital was Madhumanta, while the *Mahāvastu* (Senart's ed.) p. 363, places it at Govardhana (Nāsik): *P. H. A. I.*, p. 64.
12. J., V, pp. 135, 137-G. 50; 149-G. 85.
13. III, 53, 5 *ff*; 69, 1 *ff*.
14. *e. g.*, *Vāyu P.*, 95.
15. VII, 34; *Vedic Index*, II, p. 106.

form)[1], as kings associated with the southern kingdom of Vidarabha,[2] modern Berar. Kaliṅga is of course a king of the Kaliṅga country. Now what about Aṭṭhaka ? No king of this name is, as far as we are aware, to be found elsewhere, except the one mentioned before as belonging to the Ancient Period, and identified with King Aṣṭaka, son and successor of Viśvāmitra, or more appropriately, Viśvaratha.[3] But that ancient Aṭṭhaka referred to as an inspiring example of ideal kingship seems, most probably, to be a different personage from this Aṭṭhaka of the *Sarabhaṅga Jātaka*, who is more real and intimately associated with the other South-Indian kings.[4] How is it possible for a North-Indian king to be associated so intimately with the far-off kings of the south separated by the great monarchies and even physical barriers of Central India ? We are inclined to think that, if the *Jātaka* is not to be accused of inconsistency, in the present case at least,—and we have no strong reason so to believe—, Aṭṭhaka should be taken here as a corrupted form of Assaka,[5] and all our difficulties vanish in a moment. Assaka or Aśmaka, as we know, was a prominent South Indian state, situated on the river Godāvarī, and closely related to the neighbouring kingdoms of Daṇḍaka, Vidarbha and Kaliṅga.[6]

It then comes to this. Daṇḍaka, Bhīmaratha, Assaka and Kaliṅga were contemporaries. But unfortunately none of these, except Bhīmaratha, is a personal name, and therefore it is very difficult to identify any of them. Daṇḍaka is not known to the *Brāhmaṇas* or the *Upaniṣads*. The Paurāṇic Daṇḍa or Daṇḍaka is, as rightly pointed out by Pargiter,[7] an eponym to account for the name of the forest, because it clashes with the other statements about the many kings that occupied the Deccan. But whatever may have been the personal name of our Daṇḍaki, he is most certainly identical with Dāṇḍakya of Kauṭilya[8] and Daṇḍaka of the *Rāmāyaṇa*[9] and the *Mahābhārata*[10] and also of the Jaina *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacarita* of Hemacandra.[11] For, all of these refer to the dire destruction that befell his realm. He was most probably a post-*Vedic* king as may be judged by his absence from the *Vedic* texts, though this *argumentum ex silentio* is never conclusive, we admit. We cannot say for certain, again, with which of the several Bhīmas of Vidarbha of the *Purāṇas*

1. *Cf.* Pargiter, *op. cit.*, p. 169.
2. Vidarbha is mentioned in the *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa*, II. 440, *Vedic Index*, II, p. 297.
3. *Supra.*
4. Dr. B. C. Sen, *op. cit.*, p. 7, apparently takes the two Aṭṭhakas identical and comes to a synchronism which, we admit, seems alluring.
5. We searched in vain, we should admit here, to find if there was any difference of readings of this 'Aṭṭhaka' in Fousböll's texts. Other texts like the Siamese, we have not been able to consult.
6. See Bhandarkar, *C. L.*, 1918, pp. 19, 22, 40 *etc.*, *P. H. A. I.*, p. 62.
7. *A. I. H. T.*, p. 258 ; *Cf.* G. Ramdas, *J. B. O. R. S.*, XI, p. 47.
8. *Arthaśāstra*, I, 6.
9. VII, 81, 7-19.
10. XIII, 153, 11 ; also II, 30, 16-7.
11. *G. O. S.*, LI, pp. 44-5 ; *Cf.* Jain, *Jaina Jātakas*, pp. 47-8.

mentioned in Pargiter's list[1] are we to identify our Bhīmaratha, or whether the identification is possible at all. Nor is his identification with Bhīma of the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* possible, for in that case we shall have to carry him back to the early *Brāhmaṇa* period to make him contemporaneous with such comparatively ancient kings as Dummukha and Naggaji, which is, to our mind, inconceivable. It appears therefore that Bhīmaratha was later than the *Brāhmaṇic* Bhīma. Similarly, the Kaliṅga king mentioned in our *Jātaka* must be taken as later than Karaṇḍu of the earlier period. Assaka's identity remains uncertain. So from all this it appears reasonable to hold that these four kings, whosoever they in reality may have been, lived at a time when the Northern powers like the Pañcāla and Videha of the later *Vedic* period were showing signs of collapse and when Kāsī had not yet risen to its Imperial status capable enough to capture Assaka and other powers of the South.[2] The period may with a fair approximation be dated as 800 B. C..[3]

The fate of Daṇḍaki and his kingdom must be regarded as historical fact, since all our authorities are, as we saw before, at one on this point, though they ascribe different causes to it. That he made a 'lascivious attempt on a Brāhmaṇa girl 'is attested by the *Arthaśāstra*[4] and the *Rāmāyaṇa*[5] and also by the Jaina *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacarita*,[6] while our *Jātaka*[7] says that he treated the holy sage Kīsavaccha very contemptuously. These causes, of course, cannot be viewed in any other light except as later day inventions of moralists and sectarian propagandists who, to suit their own purposes explained away a fact of natural phenomena as resulting from a human sin.[8] Any way, the fact remains, as the unanimous testimony of the above sources forces us to think, that the kingdom of Daṇḍaki round about the river Godāvarī and the districts of Nāsik and adjoining parts of Mahārāṣtra suffered from some terrible natural visitations. The statement of the *Jātaka*[9] that the land was destroyed by a shower of 'fine sand' (*sukhumavālukāvassaṁ*) is in striking agreement with that of the *Rāmāyaṇa* (*pāṁśuvarṣeṇa*).[10]

1. *A. I. H T.*, pp. 146, 148 numbers 11 (Kṛtha Bhīma), 50 (Bhīmaratha), and 66 (Bhīma Sātvata).

2. See for instance J., II, p. 155.

3. The fact that a town of Laṁbaculaka in the province (*vijite*) of Caṇḍapajjota is referred to in our *Jātaka* in a manner which may suggest that he was contemporaneous with the group of kings, mentioned above, does not carry much weight. For in another place, J., III, p. 463, the name of the king, in the same context, is Pajoka. It seems natural to think therefore that the story-teller, while reciting an ancient story where the name was different, incorporated the name of that king who was more familiar and nearer to him. It may be said to be an anachronism. See Sen, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

4. I, 6.

5. VII, 80, 16.

6. *l. c.*

7. J., V, p. 143-G, 69; also p. 267-G. 95.

8. Did we not hear in this twentieth century the same thing with regard to the recent earthquake havoc in Bihār?

9. J., V, p. 135.

10. VII, 8, 7-18; Mr. G. Ramdas disbelieves this: says he: "this forest (of Daṇḍaka) is said to have been devoid of trees, animals, and water and was converted into a region of ashes. If it had been so, how did so many hermitages exist there? From the descriptions of its parts visited by Rāma, it appears to have been full of rivers and lakes, and consequently habitable to men." The very name of Daṇḍaka in Śabara language, according to the same writer, denotes a region full of water." *J. B. O. R. S.*, XI, pp. 45-7.

Finally let us note, that the great sage Sarabhaṅga, to whom the three southern kings discussed above are said to have approached for instruction, living in a hermitage on the river Godāvarī with a large number of pupils, figures also in the *Rāmāyaṇa*[1] in a similar setting. It is again interesting to note, that Sarabhaṅga is styled '*Kondañña*' (*Kauṇḍinya*) in two of the *gāthās* of our *Jātaka*.[2] And we hear of a sage called Vidarbhi Kauṇḍinya even in the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*.[3] The two sages may or may not have been identical, but this fully bears out Sarabhaṅga's association with Vidarbha,[4] and also the fact of Bhīmaratha's being a Vidarbha king.

With Daṇḍaki, fell his great Empire of the South. We do not hear what happened of his three subordinate kings. Far from renouncing the world, as the *Jātaka* would have us believe,[5] each of these three kings, must have engaged himself in right earnest, first to make his own position secure and then to gain the overlordship that had been left vacant.[6] And not long after we shall hear of their descendants quarrelling among themselves for power and, in their turn, falling a prey to the fast-growing powers of the North, like Kāsī and the rest.

1. III, 5.
2. J., V, pp. 140-1-GG, 59, 64.
3. See *Vedic Index*, II, pp. 297.
4. "The name Kauṇḍinya is apparently derived from the city of Kauṇḍina, the capital of Vidarbha, represented by the modern Kauṇḍinyapura on the banks of the Wardhā in the Chandur taluk of Amraoti." Raychaudhuri, *P. H. A. I.*, p. 61.
5. J., V, p. 151.
6. What happened after Aśoka, after Samudragupta and after Harṣa, Akbar and Śivājī? What after Frederick the Great and Napoleon? It is History psychologically repeated.

CHAPTER IV

THE MAHĀJANAPADA PERIOD

(800-600 B. C.)

THE RISE AND SUPREMACY OF KĀSĪ

THE AGE OF THE GREAT Kuru-Pañcālas had passed away. The house of (Mahā-) Janaka had fallen to an unimportant position after Kalārajanaka, making room for the aristocratic republic of the Vajjis. Such was also probably the state prevailing in other Northern and North-Western states like Sivi, Madda, Kekaya and Maccha Sūrasena. So that out of the sixteen 'Great Kingdoms' of this period—we call it the *Mahājanapada Period*—mentioned in the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* and the *Bhagavatī Sūtra*,[1] only the Eastern and Southern states seem to have been the more prominent ones. These were the growing kingdoms of Kāsī and Kosala, Aṅga and Magadha, Assaka and Avantī and Kaliṅga, and the predominant feature of Indian politics of this period appears to have been the frequent conflicts between those neighbouring kingdoms.

When we first cast a glance over the state of affairs prevailing at this period, Kāsī stands out to be the most powerful state. There seems to be much truth in Dr. Raychaudhury's conjecture[2] that 'Kāsī probably played a prominent part in the subversion of the Videhan monarchy.' Already in the later *Vedic* period it tried hard to raise its head against the powerful monarchies of the North, including Videha itself. It had failed.[3] Time was not yet ripe for it. It was only after the weakening of the Northern Powers that it again ventured to push forward its Imperialistic policy. Indications are not wanting to show that its capital city Benares became ere long the chief city in all India.[4] It extended over twelve leagues,[5] whereas Mithilā and Indapatta were each only seven leagues in extent.[6] Though these figures cannot absolutely be relied upon, they nevertheless show the proportionate greatness of the city. Greatness of Kāsī is also recognised in the *Mahāvagga.*[7]

The chief dynasty of Kāsī of this period known to the *Jātakas* is called *Brahmadatta*, and we hear of many Brahmadattas who are, obviously, impossible to be identified, and are more often than not useless for historical purpose.

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1. See Rhys Davids, *B. I.*, p. 23; *C. H. II.*, I, p. 172; Bhandarkar, *C. L.*, 1918, p. 48: Raychaudhury, *P. H. A. I.*, pp. 67-8.
2. *P. H. A. I.*, pp. 59, 68.
3. Dhṛtarāṣṭra Vaicitravīrya was defeated by the Kuru king Śatānīka Sātrājita: *Vedic Index*, 1, p. 403.
4. J., I, p. 262; II, p. 250; IV, p. 245.
5. J., VI, p.160—'*dvādasayojanikaṁ sakal a—Bārāṇasīnagaraṁ*'.
6. J., III, p. 365; V, p. 484.
7. X, 2, 3,—"*Bhūtapubbaṁ Brahmadatto nāma kāsirājā ahosi addho mahaddhano mahābhogo mahadbalo etc. Vinaya Texts* (*S. B. E.*), XVII, pp. 293-4.

The chief struggle that the Kāsī kings had to carry on for many a generation was with their neighbours, the Kosalas (*anantarasāmanto*). We have several vivid, if not wholly historical, instances of these struggles. Thus from one *Jātaka*[1] we learn that Brahmadatta once went against the king of Kosala with a large army. He took the king of Sāvatthī prisoner after entering the city. He set up loyal officers as governors (*rājayutte thapitvā*) and himself returned with a large booty. The Kosala prince Chatta had however escaped in disguise, and by strange tactics speedily recovered the lost kingdom. He restored the walls and watch-towers and made the city impregnable against any possible attack from outside. In another place[2] again a Brahmadatta of Kāsī, owing to his having an army (*sampannabalavāhano*), seized the Kosala city, slew its king and carried off his chief queen to Benares and there made her his queen-consort. King Manoja of Kāsī is said to have begun his victorious career of conquests by first capturing the Kosala kingdom.[3] Two more *Jātakas*[4] relate an invasion by another Brahmadatta, when Dīghīti was King at Sāvatthī. Brahmadatta slew Dīghīti and took his kingdom of Kosala. Dīghīti's son Prince Dīgāyu escaped in disguise and in course of time became very friendly with Brahmadatta. The Kāsī king, highly pleased with his conduct, gave him his daughter in marriage and restored his father's kingdom. Could this Dīghāyu be identified with the one mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*?.[5]

Infatuated with their victories over the neighbouring kingdom of Kosala, the Kāsī monarchs now turned their arms towards the South and the North. We can hear their footsteps resounding past across the Vindhyas, where the paramount power of Daṇḍaka was no more and the smaller states of Vidarbha, Kaliṅga and Assaka had probably begun weakening themselves through mutual quarrels. Taking advantage of this, one Kāsī king captured Poṭali, the capital of Assaka on the Godāvarī, and made the Assaka king his vassal.[6]

Aspirants for an All-India sovereignty (*sabba rājūnaṁ aggarājā*) several Kāsī monarchs are described to have led extensive campaigns, strengthening their forces as they proceeded.[7] The Crown of their glory must have been reached when king Manoja, of all, carried out a successful campaign throughout India and earned the title of '*aggarājā.*' The incidents of this campaign are preserved in the *Soṇa-Nanda Jātaka.*[8] He is there said to have first subdued the Kosala king and then, reinforced with the defeated army, he marched against Aṅga and conquered it. Similarly he brought Magadha, Assaka and Avantī under his sway.[9] Thus he practically became an All-India Sovereign.[10]

1. J., III, pp. 115 *ff*.
2. J. VI, pp. 426 *ff*.
3. J. V, pp. 315-6.
4. J., III, p. 487; *ibid*, pp. 211-3. *Cf. Mahāvagga*, X, 2, 3-20—"*Dīghīti nāma Kosalarājā ahosi daliddo appadhano appabhogo appabalo appavijito aparipuṇṇakoṭṭhāgāro*" *etc.*
5. VII, 93, 27-8.
6. J., II, p. 155.
7. J., III, pp. 159-61.
8. J., V, pp. 315 *ff*.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 317-G. 99.
10. *Ibid*,. p. 316—"*etena upāyena sakala-Jambūdīpe rājāno attano vase vattetvā*".

"*Rājābhirājā Manojo va jayatam pati.*"[1] : such must have been his eulogies prevalent at the time. His capital Bārāṇasī was then styled Brahmavaddhana.[2] He is once[3] addressed as *Bhārata.*

Several Kāsī monarchs are said to have been daring enough to go as far as Gandhāra in the extreme North-west of India, and attack the capital city, Takkasilā. But their power was effectively checked there. Twice[4] we hear of them preparing for an attack on the city, and arousing their soldiers with martial words.[5] But they had to return without achieving their object, because the city of Takkasilā itself was formidable and impregnable to enemies.

However, the political influence of Kāsī was established, as we saw, in a considerable portion of the east and the south of India. Naturally enough Benares became an eyesore to other kings and we hear, quite frequently, of a 'leaguer of seven kings' drawn around this enviable city but it was of no avail.[6] "All the kingdoms round coveted the kingdom of Benares", says the *Bhojājānīya Jātaka.*[7] And the lustful remark of the ex-minister of Kāsī in the *Mahāsīlava Jātaka*[8] that 'Sire, the kingdom of Benares is like a goodly honeycomb untainted by flies', is a glorious tribute to Kāsī. Thus, as remarked by Raychaudhury,[9] "Benares in this respect resembled ancient Babylon and medieval Rome, being the coveted prize of its more warlike but less civilized neighbours."

NAGA ASCENDANCY.

The supremacy of Kāsī, however, does not appear to have been of long duration. We are now coming to a stage when, if however we read the indications correctly, Kāsī is coming in a close grip both from the North and from the East. In the North its old adversary Kosala was only waiting for a suitable opportunity. But before we advert to that struggle which paved the way for the down-fall of Kāsī, let us have a look on the other growing factor from the East, *viz.*, Aṅga and the allied Nāgas. Under Manoja, the most powerful of the Kāsī monarchs, as we saw, Aṅga was a vassal state. The *Dadhivāhana Jātaka*[10] presents before us, though in a curious garb, a king named Dadhivāhana as occupying the throne of Benares. This Dadhivāhana is probably a reminiscence of, if not identical with, the king of Aṅga, Dadhivāhana, known to the *Purāṇas* and to the Jaina Literature.[11]

1. *Ibid.*, p. 322-G. 127.
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 312, 313, 314, 316.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 317-G. 94.
4. J., II, pp. 217-8 ; III, pp. 159-60.
5. J., II, p. 217-GG, 156-7.
6. J., I, pp. 178, 181 ; II, p. 90.
7. J., I, p. 178.
8. J., I, p. 262.
9. *P. H. A. I.*, p. 70.
10. J., II, pp. 101 *ff.*
11. See Raychaudhury, *P. H. A. I.*, p. 77 ; for Jaina references see C. J. Shah, *op .cit.*, pp. 93, 96.

But far more important than the Aṅga kings in this connection were the allied Nāgas, who, occupying the river settlements on the Yamunā and the Campā, seem to have begun, at this time, to take a prominent part in the political conflicts raging around them.

The Nāgas were a branch of the Asuras.[1] The Asuras—the Assyrians—in India had a remarkable history reaching back to the so-called pre-historic times. Their history, so eminently traced by Dr. Banerji Śāstri, gives us an idea of their conflicts with the advancing Āryans and their consequent spread from the North-West and west to the Eastern confines of India and still further East beyond the seas. "The *Vedic* struggle drove the Asura from the Indus valley; the epic conflict routed them in the *Madhyadeśa*, and the subsequent re-adjustment lost them the Gangetic valley and pushed them southwards. The Nāgas were the spearhead and backbone of the Asura people in India. With the downfall of the Nāgas ended the organised Asura supremacy in India. And the remnants of Nāgas who once ruled Gośṛṅga in Khotān, had to seek shelter in places still bearing their name *e.g.*, Nāgpur, Choṭā Nāgpur, and are completely absorbed and assimilated in the now firmly established Ārya-Asura-Dāsa body politic of India".[2]

The Jātakas, as is well known,[3] in common with the Hindu mythology, represent the Nāgas in their animal character, not unoften blended with the human. Concealed behind these avowedly mythological legends lies a faint reminiscence of the Ārya-Asura conflict of the remotest period. What else does the *Kulāvaka Jātaka*[4] signify in describing the war between the Asuras and the Devas? It is interesting to note that this conflict is said to have taken place round about the Sumeru mountain in the Trans-Himālayan region where the *Asurabhavana*-Asura realm—was situated. The Devas (Āryans) hurled the Asuras down, so says the story. The Asuras rose again. "Sakka (Āryan Indra) went into the great deep (*samuddapiṭṭhe*) to give them battle". But being worsted in the fight he turned back and fled away along crest after crest of 'the southern deep' reaching thence the Siṁbalivana (Śālmalidvīpa? Chaldia).[5] He soon returned to his original place and the two camps were again ready:—

"Impregnable both cities stand between
In *five-fold* guard, watch *Nāgas* and *Garulas*
Kuṁbhāṇḍas, *Goblins* and the *Four Great Kings*".[6]

1. Ananta Prasad Banerji Śāstri, *Asura India*: The work was originally published in the form of a series of articles contributed to the *J. B. O. R. S.* Vol. XII. See also Fousböll, "*Indian Mythology*", p. 1.

2. A. Banerji Śāstri, *op. cit.*, pp. 96-8; "The Dāsas were the earliest settlers, next the Asuras, the latest the *Āryas*." *Ibid.*, p. 34.

3. *Cf.* J. Vogal, *Indian Serpent Lore*, pp. 132 *ff.*

4. J., I, pp. 202 *ff*; *cf.* *Rāmāyaṇa*, I, 45, 15-45; *MBH.*, I, 17 *ff.*

5. See J. Przyluski in *Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian in India*, pp. 7-8; N. L. De, *I. H. Q.*, II, p. 535; A. Bannerji Śāstri, *Asura India*, pp. 86-7.

6. J., I, p. 204-G. (?) The original *gāthā* has the mysterious names of the 'guards'; *Uraga*, *Karoṭi*, *payassa ca hāri*, *madanayutā* and the *cature mahantā*, which have been explained by the commentator and followed by the translator as above. These five guards do not all seem to be on the side of Sakka, but were divided between the Devas and the Asuras, the first four being the Asura tribes, and the four great kings the Devas (or *Āryas*). For a really interresting parallellism, *cf.* *Pañcajanāh* of the *Ṛgveda* and later *Vedic* literature. *Ved. Ind.*, I, pp. 466-8.

How remarkably this conflict corresponds to the Ārya-Asura conflict on the Sindhu-waterways terminating in the Dāsarājña battle on the Paruṣṇī (Rāvī), as described by Dr. Banerji?[1] To notice further: The North-western outpost of the Nāgas is also known to the *Daddara Jātaka*,[2] which locates them in the Daddara mountains. These mountains are evidently connected with the present Dārdīstān, to the north of Kāśmīr.[3] Then again Varuṇa, the *Vedic* Sea-god of the Asuras[4]—an Asura *par excellence*—is familiar to the *Jātakas.*[5] The intimate connection of the Nāgas with water, whether in lakes, rivers, islands or seas, is known.[6] "My children are of a watery nature," says the Nāga mother in the *Bhūridatta Jātaka.*[7] Their repute as great builders is sung in many a *gāthā* of the *Jātakas.*[8] At the same time their terrible nature is recognised.[9] The names of individual Nāga kings are sometimes given: Canda, Maṇikaṇṭha, Saṅkhapāla, and Dhataraṭṭha.[10] Thus we see that the *Jātakas* preserve, in not a small degree, faint traces of a remarkable, though much-neglected, chapter of Ancient Indian annals.

Let us proceed with our narrative. We had stopped at a point where Kāsī was beginning to show signs of decline. It was most probably at this time, as we said, that the Nāga settlers on the Ganges-Jumna Valley—their eastern-most river settlement—must have again been roused to activity and tried to assert their erstwhile personality by interfering with the political conflicts of the time. The invasion of Benares by a Nāga king narrated in a story is in point. Dhataraṭṭha, the Nāga king, wanted to marry the Benares Princess Samuddajā. He marched with a great host towards the city and:

"Benares city prostrate lay
Before these wild invading bands
Rising their arms all begged
And prayed: give him the daughter he demands.[11]"

The marriage was duly accomplished, and the two kings became intimate friends. It appears thus, that the Nāgas had as yet no direct aim at power, but wanted simply the alliance with other Royal powers. For, the same thing can be discerned from another incident, where the Nāga king Campeyya intercedes in the Aṅga-Magadha conflict, sets the Magadhan king over both the kingdoms, and receives from him a tribute in return of his services.[12]

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1. *Asura India*, pp. 38 *ff*.
2. J., III, pp. 16-17.
3. *Cf.* "The *Nīlamata Purāṇa* records the occupation of Kāśmīr by the Nāgas' *Asuar India*, p. 92.
4. *Ibid.*, pp. 76 *ff*.
5. J., VI, pp. 257 *ff*.
6. J., I, p. 472; II, p. 111; III, pp. 87-8; IV, pp. 454 *ff*; VI, p. 164-G. 750
7. J., VI, p. 160.
8. J., IV, p. 461—GG, 244-7; VI, pp. 173-4 GG. 767-71, 269-GG. 1164-70 *Cf. Asura India*, pp. 20-1.
9. J., VI, p. 162.
10. J., I, p. 472; II, p. 283; IV, p. 162,
11. J., VI, pp. 165-6-GG, 753-9.
12. J., IV, pp. 454-5.

We cannot however say with certainty as to whether we are to read here the rise of the Śiśunāgas—the so-called 'first historical dynasty of Magadha, as there is a division of opinion among scholars regarding the origin of the Śiśunāgas.[1] It is not our business here to enter into the merits of the controversy. But what is of immediate importance for our present purpose is to recognise the fact that the *Jātakas* do preserve a record, though a dim one, of the period when Kāsī's power was fast declining and the Nāgas were beginning to establish their influence on the Magadhan politics. This influence, it is possible, and even probable, might have later on terminated in the final occupation of Magadha by the Śiśunāgas. These findings, if proved correct, would seem to favour the view that makes the Śiśunāgas as coming after Bimbisāra, who was, according to that view, a scion of the *Haryaṅkakula.*[2] But the problem still remains unsolved.

THE FALL OF KĀSĪ AND THE RISE OF KOSALA

We may now revert to the Kāsī-Kosala relations and reach the logical, and also the Chronological, *finale*. Several successful invasions of Kāsī by the Kosalan monarchs are recorded. Thus two unnamed Kosala kings are said to have invaded and successfully captured the kingdom of Benares.[3] The *Ghaṭa Jātaka*[4] again informs us that, caried by the banished minister of Kāsī, the Kosala king Vaṅka seized the kingdom of Benares and took king Ghaṭa prisoner. He was however set free. The combined evidence of the *Mahāsīlava*[5] and the *Ekarāja Jātakas*[6] shows that the Kosalan king Dabbasena captured the ruler of Benares, Mahasīlava, while he was seated in the midst of his ministers, and subjected him to severe physical tortures as a punishment. Here also the Benares king, who is represented as a very pious and religious king with no desire of kingly power, is said to have regained his kingdom. In all these instances, as rightly judged by Dr. Sen,[7] we can mark 'a spirit of propagandism which deliberately seeks to protect the sanctity of specially favoured country like Kāsī, where the Master turned the Wheel of Law, even though the forces of history have already begun to operate in a reverse direction by proclaiming its political downfall.' Other Kosala kings who can perhaps be located during this period may be mentioned here : Mallika, who was 'rough to the rough and mild with mildness swayed', mastered the good with goodness and paid the bad with badness, was an equal with the Kāsī king Brahmadatta ;[8] Sabbamitta is said to have abolished wine-drinking from his king-

1. Jayaswal, *J. B. O. R. S.*, I, pp. 67 *ff*; *J. A. S. B.*, 1913, accepts the *Paurāṇic* accounts making the rise of the Śiśunāgas prior to Bimbisāra. His view is challenged by others who relying mainly on the Ceylonese accounts, take the Śiśunāgas as coming later than Bimbisāra, Bhandarkar, *C. L.*, 1918, pp. 67 *ff*; Pradhan, *Chronology of Ancient India*, pp. 211 *ff*; Ray. chaudhury, *P. H. A. I.*, pp. 81-2.
2. *Ibid.* Haryaṅka was a king of Aṅga : See *A.B.O.R.I.* xix, p. 82.
3. J., I, pp. 409-10 ; V, p. 430.
4. J., III, p. 168-GG. 29-30.
5. J., I, pp. 263 *ff*.
6. J., III, pp. 13-4-G. 10.
7. *op. cit.*, p. 9.
8. J., II, pp. 3, *ff*-G. 1.

dom ;[1] and Elakamāra[2] who is probably identical with Avimāraka of Bhāsa, the dramatist[3], is reported to have been brought up by a goatherd and afterwards married Kuraṅgavī, the Princess of Benares. The final conquest of Kāsī, however, was, probably, the work of Kaṁsa as the epithet '*Bārāṇasiggaho*', *i.e.*, conqueror of Benares, is a standing addition to his name.[4] "The interval of time between Kaṁsa's conquest of Kāsī and the rise of Buddhism could not have been very long because the memory of Kāsī as an independent kingdom was still fresh in the minds of the people in Buddha's time and even later, when the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* was composed."[5] And by the time of Mahākosala, in the sixth century B.C., Kāsī formed an integral part of the Kosalan monarchy.[6] We have thus reached a stage which is chronologically the last in our *Jātakas*. The next age with its settled order, so transparently reflected in the early Buddhist literature, is dominated spiritually by Gotama Buddha and Mahāvīra and politically by Mahākosala and Pasenadī of Kosala, Biṁbisāra and Ajātasattu of Magadha, Udayana of Kosaṁbī and Caṇḍapajjota of Ujjeṇī. As regards this age, we may note finally, much valuable light is thrown by the Introductory episodes of our *Jātakas* which, though compiled much later, embody earlier tradition and have been ably analysed by B. C. Sen.[7]

ASSAKA AND KALIṄGA

Of the conflicts between neighbouring kingdoms, which were the predominent feature of this Mahājanapada Period, those of Kāsī and Kosala and Aṅga and Magadha have been already noticed. We have now finally to notice the relations between the Southern states of Assaka and Kaliṅga as recorded in the *Cullakāliṅga Jātaka.*[8]

The *gāthās* of this interesting *Jātaka* contain a bardic narration of the feud between those two prominent states in the South—once the vassal kings of Daṇḍaka. The Assaka king named in this *Jātaka* is Aruṇa,[9] while no name of the Kaliṅga king is unfortunately mentioned. The Assaka king had his capital at Poṭali and the king of Kaliṅga ruled at Dantapura. The war was an aggressive one 'inflicted on the king of Assaka by the Kaliṅga king who suffered from the mania for war and love of conquests over the whole of India.' It was fought on the frontiers of the two kingdoms (*Ubhinnaṁ rajjūnaṁ antare*) The Kaliṅga king had come with a large army (*sampannbalavāhano, mahatī-senāya*) but the valuable direction of Nandisena,[10] the Assaka com-

1. J., V, pp. 13 *ff*.-G. 59.
2. J., V, pp. 428-30.
3. *Cf.* A. Venkatasubbiah, *I. A.*, 1931, pp. 113-5..
4. J., II, p. 403-G. 96 ; V, p. 112-G, 2 ; Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, p. 25 ; Raychaudhury, *P. H. A. I.*, p. 110.
5. *Ibid.* See also Rhys Davids, *op. cit.*, pp. 24-5 ; *C. H. I.*, I, p. 180.
6. *Ibid.*
7. *op-cit.* pp. 21 *ff.*
8. J., III, pp. 3-8—GG. 1-4.
9. J., III, p. 3—G. 1 :—"*Vivaratha imāsaṁ nagaraṁ pavisantu, Aruṇarājassa sīhena susatthena surakkhitaṁ Nandisenena.*"
10. *Ibid.*

mander-in-chief, succeeded in gaining victory for his master and drove away the enemy from the battlefield. Peace was ultimately restored between the two kings, which probably lasted until the reign of Khāravela who, in the 1st century B. C., according to some scholars, seems to have marched upon Assaka in his victorious career.[1]

The very facts, if they are truly embodied, that Potali and Dantapura are mentioned as the capitals of the Assaka and Kaliṅga kingdoms respectively, would seem to be enough to regard this episode of Assaka-Kaliṅga war as much earlier than the time of the Nanda kings,[2] but later than that of Manoja who had subdued Assaka as we have alread seen[3].

Out task has now practically ended. In final, we should note down other kingdoms mentioned in the *Jātakas* which must have flourished together during this period, but for which we have no historical matter in the *Jātakas* themselves. *Vaṁsa*, with its capital Kosambī ruled over by Kosambika kings,[4] of whom Udena—the contemporary of the Buddha—is once[5] mentioned; *Dasaṇṇa*, in the Madhyadeśa or Cental India;[6] *Sindha* famous for its horses;[7] *Sovīra*, with Roruva as its capital;[8] and *Suraṭṭha Janapada*;[9] *Avantī* with its capital Ujjenī;[10] *Mahiṁsaka* on the Kaṇṇapeṇṇā,[11] *Seriva* and *Andha* separated by the river Telavāhā,[12] and *Damilaraṭṭha* with its seaport town Kavīrapaṭṭana.[13]

Thus in the preceding pages, let us say in conclusion, we have tried to link up the stray and detached and loose data of political history into a kind of continuity which is or should be the essence of all historical narratives. Our findings are bound to be dubious in character. Our sole resort has been the *Jātaka* stories from out of which we had to sift and separate historical ingredients from legendary and purely imaginary chaff. Recourse had to be taken to other literary sources to supplement the knowledge thus acquired. Unfortunately no archaeological or epigraphical records survive which, with their definite and certain character, can help us in our way through that dreary, labyrinth-like past from across which we have presently had a flittering experience. We must await light from further research.

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1. See Barua, *Old Brāhmi Inscriptions*, p. 176.
2. The Hāthigumphā Inscription of Khāravela informs us that the capital of Kaliṅga before the advent of king Nanda of Aṅga-Magadha was *Pithūḍaga*. See Barua, *op cit.*, 21.
3. Dr. Barua, however, with his no doubt ingenuous analysis of the facts embodied in the *Jātaka*, has tried to apply them to those mentioned in Khāravela's Inscription, equating Kāliṅga king with Khāravela and seeing in the *Jātaka* story only a later replica of the incidents of the life-story of Khāravela. He regards the name of Aruṇa as a later addition and the verse itself as a later manipulation. Barua, *op cit.*, pp. 213-5. The evidence is not, however, conclusive and the similarities of incidents may as well be accidental only.
4. J., IV. pp. 28; 56;
5. J., III, p. 385;
6. J., III p. 338-G. 39; VI. p. 238-G. 1065.
7. J., I, pp. 178, 181; II, p. 166; V. p. 259-G. 46; VI, pp. 47-G. 170, 49-G. 201, 265.
8. J. III, p. 470;
9. J., III, p. 463.
10. J., IV, p. 390. As to Caṇḍapajjota being earlier than the Buddha, see Jyotirmoy Sen, *I. H. Q.*, VI, pp. 686-9.
11. J., V, p. 337; I, p. 356;
12. J., I, p. 111.
13. J., IV, p. 238.

APPENDIX

(In the following list have been included the Kāśī kings who are not discussed in the foregoing chapter, since they have no historical character. Similarly the Brahmadattas have also been left out. The object in giving this list is to note down the names of kings and princes which may help. in future, in historical research.)

Name.	Reference.	Remarks.
Arindama	V, 247-61	A Magadha Prince—educated at Takkasilā—occupied the vacant throne of Benares—his son was Dīghāvu.
Asadisa	II, 87.	......
Ādāsamukha	II, 307 *ff.*	Son of Janasandha.
Uggasena	IV, 458.	......
Ekarāja	VI, 131 *ff.*	Son of Vasavatti—capital city Benares known as Pupphavatī—had a priest named Khandhahāla.
Kandari	V, 437	Very handsome—his wife Kinnarā intrigeud with a crippled man—King disgusted-episode sculptured at Barhut.
Kiki	VI, 481	*Cf. Majjhima Nokāya* II; Pradhan, *Chronology of Ancient India*, p. 215.
Ghaṭa	III, 168.	......
Janaka	III, 341	Had a wise preacher named Senaka.
Janasandha	II, 299 ; IV, 176	Also known as Daśaratha-Father of Ādāsamukha who succeeded him.
Juhna	IV, 96-7	Son of Brahmadatta—studied at Takkasilā.
Taṁba	III, 187 *ff.*	His wife was Sussoṇḍī, a woman of exceeding beauty—She was abducted by the king of the Nāga Island of Seruma who used to come to Benares to play dice with Taṁba—She was returned.

Name.	Reference.	Remarks.
Dalhadhamma	III, 385 *ff.*	......
Dhanañjaya	III, 97 *ff.*	......
Dahmmapāla	III, 178	Son of Mahāpatāpa, the cruel.
Pādañjali	II, 264	Son of a Brahmadatta—a 'lazy loafer'—prevented from ascending to the throne.
Pāvāriya	V, 443-4	Contemporary with Baka, king of Benares—*Cf.* Pāvārika-aṁbavana near Nālandā.
Pīliyakkha	VI, 75 *ff.*	Went on a hunting excursion on the banks of the Migasammatā, fatally wounded a young boy Sāma, son of a hunter.
Baka	V, 440	Contemporary with Pāvāriya.
Bahuputtaka	IV, 424 *ff.*	Built a lake Khema named after his queen.
Bhojanasuddhi	II, 319 *ff.*	Dainty in eating.
Mādhava	III, 337 *ff.*	A Māgadha.
Mahāpatāpa	III, 178	Had his son, Dhammapāla, seven years old, executed for a slight offence on the part of his mother Candā.
Mahāpiṅgala	III, 240. *ff.*	Wicked and unjust-oppressed his people.
Yasapāṇi	II, 186 *ff.*	His *purohita* was Dhammadd-dhaja and commander-in-chief was Kālaka—Kālaka used to take bribes—Dhammaddhaja appointed to judgeship instead—Kālaka jealous—killed by angry people.
Yava	III, 215 *ff.*	Son of a Brahmadatta—had to guard himself against the attacks of his young son who grew impatient for the throne.
Vasavatti	VI, 131	Ruled at Pupphavatī, another name of Benares—his son was Ekarāja.

Name.	Reference.	Remarks.
Sabbadatta	IV, 119	Ruled at Ramma, another name of Benares—had two sons Yuvañjaya and Yudhiṭṭhila
Saṁyama or Seyya	V, 354	Queen Khemā.
Sāmarājā	II, 98 *ff*.	......
Susīma	II, 46 *ff*.	......
Senaka	III, 275	Had friendly relations with the Nāgas.

SECTION II

ADMINISTRATIVE ORGANISATION

INTRODUCTION

In the preceding section we traversed the whole difficult field of Political History, *i.e.*, the story of some of the kings and their kingdoms, as viewed from the *Jātakas* : from across the dim past we slowly, but steadily, emerged into the clear and easy path of our journey. Until at last, when we arrived at the *Mahājanapada Period* (800-600 B. C. and after) we felt that our guide—the *Jātakas*—were growing more and more informative. It is this period, as we have pointed out before, which should claim the right of reflecting the political, economical, social and religious conditions of the country. Thus now if we leave the political history as it was and pass on to a deeper study of the administration of the country, we should for the most part keep our eyes to this period, *viz.*, the period just preceding the advent of the Buddha and, to a certain degree, contemporaneous with, and subsequent to him. In fact we should regard the period as circling round the luminous figure of the Buddha—two or three centuries before and two or three centuries after him.

The material for such a study, we mean of the Administrative Machinery, furnished by the *Jātakas*, though meagre in quantity is none-the-less very valuable in quality. The *Jātakas*, as we know, are not administrative manuals which can supply us with a full connected and systematic account of the various aspects of administration of the time like the *Arthaśāstra* or the *Dharma Sūtras*. Naturally therefore we shall be dismayed if we hoped to visualise a comprehensive picture of the administrative machinery with all its intricacies, either in practice or in theory. But what we may justifiably expect and delight in expecting is this. The stories, as they flow on, give us details here and there, quite in an off-hand manner, thus very simply reflecting the normal life of the day—life true and sincere. It is of course needless to state that with such great and powerful kingdoms as Kāsī and Kosala must have existed a machinery of administrating the large kingdoms divided into villages and towns and cities : various activities of the state must have engaged a host of officers of whom only a few find the opportunity of appearing before us. Our attempt in the following pages will be to arrange this scrappy and isolated information in a systematic order, keeping our outlook broad so as to supplement the information whenever necessary from other sources.

CHAPTER I

POLITICAL ATMOSPHERE

INDIA DURING the Mahājanapada period presents a number of well-formed independent states, normally at peace but occasionally at war with one another. Each kingdom was divided into villages, towns and capital cities (*gāma, nigama, rājadhānī*). At the head of each state was the king who resided at the metropolis (*rājadhānī*). He was the acknowledged head of the state, who watched and warded his kingdom from the seat of his government.

Ordinarily each state enjoyed peaceful independence. But very often this peace was disturbed by aggressive monarchs like Manoja, who aspired to universal sovereignty (*cakkavattirajjaṁ*).[1] These aggressions, however, it should be noted, did not affect the deeper strata of the invaded kingdom but only gave an ephemeral disturbance over the surface particularly to the metropolis which was *de facto* entrance to victory over a kingdom.

The kings of those days often aspired to universal conquest (*Cāturanta, Ekarāja*),[2] as we have already seen. They were never satisfied with victories.[3] But what their conquests meant to the general mass of the people is clearly shown by their remaining as unaffected as ever. Invasions and retreats or in some cases occupations of the throne were no doubt going on between individual kingdoms. No well-directed imperial policy as we are accustomed to see in Medieval times is to be seen in those days. Even in cases where subordination was present, as for instance under Manoja and Daṇḍaki, no permanent subordination was possible. As a matter of fact the defeated king was never pulled down from his throne but he was allowed to enjoy it if only he, as a vassal, could accept the overlordship of the victorious power. A characteristic instance is provided by the *Soṇananda Jātaka.*[4] A Kosala king is invaded by a Kāsī monarch. A proposal is made by the minister of the latter king to the former—"Great king, be not dismayed. There is no danger threatening your kingdom; it shall still be yours. Only submit to King Manoja."

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1. The term *cakkavatti* undoubtedly implied, as Jayaswal thinks, the idea of territorial sovereignty extending upto the natural frontiers—*I.H.Q.*. I, p. 572.

2. The idea of "sole monarchy"—*Ekarāja: Cāturanta*—known as early as the *Ṛgveda*, viii, 37, 3 and the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, viii, 15, (*Pṛthivyai Samudraparyantāya Ekarāṭ*) and exhorted by Kauṭilya. *Arthaśāstra* IX, 1, is also known to the *Jātakas*, IV, p. 309-G 80; 310 G. 85, p. 476-G. 1670. For the meaning of the term "*Ekarāt*" see *Vedic Index*, I, p. 119; Jayaswal, *Hindu Polity*, ch. xxxvii; its criticism *I. H. Q.*, I, pp. 570 *ff*; Dikshitar. *Hindu Administrative Institutions*, pp. 79-80 and note. The *Hāthigumphā Inscription* of Khāravela mentions this idea of "*Ekarāṭ*" Line I.

3. *Cf.* "*Rājā ca pathiviṁ sabbaṁ sasamuddaṁ sapabbataṁ ajjhavāsa vijinitva anantaratanocitaṁ paraṁ samuddaṁ pattheti ūnatā hi na pūrati*"—J. V, p, 450-G. 340.

4. J., V, p. 316 "*mā bhāyi mahārāja n'atthi te paripantho, tava rajjaṁ tav'eva bhavissati, kevalaṁ Manojarañño vasavatti hohi*"; *cf.* also J., VI, p. 391—"*mahārāja tava yuddhena kiccaṁ natthi kevalaṁ amhākaṁ santako hohi tava rajjaṁ taveva bhavissati.*"

The proposal is readily accepted and thus the Kāsī monarch passes on with a delightful pride that he has brought his rival under his submission. Thus overlordship and vassalage arose. There is still another interesting aspect in this connection to be gathered from the same *Jātaka*. It gives us an idea of how the aspiring monarch carried on his conquests. Of course the resources of a single kingdom, however great, could hardly be considered sufficient for carrying on military operations on such a large scale.[1] The general practice was that the victorious army was re-inforced by the forces of the defeated king and then was able to attack another front more powerfully. When this also was defeated, its soldiers were forced to join the invading army. In this way the march continued.[2] However all this may be, it is apparent that the idea of *Permanent Annexations* is quite foreign to the *Jātakas*. "The establishment of suzerainty was only a formal affair.[3]"

Frequent struggles between neighbouring states we have already noticed. Political developments in one kingdom were naturally keenly watched by its neighbour. Every opportunity was taken advantage of. If only a king was weak—as was *Mahāsīlava*[4]—or in some natural or temporary disadvantage,[5] his neighbour was at once at the gates of the capital. Numerous references show that the dismissed servant—usually the minister—of one state was warmly received by the rival neighbour. These persons very often, as is natural, "proved to be a source of incalculable mischief and injury to the kingdoms which they had once served."[6] Various other diplomatic tactics were in force. Secret agencies (*upanikkhittapurisā*) were posted in distant countries to watch and report the military preparations there carried on or even the hostile intentions confided by a foreign prince to his most trusted minister. A graphic picture of this is furnished by the *Mahāummagga Jātaka*,[7] where we hear the report sent by a secret agent to his Master at Mithilā from the capital of King Saṁkhapāla. It was generally on the basis of such reports that the enemy planned his attack with care and dexterity. It was in this way, for instance, that when a king of Kaṁpilla invaded Mithilā, his agent secretly entered the city by its postern gate, inspite of all vigilant manouvering of the Videha Minister and successfully carried all sorts of useful news to their Master outside.[8]

There also existed, we should note, peaceful relations between kings, near or far, when they were tied by dynastic or matrimonial connections.

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1. Sen, *op. cit.*, p. 47.
2. See also J. VI, p. 392; *cf. Arthaśāstra*, xiii, 4, where Kauṭilya lays down similar steps leading to world power: See N. N-Law, *Inter-State Relations in Ancient India*, pp. 31 *ff*.
3. Dikshitar, *Mauryan Polity*, p. 72.
4. As for instance J., I, p. 262.
5. J., pp. II, pp. 87 ff.
6. J., III, pp. 13-5, 153, Sen, *op. cit.*, p. 50.
7. J., IV, pp. 390-3. "*Tadā Ekabalaraṭṭhe Saṁkhapāla nāme rājā āvudhāni sajjāpeti senaṁ saṁkaddati, tassa santike upanikkhittapuriso passa sāsanaṁ pesesi 'ayaṁ idha pavatti, idaṁ nāma karissati na jānāmi, pesetva sayaṁ tatvato jānāthā ti... 'ācikkhitabbayuttakaṁ kiñci suṇissāmi'.*" etc,
8. *Ibid.* pp. 399-400.

"Matrimony was an effective bond of alliance between different ruling families. These alliances were not always free from political considerations.[1]" Thus the *Asilakkhaṇa* and the *Mudupāṇi Jātakas*[2] present before us a king who thinks that it would be much more useful if he can enter into matrimonial alliances with two royal houses through the marriages of his daughter and nephew. Of such alliances we have already taken notice in the course of our tracing the history of those times.

Moreover, there arose other chances also of the intimate relations between kings. Their friendship might originate even in their youthful days while studying together under the same teacher at Takkasilā—the famous resort of Princes in those times.[3] At times, even though the two had never known each other personally, a friendly feeling might grow up between them.[4] "A common religious career might draw two or more kings together but such unions could possibly have no political significance in as much as these generally happened after they had ceased to take any interest in the affairs of the world.[5]"

We thus see that the political atmosphere, or the foreign affairs, whether in peace or in war, did not generally affect the peaceful and routine-like day-to day administration of different states. It was carriod on as usual.[6]

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1. Sen, *op. cit.*, p. 51.
2. J., 1, p. 456: "*mayhaṁ bhāgineyyo sabbathāpi yeva etassa aññam rājādhitaramaṁnetvā abhisekaṁ katvā dhitaraṁ aññassa rañño dassāmi' evaṁ no ñātakā bahū bhavissanti*" J., II, p. 324—"*mayham bhāgineyyassa aññassa dhītaram ānesāma mayhaṁ dhītaraṁ pi aññasmin rāja-kule dassāma;.*" etc.
3. J. IV, p. 315 *ff*.
4. J., III, p. 364 "*Te dvepi rājāno adiṭṭhasahāyāva hutvā aññamaññaṁ thiravissāsā ahesuṁ*".
5. Sen, *op. cit.*, p. 53.
6. Notices of Foreigners like Megasthenes and Yuan Chwang also say the same thing. See Megasthenes, I; S. Visvanatha, *International Law in Ancient India*, pp. 16-9.

CHAPTER II

CENTRAL ADMINISTRATION

I

GENERAL PRINCIPLES ABOUT KINGSHIP

ORIGIN OF KINGSHIP: STATE OF ANARCHY

OF the four principal theories or conceptions about the origin of kingship,*viz.*, Divine origin, origin in war, the theory of contract and the theory of elective kingship,[1] the last seems to have been more, in fact the only one, familiar to the *Jātakas*. In common with the united Hindu tradition—whether Brāhmaṇa, Buddhist or Jaina —, the *Jātakas*, as of course reflecting the general Buddhist thought, envisage a state of anarchy in the pre-State epoch when there was all disorder, the stronger devouring the weaker. This is characteristically exemplified in an anecdote contained in the *Mahāsutasoma Jātaka*[2] which relates how the larger fish (*mahāmaccha*) used to devour the smaller ones. This story *inter alia* brings before us the papular notion of the anarchical state known as the *Mātsya Nyāya*,[3] which in some respects corresponds to the Darwinian "Struggle for existence", the Spencerian "Survival of the Fittest", the Marxian "Class Struggle", the Gobinneau Cumplowiez's "race-struggle", and is based on the avowed principle of "Might is Right". The *Ulūka Jātaka*,[4] which is in more than one aspects a veritable embodiment of Constitutional procedure, preserves for us the then prevailing popular notion about the 'Election of the King' in the dawn of History (*pathama Kappa*). "Once upon a time," says the *Jātaka*, "the people who lived in the first Cycle of the world gathered together, and took for their king a certain man, handsome, auspicious, commanding, altogether perfect."[5] This of course refers us to the fuller version of the famous discourse on Creation of Kingship contained in the *Ajjañña Suttanta* of the *Dīgha Nikāya*.[6] There the elected king is called *Mahāsammata* or 'chosen by general consent

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1. See Jayaswal, *Hindu Pulity*, II, pp. 3-13; U. Ghoshal, *A History of Hindu Political theories*; D. R. Bhandarkar, *C. L.* 1918, pp. 114-39; Beni Prasad, *The Theory of Government in Ancient India*: Ajit Kumar Sen, *Studies in Hindu Political thought*; B. K. Sarkar, *Positive Background of Hindu Sociology*, 1921, 1926; K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar, *Ancient Indian Economic Thought*: also Balkrishna, *The Evolution of the State, in I. H. Q.*, III, pp. 315-35.

2. J., V, pp. 462-4.

3. *Cf.* for fuller treatment of the same, Dikshitar. *Hindu Administrative Institutions*, pp. 19-24.

4. J., II, pp. 352-3.

5. *Ibid*, p. 352. "*Atite pathamakappikā sannipatitvā ekaṁ abhirūpaṁ, sobhaggappattaṁ, āṇāsampannaṁ sabbakāra-paripuṇṇaṁ purisaṁ gahetvā rājañaṁ karimsu.*"

6. III. p. 92-3; *Dialogues of the Buddha*, III, pp. 88-9 Cf. *Mahāvastu* (Senart's. edition), I, pp. 347-8; The story in its elaborate form has travelled to Ceylon, Burma and Tibet: See Hardy, *Manual of Buddhism*, p. 68; *Burmese Damathat*, tr. Richardson, p. 7; Rockhill, *Life of the Buddha*, pp. 1-9, referred to by Bhandarkar *C. L.* 1918, p. 122 n; Beni Prasad, *The State in Ancient India*, p. 118 n.

(the Great Elect) who is known to the *Jātakas.*[1] Thus the human and at the same time elective origin of kingship is remembered by the *Jātakas.* But as regards the conditions of contract (social and governmental) formed in this connection, so fully described in the above *Suttanta* and other works, nothing is said.[2] However the basic principle of protection underlying the contract can indeed be gleaned through the isolated utterances in the *Jātakas,* as will be seen.[3]

A king was absolutely necessary. He was an essential factor for the well-being of the people. This was not only a theory but in actual feelings of the people of those times. As we shall see later on, the throne could on no account go vacant for a long time. Immediate steps were taken to raise a new king on the vacant throne. Well might the utterances of the people in the *Mahājanaka Jātaka*[4] that 'the kingdom cannot be preserved without a king' echo the real feelings of the time. "A man needs king and warriors for protection" says a *gāthā* in the *Mahāukkusa Jātaka.*[5] A condition of kinglessness (or more accurately statelessness) *arājatā* was always viewed with horror.[6] The idea was so rampant in the minds of the people that not only human beings but "every species of animals—all bipeds and quadrupeds" were thought to have their own kings.[7]

The ten kingly duties (*Dasarājadhamme*) so often[8] referred to and enumerated fully in a *gāthā* of the *Nandiyamiga Jātaka*[9] have become a stock-phrase in the *Jātakas.* They are :

> "*Dānaṁ Sīlaṁ Pariccāgaṁ Ajjavaṁ Maddavaṁ Tapaṁ*
> *Akkodhaṁ Avihiṁsā ca khanti ca Avirodhanaṁ.*"

"Alms, morals, charity, justice and penitence,"
Peace, mildness, mercy, meekness, patience."

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1. J., II, p. 311 ; III, p. 454.

2. *Cf.* K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar, *Ancient Indian Economic Thought,* pp. 46-50 ; see Ghoshal, *Hindu Political Theories,* pp. 137, 273-278, where several attempts at establishing an analogy between the Hindu and the Western theories on this point are criticised ; counter-criticism by Benoy Kumar Sarkar, *I. H. Q.,* I, pp. 743-5 foot-note, and a reply and a counter-reply : *Ibid.,* II, p. 423 ; pp. 195-7- ; 643-4.

3. See for references to this point in other literature, Samaddar, *J. B. O. R. S.,* VI, pp. 487-490.

4. J., VI, p. 39. "*arājakaṁ nāma raṭṭhaṁ pāletuṁ na sakkā*" *Cf.* "*appatissavāso nāma na vattati*", J. II, p. 352. This was also the reason why we see people assembling together at the palace door and taking the king to ask for not having any issue. J., V, 279 ; IV, 317.

5. J., IV, p. 296-G. 59 "*Rājāvatā Surāvatā ca attho sampanna sakkhiso bhavanti h'ete.*" *Cf.* "As a matter of fact ancient Indian Economics starts with the fundamental assumption that the State is a necessity. If we separate the adventitious accretions made to this idea in later writings, by the substitution of 'Monarch' for the 'State' we shall find that from our earliest literature down almost to the threshold of our own times there runs through the stream of Indian thought the repeated affirmation of the need of the State, the political community and group organisations.' K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar, *Ancient Indian Economic Thought,* p. 44.

6. *Cf.* Manu, vii, 3 "*Arājake hi loke'smin sarvato vidrute bhayāt,*" and *Rāmāyaṇa,* II, 67,8,31 also the vivid description of the misery of anarchy in the *Mahābhārata, Śānti Parva,* ch. 68—*J.A.O.S.,* XI, 255 ; XIII 135-6. Kauṭilya says "Protected by *Daṇḍa* the State prospers" *Arthaśāstra,* I, 4 ; *Arājatā* King (State) lessness has up to this day come down to mean "anarchy." See discussion over this term. Dikshitar, *op. cit.,* pp. 23 & note, 24.

7. Monkeys, J., I, p. 282 ; Birds, J., II, 352 ; Fish, J. V, p. 462.

8. J., I, p. 260 ; II, p. 118, III, p. 470 ; IV, p. 153.

9. J., III, p. 274-G. 73; also J., V. p. 378-G.176.

Of course, Fick[1] is right to a certain extent in saying that these duties do not give us a picture of the king, no idea of the essence of the kingly power, of the obligations and functions of the *Rājan*, because 'they are nothing else than prescriptions of the general Buddhistic morality applicable to all lay disciples. However, it must be remembered that this code of morality is not purely Buddhistic. For is not the above *gāthā* itself reminiscent of the old *Upaniṣadic* Ideal[2] or of that which is inculcated in the *Bhagavadgītā* in precisely the same words[3] and which runs throughout in Indian Literature ?[4] But these are ideals, no doubt. What about realities ? Yes, the *Jātakas* also give us more practical and realistic precepts applicable to a king, which show a considerable knowledge of, and acquaintance with, the machinery of administration as it then existed. As an instance we might cite the following remarkable *gāthās* from the *Tesakuṇa Jātaka*[5] which is, so to say, a compendium of maxims on Political Philosophy and which is sufficiently attractive to deserve more than a passing reference :

"First of all, should a king put away
All falsehood and anger and scorn ;
Let him do what a king has to do,
Or else to his vow be forsworn....
When a prince in his rule groweth slack,
Untrue to his name and his fame,
Should his wealth (*bhoga*) all at once disappear,
Of that prince it is counted as shame....
In a man energetic and bold (*utthānaviriye*) we delight[6],
If from jealousy free....
To all, O great king, be a friend,
So that all may thy safety insure....
For courage as virtue he holds
And in it goodness true espies.
Be zealous to do what is right,
Nor, however reviled, yield to sin,
Be earnest in efforts for good,
No sluggard can bliss ever win......"
And again—
"The matter, my friend, is set forth
In a couple of maxims (*padakāni*) quite plain—
To keep whatever one has (*laddhassa anurakkhaṇa*)

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1. *op. cit.*, pp. 100-1 ; 105. The same is the case with the five *Kurudhammas* which are only five general virtues (*sīlas*).

2. *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*, 3,17,4 "*Tapodānamārjjavamahiṁsāsatyavacanaṁ.*"

3. XVI, 1-2 "*Dānaṁ Damaśca yajñaśca svādhyāyaṁ tapa ārjjavaṁ Ahiṁsā Satyamakrodhastyāgaḥ śāntiapaiśunaṁ.*"

4. *Cf. MBH.* V. 59 ; See Hopkins, *J. A. O. S.*, 13, p. 116.

5. J., V pp. 112 *ff.*—GG. 3-47.

6. *Cf. Arthaśāstra*, I, 19 ; Aśoka's *Edicts*. R. E. VI.

And whatever one has not, to gain (*aladdhassa ca yo lābho*).[1]
Take as counsellers men that are wise
Thy interests clearly to see (*atthassa kovide*)[2]
Not given to riots and waste,
From gambling and drunkenness free.[3]
Such an one as can guard thee aright
And thy treasure with all proper zeal[4]
As a charioteer guides his car,
He with skill steers the realm's commonweal.
Keep ever the folk (*antajano*) well in hand[5]
And duly take stock of thy feef (*cittaṁ*).[6]
Ne'er trust to another a loan or deposit (*nidhiṁ ca iṇadānaṁ.*)
But act for thyself....
What is done or undone to thy profit and loss (*āyavyaya*)
It is well thou shouldst know.
Ever blame the blameworthy,
And favour on them that deserve it bestow.
Thou thyself, O great king! shouldst instruct
Thy people in every good way
Lest thy realm and thy substance
Should fall to unrighteous officials (*adhammikā yutā*), a prey.

See that nothing is done by thyself
Or by others with overmuch speed.
For the fool that so acts
Without doubt will live to repent of the deed.
To wrath (*Kodha*) one should never give way,
For should it due bounds overflow,
It will lead to the ruins of kings
And the proudest of houses lay low.[7]
Be sure that thou never as king
Thy people misled to their cost.
Lest all men and women alike
In an ocean of trouble be lost...."

How wonderfully these stanzas echo the clear voice of Kauṭilya and other Hindu Political Philosophers, can very well be seen from a comparison of these with *Arthaśāstra* works.[8] Even the words and phrases *italicised* in the

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1. Kauṭilya, *Arthaśāstra*, I, 20, adds two more, *viz.*, increasing what is protected and dispensing the wealth thus increased on meritorious purposes. *Cf.* also Junāgaḍh Rock inscription of Skandagupta, Fleet, *G. I* No. 14 (455-6 A. D.)
2. Persons versed in the *Arthaśāstra* or Politics. See *Arthaśāstra*, XIV. 1.
3. *Cf. Śukranītisāra*, I, 11, 215-29.
4. *Cf. Arthaśāstra*, II, 8; VII, 5.
5. Is it the inner apartment, the harem, which was to be guarded carefully according to Kauṭilya?
6. The text has *cittaṁ*, while the Commentary takes it as *vittaṁ*.
7. *Cf. Prāyaśaḥ Kopavaśāḥ rājānaḥ prakṛtikopaiḥ hatāḥ śrūyante. Arthaśāstra*, VIII, 3.
8. *Cf.* specially *Arthaśāstra*, I, 19. Other references on the point may be pointed out; J., I, 280-G. 56; III, 441-2, G. 27-32; V, 99-100-G. 305-315; VI, 94-G. 95; 375-6 G.

above citations, remarkably agree with those employed in the *Arthaśāstra* works with their technical significance.

Evils that attend to the slothful king are very aptly described in the *Gaṇḍatiṇḍu Jātaka*[1] which reflects a bold philosophy of action and does not preach passivity as is generally attributed to Buddhism. "*Appamādo amatapadaṁ, pamādo maccuno padaṁ*".[2] "Zeal is the way to Eternal Bliss, but sloth leads to Death"—is the keystone, the essence, of this sturdy doctrine. A slothful king paves the way for the ruin of himself and his kingdom which falls a prey to robbers and spoilers. Whereas the man who arising betimes (*kālutthāyin*) unwearied and orderly is, his oxen and kine thrive apace, and riches increasing are his.

Says a *gāthā* of one *Jātaka*: "Right should never be violated.... If Right is destroyed, it destroys."[3] This *Dhamma* then was very comprehensive, embracing the whole bundle of laws that formed the basis of social, economic and political order. To abide by these laws was the supreme duty of a king. These are no abstract principles of righteousness as the citations quoted above will show. The significant, practical and positive character of these will also be seen from the oftrepeated passages in the *Jātakas*[4] which mean by *Dhamma* the fulfilment and maintenance of the rights belonging to relations, subjects, communities and officials and servants: "*Dhammaṁ cara mahārāja mātāpitusu . puttadāresu.... mittāmaccesu.... raṭṭhe Janapade.... samaṇabrāhmaṇe.... migapakkhisu.*"

Ideals and thoughts, whether political, social or economic, are at once the source and the reflex of actual conditions. This may not be wholly true. However the fact remains that noble and sublime kings like Aśoka rose to be so from the *Dhamma* precepts and also created the actualities for later thoughts to grow upon. The reciprocal influence of man and environment must be recognised.

The guiding motive which impelled a king to cling to this ideal was chiefly the common belief in *Sagga* (*Svarga*) or heaven as the *Summum bonum* to be attained for leading a virtuous life on earth. Such is the oft-repeated precept for a king, as for instance given in the *Sāma Jātaka.*[5]

> "*Dhammaṁ cara Mahārāja mātāpitusu khattiya*
> *Idha dhammaṁ caritvāna*
> *Raja saggaṁ gamissati.*"

Again, why was Aśoka so earnest in his *Dhamma?* In his scheme of values, he considered the other world as of supreme consequence and as the objective of life (*paratrikameva Mahā-phala menāti Devānaṁ piyo.*)[6]

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1 V, pp. 99-100 G. 305; 315; *Cf.* also J. III, 141-G. 175-6.
2. This is repeated in *Dhammapada*, V. 21.
3. J., III, p. 456-G. 45.
4. J., V, p. 123—GG. 38-47; 223—GG. 114-23; VI, p. 94-GG. 401-10.
5. VI, p. 94-GG. 401-10; also J., V, p. 123-GG. 38-47; 223-G. 123.
6. Mookerji, *Aśoka*, p. 75. *Rock Edict* XIII—*Cf. R. E. X.* where he plainly discloses "whatever exertions King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, puts forth are (all) with reference to the other world."

With this guiding motive in view the king was constantly advised to look after the happiness of every being. The parable enunciated by the monkey in the *Mahākapi Jātaka*[1] before the king is significant in this connection. The last of the *Gāthās* is :—

"The happiness of kingdom and of army and of steed
And city must be dear to thee, if thou wouldst rule indeed."[2]

—an ideal inculcated even by Kauṭilya[3] and so earnestly followed by Aśoka.[4] The paternal conception so eloquently advocated by Kauṭilya and Aśoka[5] is considered also in the *Jātakas* as one of the basic principles of good government.[6]

EVILS OF OPPRESSION

As a leader and protector of his subjects, the king was entrusted with responsibilities which were of a grave nature. His was the duty to support law and order in this world. "But if he himself was unjust or wicked," such was the idea, "how will law and order be supported?" In short, he was deemed personally responsible for all the sins and misfortunes of his subjects and even for seasonal vicissitudes.[7] People follow the king. If the king is just, the people will be so ; if he is unjust, so will also be his followers as kine do after a bull ! This is the gist of the several illuminating *gāthās* of the *Rājovāda Jātaka.*[8] "Yes, Your Excellency," says the ascetic of the above *Jātaka,* "in the time of unjust kings, oil, honey, molasses and the like as well as the wild roots and fruits, lose their sweetness and flavour, and not these only, but the whole realm becomes bad and flavourless."[9] Everything is alright only when the kings are just. Even if there is no rainfall, it is king's fault. All the people gather together before his palace and ask him to atone for his sins. He is asked to give alms, keep the holy day, make vows of virtue and to lie down for seven days in his chamber on a grass pallet as was used to be done by former monarchs.[10]

"For him no rain falls in the time of rain,
But out of season pours and pours amain."[11]

1. J., III, pp. 370-375-GG. 84-89.
2. *Ibid.* G. 89.
3. *Arthaśāstra,* I, 10.
4. As for instance in *R. E.*, VI, where he asserts the promotion of the good of all (*sarvalokahita*) as the most important duty of his and in *Pillar E.* II where he refers to his many and various kind and good deeds in respect of both men and beast, birds and aquatic creatures.
5. *Arthaśāstra,* II, 1; IV, 3; *Separate Kaliṅga Edicts.* See Bhandarkar, *Aśoka,* p. 36; Dikshitar, *Mauryan Polity,* pp. 98-9.
6. J., III, p. 470.
7. *Cf.* K. V. R., Aiyangar, *op. cit.,* pp. 66, 145.
8. J., III, p. 111—G. 133-136.
9. *Ibid.* p. 111.
10. J., II, p. 368.
11. J., II, p. 124—G. 84 ; *Cf.* also J. III; 458-G. 48; J., V, p. 193.

Under such an unjust king three kinds of fear overcome men, *viz.*, fear of famine, fear of pestilence and fear of the sword.[1] An oppressive ruler is held responsible for all the miseries of mankind. An old man's foot is pierced with a thorn—it is due to the king; the poor anxious mother of two grown-up but unmarried daughters falls down from a tree and cries out in frantic anger:

"Oh! When will Brahmadatta die,
For long as he shall reign
Our daughters live unwedded
And for husbands sigh in vain."

The ox of a ploughman is struck accidentally with his ploughshare, and for this again the king is to blame; a milkman is kicked and upset by a vicious cow early in the morning—the king is at fault; a mother-cow is sore at heart on seeing her dear dappled calf killed—for this the village boys curse the king; even a frog does not spare him when it is beaten by the hungry crows.[2]

Thus a monarch was regarded as the refuge and succour of the people. And in case of his turning evil, there was no end to the miseries of the people. There is thus a great amount of truth in what the people in the *Gaṇḍatiṇḍu Jātaka* speak out oft and anon:—

"By night to thieves a prey are we,
To publicans by day,
Lewd folks abound within the realm,
When evil kings bear sway."[3]

What such an oppressive rule led to, when people became desperate, we shall see later on.

PRACTICAL POLICY.

Having all these dangers in view, the king was constantly advised to be up and doing everything for the welfare of his subjects. Some of the practical aspects of these teachings we have already noticed in the long extracts given from the *Tesakuṇa Jātaka.*[4] A few others may here be noticed. The king was asked to mould his governmental policy according to the opinion of his subjects which counted a great deal, as we shall see. He must personally see things with his own eyes and give due regard to well-meaning suggestions of others.[5] And with this end in view perhaps we find the kings of the *Jātakas* going out in disguise—*incognito*—to see for themselves and hear what his subjects do or talk about.[6]

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1. J., II, p. 124—"*Chātakabhayaṁ rogabhayaṁ satthābhayaṁ ti imāni tiṇi bhayāni.*" also J., II, p. 368.
2. J., V, pp. 101-107,—G.G. 316, 321, 325, 330, 335, 339.
3. J., V, pp. 102-106, GG. 319, 324, 328, 333, 338.
4. *Supra* pp. 81-2.
5. J., V, p. 100-G. 315
6. J., II, pp. 2, 427; IV, p. 270.

If the king wanted to rule safely and peacefully, he must have the goodwill of the people at heart. To do this, he should put into practice the four elements of popularity (*catuhi saṅgahavatthūni*)[1] by which he could win the hearts of the people.

FIVE-FOLD POWER.

Of all the five elements that go to constitute the strength of a king, that of wisdom (*paññā*) is considered to be the best, and the king is advised to attach the greatest importance to it which is the procurer of material interests (*atthaṁvindati*). The remaining four elements of power (*balaṁ*) are *bāhubalaṁ* (power of limb—physical strength), *bhogabalaṁ* (power of possession—material strength), *amaccabalaṁ* (power of counsel) and *abhijaccabalaṁ* (power of high birth—aristocratic privileges.)[2]

II

THE KING AS A MAN

Up till now we had been considering the position of the king as seen through those general principles and concepts which, though mainly based on theoretical speculations, must have played a considerable part in forming and moulding the character of the king as a reality. Rules and duties and responsibilities that are enjoined on the king are here, as in other works on polity like the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya or the *Dharmasūtras*, based on actual conditions and go a long way in guiding the king in his administration.[3] Before actually taking up the administrative affairs we try to see the character of the king as he reveals himself in the stories themselves.

BIRTH.

The birth of a prince was eagerly longed for by people of those times.[4] Their keen anxiety for the perpetuation of royal line, as they considered failure of heir to be a great misfortune, led them to instal a particular kind of halo about the figure of a prince.

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1. J., III, p. 470; IV, p. 176; V, p. 352: *cf saṅgāhaka*, J. III, p. 262-GG. 53-4, IV, p 110-G. 50; V, p 362.Childers names these four *saṅgahavatthus* as largesse, affability, beneficient rule and impartiality: *Pāli Dictinary, suv. voc.* Such were the efforts of Aśoka, who spared not a moment from out of his zealous works of public welfare. So also did Khāravela gain popularity by following these traditional methods, by constructing works of public utility (Line 3), remitting taxes and duties (L. 7) and entertaining his subjects (L. 4). *Hāthigumphā Inscription;* Barua, *Brāhmi Insciptiosns*, p. 257.

2. J., V, pp. 120-121, GG. 27-29. The same enumeration of the five elements of power with almost the same phrases, is given in the *MBH.* V, 37, 52-55; *Cf.* Hopkins, *J.A.O.S.* 13, p. 152 note.

3. What Hopkins says regarding the material of the Epic, may as well be applied to our *Jātaka* material: "To what extent we may use in our investigation of the didactic sections contained in the Epic, is a question open to several answers. These portions are of course of late origin. Yet in a land so conservative as India we must concede that the gist of such dogmatic discourses had probably been for a long time the result of assumed and common custom, especially when the formal law of the early period essentially corroborates it; for law, as the Hindu is fond of saying, is based on custom; and custom, by the same authority, is unchangeable family in class usage" *J.A.O.S.*, 13, p. 70.

4. See Hopkins's learned remarks: *ibid*, p. 138 and note.

CHILDHOOD.

At the conception by the queen, proper rites were performed (*laddhagabbhaparihāro*).[1] What ceremonies were gone through on this occasion, we are not told. Probably they included the ceremony known as "*garbharakṣaṇa*" or the protection of embryo in the womb, *i.e.*, the prevention of miscarriage, which consisted mainly in reciting the particular hymns (*garbhadrahaṇaṁ*) of the *Atharvaveda*[2]...When, after the expiry of the period of nearly ten months,[3] the child was born, there was no limit to peoples' joy and happiness[4]. In this happiness each dropped a *kahāpaṇa* as the boy's milk-money (*khīramūlaṁ*).[5] That very day the happy father would order his chief general to find out how many young nobles had been born that day in the ministers' houses (*amaccakule*). For, "a retinue must be prepared for my son".[6] On the name-day (*nāmagahaṇadivasa*)[7] the new-born babe was given a name. The Brāhmaṇas who read the different marks of the babe (*lakkhaṇapāṭhakānaṁ brāhmaṇānaṁ*) were paid great honours. Inquiries were made of them whether there was any danger threatening him (*antarāyabhāvaṁ*).[8] From the moment of his birth, the prince was given away in charge of female nurses (*dhātī*) of the palace who carefully tended and brought him up.[9] Special care was taken that the nurses were faultless.[10] It was only occasionally that the queen herself would give her milk to the child.[11] Generally the child was sucked by the nurses. His childhood then passed away in merriment in company with his mates. They played and enjoyed in and out of the palace. Sometimes they strode off in the park to watch the elephants engaged in fight.[12] Nothing more is learnt about the activities of young princes. Their life at the palace was of course gay and prosperous, and, oftener than not, indolent. There does seem much of reality in the following description of the life of the Princes and Princesses, even allowing some margin for the stress that must be laid on the contrast that the king makes between the palace—and forest-life.

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1. J., II, p. 2; IV, p. 323; VI, p. 2.
2. 6, 17: 5, 1, 1, *Kauśika Sūtra*, 98-2, Bloomfield, The *Atharvaveda*, in *Grundriss der Indo-Arischen Philologie und Altertumskunde*, I, B, p. 71; *Cf.* Jolly, *Recht und Sitte*, in the above, p. 152. *Cf.* Kauṭilya: "When the queen attains the age favourable for procreation, priests shall offer to Indra and Bṛhaspati the requisite oblations," *Arthaśāstra* I, 17.
3. J., IV, p. 323—"*Dasamāsaccayena*" VI, p. 485-G. 1699.
4. J., VI, p. 2 "*Deva mayaṁ pubbe anāthā, idāni sanāthā jātā sāmike no laddhi.*"
5. J., IV., p. 323.
6. *Ibid.* "*Mama puttassa parivāro laddhuṁ vattati.*" *Cf.* J., V, p. 210.
7. *Cf. Manu, II,* 30, who lays down that the name-rite (*nāmakaraṇa*) should be performed on the 10th or 12th day after birth; Jolly, *op. & loc. cit*
8. J., VI, p. 3.
9. J., II, 328; III, p. 31; IV, p. 492; V, p. 298, VI, p. 3
10. The *Mugapakkha Jātaka*, VI, p. 3, notices the faults and merits of nurses. "If a child drinks milk, sitting on the hip of a nurse who is too tall, its neck will become too long; if it sits on the hip of one too short, its shoulder bone will be compressed, if the nurse be too thin the baby's thighs will ache: if too stout, the babe will become bow-legged; the body of a very dark nurse is too cold, of one very white is too hot; the children who drink the milk of a nurse with hanging breasts have the ends of their noses flattened, some nurses have their milk sour, others have it bitter." *Cf.* also, J., VI, p. 488. All this shows at least some scientific knowledge, no doubt.
11. J., VI, p. 5.
12. J., V, p. 183.

"Fine rice has been their food and well-cooked viands hitherto ;
If they must feed on wild-tree fruit, what will the children do !
From silver dishes well-adorned or golden hitherto ;
They ate : but with bare leaves instead, what will the children do ?
Benares cloth has been their dress, or linen hitherto ;
If they must dress in grass or bark, what will the children do ?
In carriages or palanquins they've riddden hitherto ;
When they must run about on foot, what........ ?
In gabled chambers they would sleep safe-bolted hitherto ;
Beneath the roots of trees to lie, what........?
On cushions, rugs or broidered beds they rested hitherto :
Reclining on a bed of grass, what........?
They have been sprinkled with sweet scents and perfumes hitherto ;
When covered all with dust and dirt, what......?
When peacock's feathers, yak's tail fans have fanned them hitherto ;
Bitten by insects and flies, what...... ?"[1]

The prince was respected, very often petted by the people. They would not let him do any manual work even if he wished to do[2], because he was a "prince". His life thus tended to be easy-going upto the 16th year, which was considered to be the age of discretion when generally he had to leave home and go abroad for purposes of higher education and training under "world-renowned teachers".[3] It is conceivable that the young prince up to this time had been instructed in his father's house in the elementary sciences (the three Rs)' and physical exercise, and it was only for higher studies both in arts and sciences that he went abroad.[4] It is Takkasilā which is invariably mentioned as the place where these young princes go for their higher studies. Takkasilā had a long-standing fame as the seat and centre of Indian culture which exercised a kind of intellectual suzerainty over the wide world of letters in India. And there is nothing to be mistrusted in the words of the *Jātakas* which speak of this custom of sending princes to so far away a place as Takkasilā, as Fick seems to feel.[5]

This custom of sending princes to far-away places for their higher education seems to have been prevalent in many a State of those days. Court-life at home was necessarily felt baneful for the growing prince. All sorts of luxuries, pleasures and comforts only made a prince's life easygoing and practically, as we might see even to-day, useless for heavy responsibilities that at-

1. J., VI, p. 510-GG. 1883-1890. For luxurious outer appearance of princes, see J., VI. pp. 144-5 GG. 647-54 ; 217-8 GG. 931-44, 485-6 , of princesses, J., VI, p. 590 GG. 2443-2451 ; of course, we must give greater latitude to these apparently poetical fancies and exaggeration.

2. J., IV, p. 169.

3. J., I, pp. 259, 262, 273 ; II, pp. 2, 87, 277, 319, 323, 400 ; III, pp. 122, 158, 168, 415 ; IV, 315 ; V, pp 161, 210.

4. According to Kauṭilya, *Arthaśāstra*, I, 5, the prince had to learn alphabet (*lipi*) and mathematics (*saṃkhyāna*) after the 3rd year. After the 11th he had to study the triple *vedas* *ānvīkṣikī* (philosophy) and *vārtā* (economics) and *daṇḍanīti* (politics). When these were completed, it is not expressly said. See Dikshitar, *The Mauryan Polity*, p. 102.

5. *op. cit.*, pp. 95-6.

tended a king. It was this feeling of practical utility that inspired kings of those days, "deliberately and as a matter of policy," to send their princes abroad to acquire valuable practical experience about men and affairs of the world.[1] By journeying on foot through villages and towns, plains and deserts, countries and kingdoms, they naturally gained rich experience which turned out to be a source of great help in their later life. "Now kings of former times" says the *Tila-Muṭṭhi-Jātaka*,[2] "though there might be a famous teacher living in their own city, used to send their sons to foreign countries afar off to complete their education, that by this means they might learn to quell their pride and highmindedness, and endure heat or cold, and be made acquainted with the ways of the world." This is in complete consonance with the spirit of Kauṭilya who urges upon the prince a thorough course of intellectual training and moral discipline.[3] A thorough politician and a psychologist that he was, Kauiṭlya realized the great fact that from education springs discipline and that only a prince with a disciplined mind and body can carry on administration on sound lines. Did not the kings of the *Jātakas* remember this great truth, when they sent their sons abroad ?

LIFE AT TAKKASILA

Takkasilā was not the resort only for Princes, but also for students from other classes and ranks of society—Brāhmaṇas, sons of magnates and magnificoes, sons of merchants and tailors and fishermen. And the education imported there was in the main the same, though special courses for different students were also not absent. As this subject on education shall be dealt with in detail in a separate chapter, we shall here confine ourselves to some of the general points only which touch the life of a prince in particular, though it is difficult, we should admit, to differentiate between a prince-student and others.

Usually, though not always, the prince went to Takkasilā in company with his fellow-students—sons of the *Purohita*, the ministers, the commander-in-chief and other officers.[4] He had to come out in the robe of an humble student leaving aside all those feelings of his higher position which he had upto then been, consciously or unconsciously, cherishing within himself. The interesting and very valuable material furnished on this point by the *Tila-Muṭṭhi-Jātaka*,[5] to which a reference has already been made and to which we shall have frequently to return while dealing with this subject in detail, must here be noted, especially because it presents before us the prince-student :

"Calling his boy to him," thus runs the story,—"now the lad was sixteen years old—he (*i.e.*, the king of Benares) gave him one-soled sandals, a sunshade of leaves, and a thousand pieces of money with these words :

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1. Mookerji in "*Buddhistic Studies*", p 239.

2. J., II, p. 277. "*Porāṇakarājāno ca attano putte, evaṁ ete nihatamānadappā sītunhakkhamā lokacarittaññu ca bhavissantīti attano nagare disā pāmokkhe ācariye vijjamāne pi sippuggahanatthāya dūre tiro raṭṭhaṁ pesenti.*'

3. *Arthaśāstra*, I, 5 ; VIII, 3 ; Ghoshal, *Hindu Political Theories*, p. 139, ; Dikshitar "*The Mauryan Polity*", pp 101-105.

4. J., V, pp. 247, 263 ; III, p. 238 ; V, p. 210.

5. J., II, pp. 277-8.

"My son, get you to Takkasilā, and study there."

The boy obeyed, he bade his parents farewell, and in due course arrived at Takkasilā. There he enquired for the teacher's dwelling, and reached it at the time when the teacher had finished his lecture, and was walking up and down at the door of the house. When the lad set eyes upon the teacher, he loosed his shoes, closed his sunshade, and with a respectful greeting stood still where he was. The teacher saw that he was weary and welcomed the new comer. The lad ate, and rested a little. Then he returned to the teacher and stood respectfully by him.

"Where have you come from ?" he asked.
"From Benares."
"Whose son are you ?"
"I am the son of the king of Benares."
"What brings you here ?"
"I come to learn," replied the lad.
"Well, have you brought the teacher's fee or do you wish to attend on me in return for teaching you ?"

"I have brought a fee with me." and with this he laid at the teacher's feet his purse of a thousand pieces.

The resident pupils attend on their teacher by day, and at night they learn of him : but they who bring a fee are treated like the eldest sons in his house, and thus they learn. And this teacher, like the rest, gave schooling to the prince on every light and lucky day. Thus the young prince was taught.

A long passage this, yet it brings before us practically all the principal features of the educational system of those times.

It would appear from the above passage that the prince left his home with a very modest equipment and lived at his teacher's house as an humble student. The system thus inevitably fostered healthy feelings of comradeship, with no recognition whatsoever of earthly distinctions. In fact, we may be forced to feel that "youths of all sorts and conditions of life, of different classes and castes, had all their divisions and distinctions merged in the democracy of learning."[1] And yet, instances are not rare where we receive a strong impression, that with what of feelings of common pursuits and of the stringency of the moral code binding all into one compact whole, that instinctive class-consciousness, specially in the aristocratic blood,[2] was not possible to be effaced completely. The first and the basic distinction that the "world-renowned teacher" unfortunately makes, *viz.*, that of the paying and non-paying students receiving different treatment, must necessarily create a feeling of distinction and division.[3] What must have the Prince, of course always coming with 1000 pieces as the teacher's fee (*ācāryabhāga*) and hence living there as an eldest son,

1. R. K. Mookerji in "*Buddhistic Studies*". p. 244.

2. The Khattiyas of the *Jātakas* are proud of their birth or status, what then to say of the Prince, the Khattiya *par excellence*?

3. In this case, it may be recalled that the older Brāhmaṇical system of '*Gurukulas*' was

felt against other poor students undergoing 'daily a course of exacting and low kind of menial service for the school' should be easily imaginable. Reading of human psychology, particularly of the growing youth, would be erring if it tried to see harmonious relationships under such circumstances. Try hard as he would to make himself amenable to the stricter system of moral and intellectual discipline, the prince could not, possibly, forego his aristocratic consciousness. Of course it was the right and duty of the teacher to punish all defiance of rules and regulations, come from whatever corner it might. But unfortunately the proud *Khattiya* youth would at once consider this as an insult to, and an infringement upon, his high position. And the malicious spirit of revenge must have been lurking in his inner heart only to burst open when the opportunity presented itself, for instance, when he became the ruler of his kingdom. Such an instance is presented by the *Tilamuṭṭhi Jātaka* again.[1] In the beginning the prince behaves well. One day he goes for a bath along with his teacher. He sees an old woman sitting and watching some white seeds that she had prepared. The youth picks up a handful and eats away without paying anything. The same thing happens on the next and the third day, when the poor old woman cries out, "Master, I have been parching some seeds, and your pupil took a handful and ate them ! This he has done to-day, he did it yesterday and he did it the day before ! Surely he will eat me out of house and home !" The teacher consoles her and causing two lads to take the young fellow by his two hands, smites him thrice upon the back with a bamboo stick, bidding him take care not to do it again. The youth keeps silent at the moment though the "bloodshot glare" in his eyes is not concealed, and after finishing his courses, reverently invites the teacher to come to his kingdom when he becomes the ruler. The honest teacher, then, goes there and witnesses the revengeful mien of his pupil-now a king. The story, of course, then ends with a convincing speech of the teacher dwelling on the usefulness of discipline which ultimately quiets the king. Instances of this kind can be found in other places also. The prince of the *Dhoṇasākha Jātaka*[2] is forced to hear the advice of his teacher 'to suppress his cruel, harsh and violent nature, as, says the teacher, power that is attained by a man of violence is shortlived, and when it is gone from him, he is like a ship that is wrecked at sea.[3]

COURSE OF STUDY

What were the Courses of Study that the prince could and would go through at the world-famous university of Takkasilā ? The three *Vedas* and the eighteen or all the arts (*tayo vede aṭṭhārasa vijjhāṭṭhānāni or sippāni*) is the conventional list of the subjects of study taught at Takkasilā.[4] The three *Vedas*, of course, refer to the older Brāhmaṇic threefold knowledge—*trayī vidyā*—that of the *Ṛk*,

perhaps more sounder as under that system it was the more usual practice for the *brahmacāri* to pay fees to his teacher only when he became a *snātaka* and ended his studentship—thus placing all students on equal level : Mookerji, *op. cit.*, p. 240. *Cf.* also his paper on *Ancient Hindu Education* in *Sir Asutosh Mookerji Silver Jubilee Volumes*, III, p. 1 pp. 229-230.

1. J., II, pp, 279-282, GG. 4-5.
2. J., III, pp. 158-9.
3. *Ibid.* G. 14.
4. J., I, pp. 259, 356 ; II, p. 87 ; III, pp. 115, 122 etc.

the *Yajus* and the *Sāman*, thus showing that the *Atharva Veda* was not included in this curriculum.[1] We have, unfortunately, no mention of individual subjects under the sciences and arts (*Sippāni*),[2] though there are stray passages which name some subjects under 'scientific and technical education,' which may or may not come under the 'Eighteen *Sippas* or *Vijjhāṭṭhānāni*". Of these, we may particularly note the following: Elephant Lore (*Hatthisutta*),[3] Magic Charms (*mante*),[4] Hunting by bow (*dhanu-koṭiṁ nissāya luddakammaṁ*),[5] Spell for understanding all animals' cries (*Sabbarāvajānanamantaṁ*)[6] and Archery (*Issāpasippa*).[7] These were perhaps some of the Arts and Sciences which specially attracted the prince more than the study of the *Vedas* which was the birthright of the Brāhmaṇas, though we are not specifically told so.[8] It is rather difficult to conceive that the young prince should be prattling over the huge collection of hymns which were, presumably, not of much practical value in the governance of the kingdom. We may, therefore, without much fear of ill-imagination, dismiss the stock phrase as only conventional and take it that the general education of the prince, as Hopkins[9] has carefully tried to show regarding the Epic prince, consisted in learning the aphorisms on horses, on elephants, on chariots, and practical uses of military machines like arachery, and fine arts and a general knowledge of philosophy economics and politics—the *Anvīkṣikī*, *Vārttā* and *Daṇḍanīti* of the *Dharmasūtras* and of Kauṭilya.

STUDY OF POLITICS

As regards his general mode of life at the University, there is nothing more to be said, as it was the same as that of any other student excepting the distinction which we noticed before, *viz.*, that he, being one of the group of *ācariyabhāgadāyakās*, lived a somewhat privileged life, being treated as the eldest son of the teacher. We have no knowledge as to the manner in which these princes

1. Kauṭilya, also has the triple *vedas*, together with *ānvīkṣikī* (philosophy) *vārtā* (economics) and *daṇḍaniti* (politics) as the courses of study for a prince: See *Arthaśāstra*, I, 5; *Cf. Manu*, VII, 43.

2. The *Milindapañho*, VI, II, gives the individual names of the 19 *sippas*, then current. For the names of the various subjects of study in the older *Brāhmaṇas* and *Upaniṣads*, see Mookerji, *Sir Asutosh Silver Jubilee Memorial Volume*, III, pt. I, pp. 237-42. *Kṣatravidyā* must have been a special subject for a prince.

3. J., II, p. 47.

4. *Ibid*, p. 100.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 200.

6. J., III, p. 415.

7. J., I, p. 356; II, p. 87; III, p. 219; V, p. 128.

8. The following references seem to indicate that the princes generally learnt only the *Sippas*, no mention of the *Vedas* being made: J., III, p. 238; V, pp. 161, 177, 247, 426.

9. *J.A.O.S.*, 13, pp. 108-112. Some pertinent remarks of the erudite scholar are worth noticing: "The active young knight and busy trader must have performed the duties toward the *Veda* in a very perfunctory manner, if at all. The more reasonable supposition seems to me to be that, while in the early age there was no let to the desire of a young warrior if he wished to be *Veda*-learned, the convenient practices of his caste nevertheless constrained most of his attention to arms... and he probably did nothing more than go over the text of the *Veda*. The memorizing of even one *Vedic* collection, it is absurd to believe, could have been attempted by such young warriors as those the Epic depicts. The practice must have been peculiar to the man of leisure, the priest."

mixed with other students, Brāhmaṇas, merchants and others. But one interesting thing can be seen. Princes hailing from different kingdoms, here, contracted friendship,[1] as we saw in the beginning of this Section, which had considerable effect upon their lives later on. Even some of the teachers seem to have taken a good deal of interest in the internal affairs of the kingdoms which were represented by these princes. They were able, on the basis of reports procured from their pupils, to form a somewhat definite idea regarding the prospects of their pupils in their own countries and the dangers they were likely to face in the near future".[2] Furthermore, they must have had a general idea about the motives that led to rivalries and struggles in politics and how these could be clearly checked. With these notions in their minds, they did not forget to tender practical and valuable advice to these aspiring *Khattiya* youths, which proved remarkably helpful in facing the calamities when they took the reins of Government in their hands.

It is through such practical advice that the prince in the *Thusa-Jātaka*[3] succeeds later on, when he ascends to the throne, in averting a great calamity coming from his own son who was planning a plot against him. A teacher at Takkasilā presents a set of five weapons to a prince when he leaves the University and starts for home, with the help of which he defeats a very powerful enemy on the way.[4] There is an exceptional case where a king places his sons each under the charge of a separate courtier (*amacca*) with directions to teach them each what they ought to learn (*sikkhitabbayuttakaṁ*). The *Saṁvara Jātaka*,[5] where this occurs, shows how great the influence of the teacher was in moulding the character of the prince. The courtier who takes charge of the youngest prince imparts to him 'something more than a mere academic education—something that is the product of deep political knowledge which guides the prince successfully through his grave responsibilities'.

How long did he stay abroad for education is nowhere stated in the *Jātakas*.[6] The education of a prince was not yet complete when he left the University. It was now the time to have a practical training of what he had learnt in theory. It is with this intent that we find the princes, after completing their studies at Takkasilā, undertaking extensive travels through towns and villages and all the land to acquire all practical usages and understand country observances.[7] And when, after such an extensive travel rich with experience, he returns to his country, the prince has to demonstrate his learn-

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1. For instance, See J., IV, pp. 315 *ff*.
2. Sen, *op. cit.*, p. 78.
3. J., III, pp. 122-125.
4. J., I, pp. 273-275.
5. J., IV, pp. 131 *ff*.
6. Under the older Brāhmaṇical system as found in the *Dharmasūtras* and other works, 'from seven and a half to thirteen, eighteen, twenty-four, thirty-six, forty-eight or even more years are demanded, till their study be perfected.' Hopkins says : ... and we shall be antecedently disposed to think that the students of warrior and people—caste were permitted to give up study under easier conditions, as they were easily freed from penances obligatory on priests." *J. A. O. S.*, 13, p. 108.
7. J., III, pp. 115, 238—"*Sabba samayasippaṁ ca sikkhissāma desacārittaṁ ca jānissāma;*" V, pp. 247 426.

ing and various accomplishments and impress upon his father.[1] He is then fit to be appointed to the post of *Uparāja* or Viceroy.[2] It is not difficult to imagine that the return of the prince was something more than an ordinary occurrence, and was attended by festivities both in the palace and in the city. A king of Benares, thus, orders a general amnesty for all prisoners on the return of his son from Takkasilā.[3]

MARRIAGE.

It was probably usual for the princes to get married after their return from Takkasilā and before their assuming the post and charge of Viceroyalty. We cannot form any definite idea as to how these royal marriages were accomplished.[4] Marriages between nephews and nieces were in vogue.[5] Even those between brothers and sisters are known,[6] where they afterwards succeed as kings and queens. But these seem to be very rare cases. The more usual custom was probably to get a bride from other royal families. Instances of this kind we have already noticed in connection with Political History. But who chose the bride? The prince himself? Most probably he did not. Looking to the general custom in vogue in other grades of society of the times, it seems the parents—the king and the queen—found out a wife for their son. The *Kusa Jātaka*[7] is an instance in point. If we wish to rely on this single *Jātaka*, we may derive some interesting information. Counsellors were despatched to find out a suitable princess. They would approach the father of a worthy princess and say 'Our king desires to contract a marriage (*āvāha*) with your daughter.' If decided, the parents with a great retinue, went on an appointed day to bring the princess. On their return the city was decorated, prisoners released and festivities indulged in. This was the proper marriage. But, as we shall see, a king was free in having as many wives as he liked. He dwelt in a separate palace of his own.[8]

VICEROYALTY.

It goes on all well if the prince is the only son of his father. Nothing unusual happens and the prince, without any hindrance, marries, becomes the Viceroy and, after his father's death, ascends to the throne.[9] But in many cases he has at least one brother, if not more, who turns out to be a stumbling block in the way of his succession to the throne, and suddenly on the death of the aged

1. J., III, p. 159; IV, pp. 96,402; *Cf. Arthaśāstra*, I, 17.

2. J., I, p. 259; II, p. 212, III, pp. 123, 159, 407; IV, pp. 96, 168, 176, 402; V, p. 22; VI, p. 30. It is only very rarely that princes obtain power immediately after return from the University, J., IV, pp. 96, 316; V, pp. 177, 458.

3. J., IV, p. 176—"*assa... āgatakāle rājā sabbāni bandhanāgārāni sodhāpetvā.*"

4. See for Royal Marriages in the Great Epic, Hopkins, *J.A.O.S.*, 13, pp. 167-70.

5. J., I, p. 457.

6. J., IV, p. 105.

7. J., V, pp. 281-5.

8. J., II, p. 374; IV, p. 191; VI, pp. 491, 498, 502; III, p. 415.

9. This seems to be the normal course of the life of the prince as the following passages occurring often, will show: "*So vayappatto Takkasilaṁ gantvā uggahitasippo āgantvā pitu sippaṁ dassetvā uparajjaṁ labhitvā aparabhāge pitu accayena rājā hutvā... dhammena rajjaṁ kārento...* J., III, pp. 159, 407: IV, pp. 176, 402; also J., I, p. 135; II, p. 113, 349; V, 22.

father there is an outburst of jealousies, which soon develops into a bitter fratricidal war.[1] In the ordinary course of affairs, the elder of the two brothers becomes *Uparāja* on the completion of his education and the younger is given the post of Commander-in-chief (*senāpati*). And, if nothing untoward happens, when the father dies, the elder ascends to the throne as a king and the younger is appointed as *Uparāja*.[2] In the event of a king having more than two sons, the usual practice followed was perhaps this, that they married and settled down and either lived as the king's companions[3] or the king gave them each a province and let them go.[4]

CONFLICTS BETWEEN BROTHERS.

The real conflict, however, arises in case the younger brother begins to cherish an idea of getting hold of the kingdom putting aside his elder, whose was the hereditary claim to the throne. We have sufficient evidence to get an idea of these conflicts. The youngest prince of a king of Benares consults some *Pacceka Buddhas* regarding his prospects of succession and finding that he has none, he leaves the country and on the advice of his consultants goes straightaway to Gandhāra where he succeeds in securing the throne.[5] In some cases, even after the elder has already succeeded to the throne, the younger does not leave the idea and carries on his secret plannings. A report is made by a slave to the king of such plottings of his brother. The king becomes suspicious and interns his brother in a certain house near the palace. The man somehow manages to escape and returns with a vast army and invites his brother either to surrender the throne to him or give battle. In a fight that ensues the elder is killed and the younger easily gets to the throne.[6] Elsewhere[7] the elder brother is serving as the *Uparāja* and the younger as Commander-in-Chief during the life time of their father. After the death of the King, the courtiers, as was usual, want to make the elder son king, but he is overtaken by a feeling of disgust for the kingdom which is then offered to his younger brother. But shortly afterwards he gets rid of his erstwhile feeling and is tempted to seize the kingdom. He proceeds to the capital with a host of his followers, invites the king to give battle or surrender, who, out of discretion, abdicates the throne and gets himself appointed as *Uparāja* under his elder brother.

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1. Sen, *op. cit.*, p. 79.
2. J., I, 133; II, 367; IV, p. 168; VI, p. 30; also J., II, p. 212.
3. J., II, p. 116 "....*te satta pi janā anupubbena vayappattā gharāvāsaṁ gahetvā rañño sahāyā viya vicaranti.*"
4. J., IV, p. 131—"*Rājā tesaṁ janapadaṁ datvā uyyojesi*:" VI, p. 294-G. 1284—

"*Puttaṁ va bhātaraṁ saṁ va*
Saṁpaggaṇhati Khattiyo
Gāmehi nigamehi vā
Raṭṭhe janapadehi vā."

We have the evidence of the *Edicts* of Aśoka where we find that *Kumāras* were appointed as heads of provinces. Bhandarkar *Aśoka*, pp. 325-9.

5. J., I, pp. 395-399.
6. J. VI, pp. 30-31.
7. J. IV, pp. 168-9.

A somewhat similar incident occurs in another place also.[1] The king on his death-bed recommends to the courtiers that his elder son should succeed to the throne and the younger should be heir-apparent. The elder, however, has no liking for kingship but lives in all royal state and the younger is consecrated as king. Here again ear-poisoning is at work against the elder brother who is about to be taken prisoner, when out of disgust he goes away to a foreign country where he earns his living by archery that he had learnt at Takkasilā.

RELATIONS BETWEEN FATHER & SON.

Hindu political literature lays down a great principle *viz.*, "*rājyaṁ rakṣati rakṣitaḥ*",[2] meaning that he who is protected protects the realm.[3] That is, the king should protect himself. This personal safety must be from his own sons, thieves and enemies. Kauṭilya devotes a whole chapter on "protection of princes"[4] wherein he, with his usual masterly insight into human nature and current conditions, shows what a danger the prince is likely to be to a father, and lays down what steps should be taken by the latter to protect himself against the former. He quotes the opinions of some of his predecessors in this connection which, at times[5] go to horrible extremes. One of these, that of Bhāradvāja, is that "princes like crabs have a notorious tendency of eating up their begetter".[6] The retort must have been an outcome of long experience with actualities, and not a commonplace theoretical speculation. The *Jātakas* place before us a good many nstances of the tendency described above.

A prince of 16 years of age becomes greedy of his father's splendour (*siri-vibhavaṁ*) and is tired of waiting for his death. He resolves to kill him and in this he is bestirred by his followers (*upaṭṭhākā*), who are of the opinion that it is no good getting kingdom when one is old. He tries four expedients one after another *viz.*, (a) administering poison to his father's food (*visaṁ khādāpetvā*), (b) taking his stand amongst his father's councillors at the time of the great levee (*mahāupaṭṭhānaṁ*) and striking him a blow with his sword when off his guard, (c) stabbing him at the top of the stairs in the royal closet and (d) hiding himself beneath the bed-stead in the king's chamber on the floor of the palace intending to kill him as soon as he enters the room. But everytime the impatient prince fails to carry out his plans and he finally begs his father's pardon. The father, however, has apparently no faith in his son. So the prince is bound in chains, placed into prison house and well guarded.[7] A similar thing happens in another *Jātaka*.[8] The prince, greedy of the throne

1. J., II, p. 87
2. *Cf. Arthaśāstra* I, 17.
3. Dikshitar, *Hindu Administrative Institutions, p.* 98.
4. *Arthaśāstra,* I, 17.
5. For instance those of the Aṁbhīyas and of Vātavyādhi: *Ibid*; *Cf.* Ghoshal, *Hindu Political Theories*, p. 152.
6. *Arthaśāstra*, I, 17.
7. J., III, pp. 123-5, GG. 149-152.
8. J., III, pp. 216-8.

says to his followers: "My father is still young. When I come to look upon his funeral pyre I shall be a worn-out old man. What good will it be for me to come to the throne then?".[1] Machinations are on foot. And here again, stirred by his followers, who by the by do not approve of the idea of going to the frontier and raise an open revolt against his father, he tries to use some expedients: *viz.*, (a) killing him near the bathing ghat (*nahānapokkharaṇī* (b) stabbing him at the foot of the stair-case (*sopānapādamūle*) and (c) killing him by a blow of the 'spoon-shaped instrument with its long handle poisoned (*dīghadaṇḍikaṁ dabbipaharaṇaṁ*). He fails and is arrested, put in chains and thrown into prison. The way in which the princes are dealt with in both the instances given above agrees well with the policy as laid down by Viśālākṣa and Parāśara according to Kauṭilya,[2] *viz.*, that the unruly prince should be kept under guard in a definite place or fort.

Very often the king smelt the suspicious nature of his son when acting as a Viceroy. He did not, then, want his presence in the city, as long as he himself was alive . Thus ponders a king on seeing his son who had come to pay his respects to him: "This fellow may do me wrong, if he gets an opportunity." And he asks him to go away from his city and live in another place. The son goes to a village and dwells there with his wife.[3] Another instance of such a banishment is given in the *Putabhatta Jātaka.*[4] Accompanied with his wife the prince comes to a village and lives there during the rest of his father's life. Similarly a king growing suspicious on observing how magnificent was the pomp of his son, banishes him from his realm. The prince with his wife makes his way to the Himalayas and lives there till his father's death.[5] Similar are the fears entertained by the king of the *Bhūridatta Jātaka*,[6] and he orders the heir-apparent to accept a life of temporary exile from the city. In all these instances, we notice that the exile was only temporary; immediately after the death of the father, the prince returned to take charge of the kingdom which was hereditary (*kulasantakaṁ*). A few more instances of these unfilial relations may be noticed. A king wants to get rid of his son whom he had appointed as the Viceroy. When his Kingdom is attacked by a hostile king, he orders his son to go and defend the city. But the latter, knowing the situation, leaves the city, the whole population following him. The king thus left helpless flees away with his wife and the *purohita* and the prince then comes back to occupy the throne.[7] In another place[8] a prince actually puts his father to death and in this case also the parricide

1. *Ibid*, p. 216 "*mayhaṁ pitā taruṇo, ahaṁ etassa dhūmakālaṁ olokento mahallako bhavissāmi jarājiṇṇo, tādase kāle laddhenāpi rajjena ko attho?*" Almost the same words occur again at J., V, p. 263.

2. *Arthaśāstra*, I, 17 "*tasmādekasthānāparodhaśśreyān.*"

3. J., III, p. 67—"... *ayaṁ maṁ antare dusseya*"

4. J., II, p. 203—"... *rājā padubbheyyāpi me ayaṁ ti attano puttaṁ āsankato nīhari.*"

5. J., II, p. 229—"*Bārāṇasirājā attano puttassa parivārasampattiṁ disvā uppannasaṅko puttaṁ raṭṭhā pabbājesi*".

6. J., VI, p. 158; also II, p 116.

7. J., III, pp. 415-7 "*Pitā taṁ opparajje thapesi. Kiñcāpi uparajje thapesi mārāpetukāmo pana taṁ hutvā diṭṭhumpi na icchesi.*" Dr. Sen, *op. cit.*, p. 82, seems to have read the passage wrongly. Kauṭilya has his sympathies with princes who may be wrongly or unjustly put to troubles by their fathers and gives some advice. *Arthaśāstra*, I, 18.

8. J., V, p. 263.

is helped by his attendants, while the priestly friend flies away to the Himālayas on hearing about this plot.

We have now reached a stage in the course of our narration, when the king begins to play his part in the administration of the kingdom as a prince,[1] when, of course, the cases just before described were absent, and all was normal.

The *Jātakas* unfortunately do not give us any clear idea about the duties and functions of the Viceroy. As a matter of fact, there is not much said about his person or his office, as he is oftener than not described as only assuming the throne after his father's death. What they sometimes speak is confined only to superficial things. Thus we see that on ceremonial occasions the *Uparāja* sits behind the king on the back of the elephant,[2] a seat which is otherwise occupied by the *purohita.*[3] He probably used to pay his *devoirs* (*rājupaṭṭhānaṁ*) to the king at evening.[4] The *Kurudhamma Jātaka*[5] has an interesting thing to say in this connection : "and when they came to the palace courtyard in his car," thus runs the description about the Viceroy's visit to the palace, "if he wished to eat with the king, and spend the night there, he would throw his reigns and goad upon the yoke ; and that was a sign for the people to depart: and next morning early they would come again and stand awaiting the Viceroy's departure. And the charioteer (too) would attend the car and come again with it early in the morning and wait by the King's door. But if the Viceroy would depart at the same time, he left the reins and goad there in the chariot (*antorathe*), and went in to wait upon the king. Then the people, taking it for a sign that he would presently depart, stood waiting there at the palace door." There is nothing taht may sound incredible in this account and it really gives a welcome sidelight on Court-life of those days.

It is very likely that the Viceroy sometimes took part in the administration of justice and had higher authority than the *Senāpati* or the priest who also, not infrequently, are seen acting as judges. A man who had lost his suit at the hand of the then judge, a priest who took bribes, approaches the Viceroy and appeals for justice. The Viceroy comes to the Court and overrides the judgment of the former judge and makes the man the owner of his disputed property.[6]

1. The Crown Prince or *Yuvarāja* is always mentioned as one among the eighteen '*tīrthas*' or the heads of departments of the state of ancient Indian historical literature. For the names of these, See Nag, *Les Theories Diplomatiques De L'Inde Ançienne*, pp. 38 *ff*; also Jayaswal, *Hindu Polity*, II, pp. 133-4. See *Arthaśāstra* I, 12. Under Mauryan administration he was a regular officer of the state drawing a handsome allowance of 48,000 *paṇas* yearly, the highest remuneration equal to that of the *purohita*, Commander-in-Chief, King's mother and queen : *Cf. ibid.* V. 3. See Also Jayaswal, *op. cit.*, pp. 124-5.
2. J., II, p. 374.
3. For he was a constant companion of the king whenever he went outside. See J., IV, p. 232; V, p. 101.
4. J., II, pp. 374 ; VI, p. 131.
5. J , II, pp. 374-5.
6. J., VI, p. 131. That the Viceroy had a share in the administration of justice is also clear from the Commentary on the *Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta*, wherein we find that "the process of law from the institution of a suit to its final decision was a considerably complicated affair". *Cf.* Fick, *op. cit.*, p. 107 and note.

The *Uparāja* was considered as a "sub-king," a vice-regent. He however did not necessarily act for the king during the latter's absence. Once a king entrusts the kingdom to the care of his mother.[1] Another king who sets out on a long journey to discover his faults, hands over the charge of the realm to the ministers as a whole.[2] Sometimes he is seen acting as a mediator between the king and the ministers.[3]

More than these vague indications of the Viceroy's functions, we are not told anything about him.[4]

SUCCESSION: HEREDITARY AND ACCORDING TO PRIMOGENITURE.

Just a few moments before we saw how the whole problem of succession to the throne was complicated by premature jealousies on the part of the princes. We also notice, *inter alia*, that kingship was generally hereditary in character (*Kulasantakaṁ*),[5] and the kingdom descended directly to the king's eldest son,[6] as were the conditions from the *Vedic* times.[7] This was the general custom: Abnormal circumstances of course arose when this custom was, or rather had to be, set aside. That Kingship was hereditary is also clear from the stories where we witness people's anxiety for the perpetuation of the royal line. Thus for instance in the *Suruci Jātaka*[8], we observe a vast gathering of townsfolk in the palace courtyard with upbraidings. "What is it?" asks the king. "Fault we have no other to find," reply the people, "but this, that you have no son to keep your line. You have but one queen, yet a royal prince should have sixteen thousand at the least. Choose a company of women, my lord: some worthy wife will bring you a son." The monogamous king, however, refuses to flinch from his previous promise. Then the virtuous queen herself, playing the part of mother and wife to the king, presents to him a company of women. It is again the same anxious and assailing feelings of the people that drive the poor, helpless king of the *Kusa Jātaka*[9] to agree to the barbarous proposal of exposing all the women of the harem, including even the chief queen, for promiscuous intercourse with his own subjects in order to obtain a son to succeed to the throne.

As a rule, only the sons of the eldest queen (*aggamahesī*) who must be, as Fick surmises,[10] of the same caste as the king and thus a *Khattiyā*, seem legitimate heirs to the Crown.

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1. J., VI, p. 95.
2. J., IV, p. 370.
3. J., II, p. 316.
4. In a drama ascribed to Bhāsa, we find that one duty of his was to keep a record of the public proceedings—*Pañcarātra*, Act II, 41: S. V. Venkateswara, *Indian Culture through the Ages*, II, p.. 106.
5. J., I, p. 395; II, pp. 116, 118, 203, 231, 264, 323; III, pp. 67, 125, 149, 159, 216, 407, 439; IV, p. 124; VI pp. 34, 158: *Cf.* Bhavabhūti, *Uttararāmacaritaṁ*, I, śl, 22.
6. J., I, pp. 127, 137; II, pp. 39, 87, 212; VI, pp. 30, 96; *Cf. Arthaśāstra* I, 17.
7. For the *Vedic* period see Zimmer, *Altindische Leben*, pp. 162, 172; views of different scholars on the point: *Ved. Ind.* II, p. 211; for the epic period, See Hopkins, *op. cit.*, 13, pp. 317 *ff.*
8. J., IV, pp. 317 *ff.*
9. J., V, pp. 279 *ff. cf.* Hopkins, *op cit.*, 13, p. 138 n.
10. *op. cit.*, p. 123. That the eldest should always be a *Khattiyā* was not, and could not be the *conditio sine qua non* of succession for we have instances where women others than of the *Khattiyā* caste are made chief queens whose sons must succeed.

EXCEPTIONS.

Exceptions to the general rule given above, *viz.*, that of *heredity* and *primogeniture*, did naturally arise. With regard to the first, we may note the following: If a king was without a son, his brother, if any he had, could ascend the throne[1]. If he left a nephew and a daughter surviving him, he would nominate his nephew to the throne and marry his daughter to him, in which case the continuity of the direct line alone was broken but the dynasty did not end. Such are the two instances furnished by the *Asilakkhaṇa* and the *Mudapāṇi Jārakas.*[2]

As regards the latter, it is sufficient to remember, that the custom usually in vogue was to confer the crown upon the first born as the numerous references show. And if we find youngers occupying the throne, it is always clearly in contravention to the long-standing principle. The cases we noticed before, where the eldest sons in their temporary fits leave the throne and the youngers occupy it, are, no doubt, exceptions to the general rule. When a Benares king on his death-bed instructs his courtiers that "all my sons have a right to the white umbrella: but you may give it to him that pleases your mind,"[3] he speaks something that is obviously unusual. If the youngest prince is recognised in this case by his elder brothers as king, it is due to his extraordinary virtues. In the same way the youngest prince of the *Telapatta Jātaka,*[4] does consult some *paccekabuddhas* regarding his prospects of succession, but he is disappointed.

WOMEN AND SUCCESSION.

If there was neither a male heir nor a kinsman who could succeed, the successor was, most probably, chosen by the ministers and the citizens combined. In no circumstance was the crown formally placed on the head of a woman. However, an incidental statement would seem to indicate that such cases, though exceptional, did occur. Thus says a *gāthā* of the *Kaṇḍina Jātaka*[5]

> "Cursed by the dart of love that works men pain,
> Cursed by the land where women rule supreme,
> And cursed the fool that bows to woman's sway."[6]

There is also a real instance where the throne is handed over to a woman. On the death of king Udaya no king was set up, but the commands of his wife. Udayabhaddā were promulgated and the ministers carried on the administration of the kingdom.[7] In another story,[8] a brother gives his own share of the kingdom to his sister, but it is not clear whether the latter was duly crowned. We learn from another story[9] that when the throne of Benares was left vacant

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1. J., VI, p. 40; also V, p. 185.
2. J., I, pp. 455 *ff*; II, pp. 323 *ff*.
3. J., IV, pp. 131 *ff*.
4. J., I, p. 395.
5. J., I, p. 155 G. 12 "*dhiratthu taṁ janapadaṁ yattha itthī pariṇāyikā.*"
6. The same thing is told more clearly in the prose portion of the same *Jātaka* "*yaṁ janapadaṁ mātugāmo vicāreti anusāsati so itthi-pariṇāyako janapado garahito va.*"
7. J., IV, p. 105 "*Añño rājā nahosi, udayabhaddāya eva āṇā pavatti, amaccā rajjaṁ anusāsiṁsu.*"
8. J., IV, p. 84.
9. J., IV, p.487-G. 314.

by the king turning a hermit, the people gathered before the palace door and requested the queen to undertake royal duties. All these may be exceptions, but they at least show that women also sometimes took the reins of government in their hands.

ELECTION.

This leads us to the question of election. From what has already been said, an impression might have gained ground, that the matter of succession was wholly and solely in the hands of the king. But this was not always the case. There was the people's voice, *vox populi*, which became specially uppermost when the question of electing a new successor arose, owing to the lack of a regular heir. On the death of a king of Gandhāra, a prince hailing from Magadha was placed on the vacant throne by the joint will of the citizens and the Courtiers of Takkasilā.[1] The *Pañcagaru Jātaka*[2] does speak of the same prince as one on whom the kingdom was conferred by the people (*nagaravāsīhi*). Elsewhere[3] a king while renouncing the world as an ascetic, directs his people to elect a successor. Such a popular voice is also heard from the timely warning given to the vicious prince of the *Ekapaṇṇa Jātaka* :[4] "The people of this kingdom, dreading what a prince so fierce and passionate may become when king, will not place you on the throne but uproot you like this nimb tree and drive you forth into exile." It is apparent from all this that the people could, under some circumstances at least, elect a king.[5] The people's voice was also effective in cases where kingly rule proved baneful or oppressive. But about this, we shall speak later on, while examining the character of the monarchical rule in general. Let us here carry on the discussion on election to its logical conclusion. And here we come to examine instances where the rule of heredity and primogeniture were done away with, and the question of succession fell in the hands of the ministers and the citizens.

MINISTERS AND ELECTION.

Of course, as a general rule, the deathbed instructions of a monarch regarding succession were followed, if he had left an heir to the throne. But we have instances which show that heredity was often not the sole support by which a prince could get on to the throne. He was thoroughly examined by the ministers and if found worthy and capable, then only he was declared fit for kingship. Thus the *Gāmaṇicaṇḍa Jātaka*[6] relates how the ministers, after they had performed the funeral ceremonies with great eclat and made funeral gifts, met in the palace and told the prince that he, being rather young, could only be

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1. J., I, p. 399, "*Atha sabbe amaccā ca nāgarā ca ekacchandā hutvā Bodhisattaṁ.... abhisiñcitvā Takkasilārājānaṁ akaṁsu*". The phrase *ekacchandā* occurs also, at J.,V, 162; *Chhanda*, according to Jayaswal *op. cit.*, I, p. 115, is vote. The learned scholar has rightly recognised the importance of this story from the constitutional point of view. His remarks on this particular point may not be wholly acceptable owing to the obscure nature of the evidence : "This was a referendum of the whole city, and not the city assembly only." *Cf.* Sen, *op. cit.*, p. 61.
2. J., I, p 470.
3. J., V, 187—"*Ahaṁ tumhākaṁ kiñci na homi, attano rājānaṁ gaṇhāthā*" See Sen. *op. cit.*, p. 61.
4. J., I, p. 507.
5. We cannot subscribe to Fick's view that "election by the people as represented in the *Vedas* and the Epics is nowhere mentioned (in the *Jātakas*)". Fick, *op. cit.*, p. 125.
6. J., II, p. 297.

consecrated to the throne after he had satisfied their tests pertaining to the administration of justice. In another *Jātaka*,[1] a king of Benares leaves behind a stupid son, an idle lazy loafer. The Courtiers (*amacce*) hold a trial to test his worth before consecrating him to the throne. At the end they find that the prince was a blind fool:

> "Not right from wrong, nor bad from good he knows;
> He curls his lip but no more sense he shows."[2]

Here again, it is worth our notice, the nature of the test proposed clearly shows that the king must above all be qualified to administer proper justice. The prince here fails in the test and is not allowed to succeed. In his stead is installed as king, Bodhisatta, the adviser in things spiritual and temporal of the former king. Elsewhere[3] we find the courtiers choosing as the king an elephant-trainer (*hatthācariya*), after the decease of the king whom he had served valiantly during an invasion from a hostile king.

From the above instances it appears that sometimes if not always, the prince was refused the right of succeeding to the throne if he was found deficient intellectually or otherwise.[4] Heredity, then, was not the sole qualification, if it be so called, by which a prince could claim his right to the throne. The hereditary principle was to be qualified by that of capacity. Another thing that must be observed in this connection is, that as far as they did not vitally affect the people in general, such cases of succession as noticed above were settled by the ministers.[5]

PHUSSARATHA CEREMONY.

We have now to examine a peculiar custom reflected in the *Jātakas*, that of choosing a successor to the vacant throne. We mean the choice by the festal car—the *Phussaratha*.[6] The ceremony is described in not less than four *Jātakas*[7] with more or less details, the fullest description being given in the *Mahājanaka Jātaka*.[8]

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1. J., II, p. 264.
2. *Ibid.* G. 193.
3. J., II, p. 413.
4. We have an instance in the *Ulūka Jātaka*, II, pp. 352-3, where we find that the original election of Mr. Owl was set aside mainly on the ground of his defective appearance. Similarly in another place, J., IV, pp. 407 *ff.*, inspite of protests, a king gives away his eyes to a Brāhmaṇa and then he thinks: "What has a blind man to do with ruling ? I will hand over my kingdom to the courtiers and go into my park and become an ascetic and live as a holy man." Elsewhere, a prince struck with leprosy departs into the forest: J., V, p 88: it seems from all this that physical defects were considered to be a serious bar to succession to the throne, morally if not legally. See Jayaswal, *op. cit.*, II. pp. 115-6; but see Hopkins, *J. A. O. S.*, 13, p. 144 "no such bar was felt to be infringible in the early period." *Cf.* Dikshitar, *Hindu Administrative Institutions*, p. 69.
5. Here, as in the *phussaratha* ceremony, the ministers who choose and anoint a king may well correspond to the Vedic *Rājakartṛ* and the Buddhist *Rājakattāro*—king makers: See *Ved Ind.*, II, p. 210; *Dīgha Nikāya*, II, p. 233. The *Jātakas* also know these *Rājakattāras*. J., V, p. 220-G. 88; 258-G. 36; VI, pp. 259-; 268-G. 1159; 283-G. 1234; 313-G. 1373.
6. '*Phussa*' is not '*puṣpa*'—flower, but it corresponds to the Sanskrit *puṣya*: Fick's conjecture is meaningless: *op. cit.*, p. 125 n. *puṣya* is a name for the '*tiṣyā*' *nakṣatra* in the *Atharvaveda*, xix, 7, 2, meaning auspicious: See Edgerton, *J. A. O. S.* 33, p. 160. "*puṣyaratha*" is mentioned by Kauṭilya, *Arthaśāstra*, II, 33, together with other kinds of chariots.
7. J., III, pp. 238-9; IV, p. 39-40; V, p. 248; VI, p. 39. It is also referred to at J. VI, p. 160.
8. J., VI, p. 39 *ff.*

On the seventh day after the demise of the heirless king, which was the usual day for Royal Consecration,[1] the funeral obsequies being over, the *purohita* prepares the festal car as it is previously announced in the city by beat of drums. The city is decorated. Four lotus-coloured horses are yoked to the car with coverlets spread over them. Five insignias of royalty (*rāja-kakudāni*),[2] are placed on the chariot. The chariot is then attended by a complete fourfold army and by musical instruments going behind it because it contains no ruler. The house priest (*purohita*) of the late king sprinkles the strap (*rathanandī*) of the car and the goad (*patodaṁ*) with water from a golden vessel (*suvaṇṇabhiṅkāreṇa*) (as if in coronation) and sends it forth to him who has sufficient merit to rule the kingdom. The car goes solemnly round the palace and proceeds up the kettle-drum road (*bherīvīthiṁ*). The General and the other officers of the state each think that the car is coming up to him, but it passes by the houses of them all, and having gone solemnly round the city it goes out by the eastern gate and remains standing at the gate of the park outside. The future king is soon found out resting on the usual ceremonial seat in the park and bearing 'the marks of royalty upon his person.' And since upon being awakened he conducts himself in a manner suitable to such a position, he is made king by the housepriest who consecrates him and leads him to the city.

We fully associate ourselves with Dr. Fick,[3] in his doubts and conjectures on this particular point: "Have we to see in these legends the mythical form of an actual event, namely, the selection of a king by the *purohita*, or is the *phussaratha* nothing but a product of the rich imagination of the story-teller ? To this no definite answer can be given, so long as our knowledge of *phussaratha* is confined to the *Jātakas*,[4] but we do not consider the possibility excluded, that when the king died without an heir and the ministers chose a successor from among themselves or from another royal house, the latter was conveyed to his residence in a manner similar to the ceremony described in the stories, and that people spread rumours about him that he was discovered as the right man by a miracle introduced by the gods".[5] At least, it

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1. J., II, p. 297; III, p. 238; IV pp 39; 132; V, p. 248; VI, p. 160.

2. These are: sword, parasol, crown, shoes and fan. For an interesting analogy between '*kakudha*' and *Kakkā* of the Sikhs, see Barua in *Indian Culture*, I, p. 281.

3. *op. cit.*, p. 126.

4. Why ? This custom in more or less the same form is constantly described in Hindu and Jain literatures. Instances of this have been colleced by Tawney, *J. A. S. B.*, November, 1891 pp. 135 *ff*; J. J. Meyer, *Hindu Tales*, p. 131; *Daśakumāracharita* p. 94; Edgerton, *J.A.O.S*, 33, pp. 158 *ff*.

5. On this particular point it is difficult for us to see eye to eye with Prof. W. Norman Brown, the learned folk-lorist who remarks, "There is nothing more common in Hindu folk tales than the election of a king, when the throne is vacant, by either some or all of the '*pañcadivyāni*' (five divinely guided instruments, state elephant, etc; See Edgerton, *J.A.O.S.*, 33 155 *ff*.) And yet this was certainly never a Hindu custom in historical times, nor, I think we may safely say, in times prehistorical.... These and many other incidents of constant occurrence in fiction are of purely imaginary existence as far as concerns real life." *J.A.O.S.*, 39, p. 3, note 6" This seems to be a hasty conclusion. The very fact of its constant occurrence in literature is for us a tangible support for maintaining that there was some such custom of selecting a king in Ancient India.

does not sound incredible that the people of those times should have been 'guided by the belief that the judgment of God would fall upon the most deserving.'[1]

CASTE AND KINGSHIP.

When the election of the successor took place in the way described above or in some other form, the new king was not necessarily a *Khattiya* or a scion of a royal family. Sometimes, he was the son of a poor man, born in the street;[2] at other times he was the elephant trainer.[3] The instance of a Brāhmaṇa having been anointed king is furnished by the *Saccaṁkira Jātaka*.[4] We have already referred to an instance[5] where a deceased king's temporal and spiritual adviser, a Brāhmaṇa, is installed on the throne. Again, in the *Padakulamānava Jātaka*,[6] it is a Brāhmaṇa who after instigating a revolt against a thievish king and thus bringing about his death is placed on the throne by people. It is quite apparent from all these instances that, non-*Khattiya* kingship was not unknown in those days. Fick observes: "The legendary character of this narrative does not allow this to be taken as a proof that Kingship did not lie always in the hands of the *Khattiyas* but that persons belonging to other castes might occasionally be in possession of it. There are however some passages which seem to support such a theory. Even the lawbooks speak of kings who do not belong to the *Kṣatriya* caste and understand by these kings of low origin who have usurped the throne.'"[7]

AN INSTANCE OF ELECTION PROCEDURE.

Before closing our discussion on succession and election, it would be interesting to notice a story which presents some illuminating details as regards election. We refer to the *Ulūka Jātaka*[8] already mentioned above. The story runs, that once all birds in the Himalayas assembled upon a flat rock for electing a king from amongst themselves. They searched about for a worthy bird, and chose the Owl; "Here is the bird we like," said they. And a bird made proclamation three times to all that there would be a vote taken on this matter (....*sabbesaṁ ajjhāsayagahaṇatthaṁ tikkhattuṁ sāvesi*). After patiently hearing this announcement twice, on the third time up rose (*utthāya*) a crow and cried out to oppose the motion, "Stay now! If that is what he looks like when he is being consecrated king, what will he look like when he is angry? If he only looks at us in anger, we shall be scattered like seasame seeds thrown on a hot plate. I don't want to make this fellow king." And enlarging upon this he uttered:

1. Sivanatha Basu, *J.B.O.R.S.*, VII, p. 102.
2. IV., pp. 38-40.
3. J., II, p. 413
4. J., I, pp. 324-6.
5. J., II, p. 264.
6. J., III, pp. 313-4. One more instance may be added here. A son of a woodgatherer (*kaṭṭhahāri*) is made a king in the *Kaṭṭhahāri*, *J.* I, pp. 134-6.
7. *op. cit.*, pp. 126-7. Instances of such usurpations are not wanting in history. Leaving aside the questionable origin of Chandragupta Maurya Mahāpadma who was a Śudra did occupy the throne of Magadha: *Cf.* Pargiter, *Dynasties of the Kali Age*, p. 25.
8. J., II, pp. 352-3.

"The owl is king, you say, o'er all bird-kind.
With your permission, may I speak my mind?"[1]

Permission being granted, Mr. Crow spoke:

"I like not (with all deference be it said)
To have the Owl anointed as our Head.
Look at his face! if this good humour be,
What will he do when he looks angrily?"[2]

Then he flew up into the air, 'walked out', cawing out "I don't like it! I don't like it!" The birds then chose a golden goose and dispersed.

The above report of the proceedings of an assembly[3] would be of immense interest if we wish to compare it with the procedures followed in the Buddhist '*Saṅghas*' which were, as Jayaswal says, modelled after the Political *Saṅghas* of the time. There is an unusual likeness between the procedure in the *Jātaka* and that followed in modern political assemblies—the reading of the resolution thrice, vote-taking, the walking out—all are so familiar to us. It is not unreasonable to infer from the nature of the evidence before us "that if the question of the election of a sovereign did ever come up before an assembly (or ministers or citizens?) the procedure followed was generally of the type disclosed in the above story. There might be several candidates for the throne proposed by different individuals. Votes were taken and success depended upon the final decision of the House.[4]

CONSECRATION

Succession to the throne was accompanied by the time-honoured ceremony of consecration (*Abhiṣeka*) which is elaborately described in the *Brāhmaṇas*, but which appears to have lost much of its ritualism in the time of which our stories speak.[5] As in the Brāhmaṇical literature so also here, the priest—generally the *purohita*—[6] consecrates the king-designate by sprinkling water upon him

1. II, J., p. 353-G. 58 "*Sabbehi kira ñātihi kosiyo issaro kato sa ce ñātihi anunñāto bhaṇeyyā haṁ ekavāciyaṁ.*"

2. *Ibid.* G. 60: "*Na me ruccati bhaddaṁ vo ulūkassābhisecanaṁ akuddhassa mukhaṁ passa kathaṁ kuddho karissati.*

3. See Jayaswal, *op. cit.*, pp. 115-6.

4. *Cf.* Sen., *op. cit.*, p. 64. We cannot resist the temptation of quoting here—when we have reached the end of our discussion on election—the pregnant words of Hopkins with reference to this question in the Epic Period: "If, however, the people had lost the right of determining absolutely the next occupant of the throne, they still retained, as we see through historical legends, in a limited though irregular form, the power of modifying the choice determined on by the aristocracy. They have still the unchallenged right of protesting against what seems to them an unworthy choice for their next ruler, and dare to deny any such choice to the present king, if it does not coincide with their views. And if we find that in no such case the people gain their point, it is still not less instructive to observe in what manner they lose it; for in each example that legend has preserved, we see that the king is obliged to make good his choice (never by force, but) by arguments addressed in a respectful manner to the protests of the people. The inner meaning of such legends seems to be that the king was not yet an absolute monarch, The people's constitution was the tradition of their race. This the king dared virtually to annul, but he did not yet venture to set it aside without a pretext, nor did he feel himself, independent of the veto that the people had the power of declaring" "*J.A.O.S.*, 13, pp. 137-8.

5. For the details of this Vedic ceremony see Dikshitar, *op. cit.*, pp. 82 *ff.* also Jayaswal, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 25 *ff.* For the ceremony as seen in the Great Epic, *cf.* Hopkins, *J.A.O.S.*, 13, pp. 145 *ff.*

6. J., III, 239; IV, 40; also IV, p. 232.

(*abhisiñcati*) from a golden vessel (*suvaṇṇabhiṅkāra*).[1] The usual custom in vogue was this. The king was seated on a fine chair of fig-wood (*udumbara-bhaddapīṭhaka*),[2] and then was sprinkled with auspicious water from a conch with spirals turned right-wise (*dakkhiṇāvattasaṁkharatana*).[3] Sometimes he was seated on a heap of jewels (*ratnarāsī*).[4] The *purohita* would teach the prince ten ceremonies which an universal monarch had to perform.[5] With the prince his wife also was consecrated by the ceremonial sprinkling and made his chief queen (*aggamahesī*).[6] Then the ceremony of spreading the royal white umbrella (*seta chattamaṅgalaṁ*) was gone through.[7] On the installation, the rule of the new king was proclaimed throughout the city by beat of drum.[8] A graphic description is given in the *Ayoghara Jātaka*[9] of the consecration and its pomp :

The city is decorated, the state-elephant decked in magnificent caparison is taken out. The richly-dressed prince sits on it. They make a ride round the city and return to the palace where the prince salutes his father. He is placed on a pile of jewels and sprinkled from the three conches and then the white umbrella with its festoons of gold is uplifted. Especially on the accession of a wise, righteous and popular king, there was no end to peoples' joy and festivities. They raised flags and banners and decked all the city. At every door was set up a pavilion, and scattering parched corn and flowers (*lājakusuma*) they sat upon the decorated platforms and ate and drank.[10] People came from different parts of the city with presents (*paṇṇākāra*) to honour him. The palace-walls were covered with plastered impressions of hands (*hatthattharādīhi*).[11] The festivities and rejoicings were often signalised by a release of prisoners.[12] No definite age-limit to the anointing ceremonies can be gathered from the *Jātakas*. If the 16th year was the usual age for princes to go to Takkasilā, and if we allow for four or five years to the studies, we may take the 24th or 25th as the age of coronation.[13]

The prince has now become the king, the supreme head of the state, exercising a considerable amount of authority and influence over every kind of activity—social, economic, political and even religious. As we, in our present course of narration, practically have kept ourselves aloof from the discussion of the actual administrative work, it is but consistent to follow up this course and notice the king's life when he is free from state affairs. It would be thought,

1. J., VI, p. 39 ; *cf.* the Epic (Hopkins, *op. cit.*, 13, p. 145)
2. *Cf. Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, viii, 8.
3. J., II, p. 409 , IV, p. 350.
4. J., IV, pp. 40, 492.
5. J., IV, p. 232 ; *dasa Cakkavattivattāni.*
6. J., IV, p. 407 ; V, pp. 95, 285 ; VI, p. 588. See Jayaswal, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 16-7.
7. J., IV, pp. 323, 393.
8. J., V, p. 285 "*Kusarājassa āñā' ti bheriñ carāpesi :* VI, p. 10.
9. J., IV, pp. 492-3.
10. J., II, pp. 240-1 , VI, pp. 42-3.
11. J., VI, p. 42. *Cf.* Cowell and Thomas, *Harṣacarita*, p. 45 & note.
12. J., V, p. 285—"*sabbabandhanāgārāni mocāpetvā,* "*etc.*
13. *Cf.* Jayaswal, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 52-3 ; Khāravela was consecrated in his 24th year. *Hāthigumphā Insciptions*, Line I; so also Aśoka, *Cf. J.B.O.R.S.*, I, p. 93 ; III, p. 438.

we know, as irrelevant and even disproportionate to dwell so long on the life of one single personage out of the various individuals connected with the big administrative machine. But our source of information itself forces us to adopt such a procedure. The king was undoubtedly the most important person of those days to be reckoned with. What then to speak of these stories, where he is so constantly to be met with ?

It is therefore necessary for us to notice whatever information can be had from the *Jātakas*. Various and numerous are the references to the character, hobbies, habits, sports, luxuries and pomp and the environments of the king which we may not let pass unnoticed, if we want to have a comprehensive picture of those times. It would moreover be helpful to study the mind and temperament of those ancient rulers, their whims and caprices—their legacies devolved upon their successors.

There is certainly no gainsaying the fact that most of the descriptions about the palace, the court and luxuries, are characterised by exaggeration. But creeping through these exaggerations is an element of truth and actuality.

RESIDENCE: PALACE AND SURROUNDINGS.

The palace of the king was generally situated in the centre of the city.[1] These palaces are described as seven-storeyed[2] adorned with towers and pinnacles[3] and supported by many columns[4] made of wood.[5] Great stair-cases,[6] generally constructed of wood,[7] led to the various storeys. The palace had always a spacious courtyard (*rājaṅgaṇa*)[8] opening into which were the cowpen, the granaries, the treasureroom and other apartments.[9] The royal courtyard was often the place where people gathered in large numbers, either to witness some interesting performance or to address a complaint to the king or to hear something from him.[10] Through the windows on the terrace of the palace (*sīhapiñjara:vātāpa*), which overlooked the yard and the streets, the king often surveyed the varied activities of the city and was often attracted by the sight of many an interesting object.[11] The gabled chamber (*kūṭāgāra*), high with pinnacles (*kucchi*)[12] sprinkled with sandal-juice and filled with fragrance[13] and wrought of gold, was the place where the king often stayed and enjoyed in the company of his kinsfolk (*ñātisaṅgha*) or with many a lady fair (*itthāgārehi*).[14] The great hall of the palace (*mahātala*) on the top

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1. For instance, J., III, p. 9. A Benares king's palace was very near to the lower bank of the river: J., V, p. 429.
2. J., IV, pp. 105, 323; V, pp. 42, 187, 426; VI, p. 289.
3. J., III, p 429—'*Kaṇṇikā*' *Cf.* Achārya, *Dictionary of Hindu Architecture*, According to A. Coomaraswamy the word means "Central roof":
4. J., IV, p. 153.
5. J., I, p. 442; also III, pp. 317-8.
6. J., I, p 351; II, p. 275. III, p. 122.
7. J., VI, p. 428.
8. J., I, pp. 175, 421; II, pp. 48, 116, 316; III, pp. 21,379; IV, p. 368; VI, p. 53.
9. J., III, p. 379 (*vaja*); II, p. 96; V, p. 286.
10. J., IV, pp. 177, 182, 458; V, p. 426.
11. J., I, p. 421; II, pp. 273, 316; III, pp. 21, 59, 305, 379; V, p 230.
12. J., VI, p. 420; *Kucchi—Kukṣi* See Acārya, *op. cit.*, p. 133 (tabernacle.)
13. J., VI, p. 347—GG. 161-4.
14. J., V, p. 188-GG, 225-6 "*Kūṭāgāra*, a small room at the top of a building" Ācārya, *op. cit.*, p. 146.

is frequently referred to,[1] where the king sat on a magnificent throne, surrounded by bands of his ministers and mime-dancers[2]. It was perhaps the same place, the top-storey (*uparimatala*), where the king held private consultations with his ministers.[3] The royal bed chamber (*sirigabbha*) with its gorgeous bedding was situated on the upper storey.[4]

There was a long walk (*dīghantara*) in the palace precincts where the king used to stroll up and down after his meals[5]. A feature of interest was the gambling-hall (*jūtamaṇḍalaṁ*) which was furnished with silver tables, and golden dice.[6] Nearby was the Hall of Justice (*vinicchayasālā*) the Court of the king where cases were heard and settled.[7] The palace itself was surrounded by a great wall (*mahābhitti*).[8] A reference is made to a trough at the palace door (*rājanivesanadvāre ekassa bhattammaṇassa*),[9] which could be lifted up, thus indicating the existence of underground passages. The royal harem, consisting of 16,000 dancing girls (?), must have had a separate palace while the chief queen possessed a separate room (*sirigabbha*) for herself in the palace itself;[10] and there were separate palaces for princes and princesses.[11] At night the palace-doors were fast closed and guarded carefully.[12]

DIET.

Royal food was of course prepared by a special cook (*rañño sūda*) in the royal kitchen (*mahānasa*).[13] Fish and meat were used besides rice and gruel.[14] When the meals were ready the cook took them to the king and family in the palace.[15] The dinners of a king, according to a *Jātaka*[16] cost 100,000 every time and consisted of a hundred different dishes.

DRESS AND LUXURIES.

The king had his special barber (*mangalanahāpita*) who dressed his hair with golden tongs and tweezers and bathed and perfumed him.[17] His position in the palace was not insignificant.[18] Kings wore turbans with crests (*saveṭhanacūlā*) adorned with jewels,[19] had golden and pearl necklaces round their necks,[20] and were

1. J., I, p. 470 ; II, p. 273 ; IV, p. 105 ; V, pp. 230, 249, 570 ; VI, pp. 53, 103.
2. J., V, p. 249 ; "*alaṅkatamahātale rājapallaṅke nisinno gandhabbanaṭanaccakādiparivuto.*"
3. J., VI, pp. 392, 410.
4. J., II, p. 326 ; V, pp. 214, 506-G. 477 ; VI, p. 47-G. 165.
5. J., VI, pp. 349, 352.
6. J., I, pp. 289-90 ; III, p. 187 ; VI, pp. 280., 281.
7. J., I, p. 176 ; II, pp. 2, 186 ; III, p. 505, IV, p. 120 ; VI, p. 284.
8. J., VI, pp. 349, 350.
9. J., VI, pp 381, 384.
10. J., II, p. 394 ; IV, p. 319 ; V, pp. 284, 301.
11. J., II, p. 374, III, p. 415 ; IV, p. 191 ; VI, pp. 491, 498, 502 ; V, p. 306. *Cf. Arthaśāstra*, I, 20.
12. J., IV, p. 105.
13. J., I, p. 242 ; II, p. 434 ; V, pp. 230, 292, 297, 458 ; VI, p. 349.
14. J. I. P., 242 V.pp. 292, 458 ; V. p, 297.
15. J., II, p. 434 ; V, p. 292.
16. J., II, p. 319 ; Fick, *op. cit.*, p. 288. See for the occupation of the royal cook, J. V, p. 297. As to his position in the royal household, *cf.* Fick's remarks, *op. & l. c.*
17. J. I pp. 137, 138 ; III p. 451 ; IV p. 365 ; V pp. 177, 187 ; VI p. 144.
18. *Cf.* Fick *op. cit.* pp. 287-88.
19. J. V p. 187 ; VI p. 368.
20. J. VI pp. 345-368.

dressed in robes of the finest silk and wool,[1] with golden slippers on their feet.[2] They were supposed to be delicate of frame, accustomed to the palace and all its niceties, and unable to bear the hard and dry things.[3]

CONVEYANCES.

Kings are usually described as riding on chariots drawn by white horses (*setasindhavayuttaṁ*).[4] These chariots of state (*mangalarathe*) were made of ivory and had silver decorations, having the equipage all bright and clean, white and spotless in their appearance, with banners flying free and adorned with varied paintings.[5] The State-elephant was used generally on occasions of festivities or when the king went on his circuit round the city.[6] It was bedecked in bright array, with girths of gold, caparisoned with trappings golden and bright.[7]

Of the possessions of the king (*rajjasiri*) several *gāthās* give gorgeous descriptions, obviously exaggerated. Still they are not absolutely worth-

"Palatial halls, broad acres, steeds and kine,
Perfumes, rich robes and many a concubine"[8]

and

"Whatever of silver, gold and pearls, rich gems and precious gear,
Copper and iron, shells and pearls, and jewels numberless,
Ivory, yellow sandal wood, deer skins and costly dress"[9]

are all kingly possessions.

CHARACTER HOBBIES, HABITS, *etc.*

Many a kingly figure passes across our eyes while going through these stories, with his characteristics. His hobbies and habits, whims and caprices, fantasies and even idiosyncrasies, deserve more than a passing reference, interesting as they are from a popular point of view.[10] "A king interests himself in knowing the cause of the sudden ailments of the state-elephant"[11] 'and another of a state horse,' who used to limp in imitation of its trainer.[12] On the other hand, 'a king of Magadha is strangely jealous of his state elephant on account of the high praises bestowed upon it by an admiring

1. J., V, p. 323-G. 129 ; VI p. 368.
2. J., III, p. 326 ; VI p. 368.
3. J., IV, p. 371-G. 269.
4. J., I. 175; II, pp. 2, 3, 4, 39 ; IV, 120.
5. J., V, pp. 250—GG. 49-50 ; 483-G. 409 ; VI, pp. 48—GG. 172-88 ; 223-G. 964.
6. J., I, pp. 313 444 ; II, 275, 325 ; IV, p. 138, 403 ; V, p. 258, G. 43-4 VI p. 2.
7. J., V, p. 258-G. 43-4.
8. J., V, p 490-G. 428.
9. J., V, pp. 379-80-GG. 183-4. also VI. pp. 54-GG. 243—4.Cf. J. V. 120 ; VI, pp 51, 54.
10. We must acknowledge our indebtedness for some of the instances and references for this subject to be noticed hereafter to Dr. Sen's valuable paper *op. cit.*
11. J., I, p. 187.
12. J., II, p. 98.

crowd of citizens, and resolves to kill it by casting it over a precipice.'[1] A king 'of a somewhat covetous nature' possessing 'a brute of a horse is very much prone to mischief.' Some horse-dealers from the North Country arrive with five hundred horses to sell them to the king. The king, this time, devises an ingenuous plan to get the horses at a smaller price and so says to one of his ministers: 'Friend, make the men name their price; then let loose Big Chestnut so that he goes amongst them; make him bite them, and when they are weak and wounded, get the men to reduce the price.'[2] Another king—Dadhivāhana—is fond of casting a net into a river. One day when the net is hauled out, a mango is found sticking to it. The king does not know its name. The foresters name it 'Mango'. He eats, and is delighted with its delicious taste. The stone is planted in his park and watered with milk-water. In course of time the tree begins to bear fruit. "Great was the worship paid to this tree, milk-water was poured about it; perfumed garlands with five sprays were hung upon it, wreaths were festooned about it; a lamp was kept burning and fed with scented oil; and all round it was a screen of cloth." The king sends presents of these fruits to other kings, just to arouse the desire of these princes to grow the precious tree in their own kingdoms taking at the same time sufficient care that the reputation of his country may not be shared by any other. For he "used to prick with a thorn that place in the stone where the sprout would come from, for fear of their growing the like by planting it."[3] A curious, but at the same time cruel, method of realising a vow, adopted by a certain king is described in a *Jātaka*. "All such as are addicted to the Five sins," so runs the royal proclamation, "to wit the slaughter of living creatures and so forth, and all such as walk in the Ten Paths of Unrighteousness, them will I slay, and with their flesh and their blood, with their entrails and their vitals, I will make my offering"[4] This is cruelty to the extreme, though there are some kings who stand shoulder to shoulder with Aśoka in their enthusiasm for proclaiming nonslaughter of animals and other righteous deeds (*Māghātabherii* and *Dhammabherī*).[5] Many kings have great power of appreciation; they are attracted by anything peculiar or extraordinary and are unstinted in their admiration.[6] Talkative (*bahubhāsī*) kings figure in the stories and their ministers have to check them with suitable parables. One king is so talkative that "when he talked there was no chance for any other to get in a word." His minister, wishing to stop this, looks out for an opportunity. And he succeeds in convincing the king of the necessity of 'speaking wisely and speaking in reason' by giving the parable of the tortoise and the geese.[7] Similarly in

1. J. I, p. 444.
2. J. II, pp. 30-2.
3. J. II, pp. 104-5. Dr. Sen remarks "This protective measure is on the face of it inspired by a certain amount of narrowness, but since the dawn of history has not narrowness been at once the shame and pride of patriotism even in the most refined souls?" *op. cit.* p. 89.
4. J. I, p. 260.
5. J. III, p. 434; IV, p. 269. *Cf.* Aśoka "*Bherighoso aho Dhammaghoso*" *Rock Edict IV*.
6. J. I, p. 506; II p. 273; II p. 290; III p. 229 etc.
7. J II, pp. 175-7.

another instance, 'a minister advises his garrulous master to avoid prolixity, to be thorough, discreet and well-restrained in speech, after relating the parable of the young cuckoo. And he utters this *gāthā* :

> "The sage his measured words discreetly guides,
> Nor rashly to his second self confides :
> Before he speaks will prudent counsel take,
> His foes to trap, as Garuḍa the snake."[1]

An indolent (*alasiyajātiko*) king is corrected by his minister while taking a walk in the royal garden.[2] A certain king of Benares is so fastidiously extravagant and dainty as regards his meals that 'when he ate, he ate not within doors, but as he wished to confer merit upon many people by showing them the costly array of his meals, he caused a pavilion adorned with jewels to be set up at the door, and at the time of eating, he had this decorated, and there he sat upon a royal dais made all of gold, under a white parasol with princesses all around him, and ate the food of an hundred delicate flavours from a dish which cost a hundred thousand pieces of money."[3] A king is about to be initiated into the habit of drinking wine, from which he is prevented by divine intervention of 'Sakka': "If he shall drink strong drink, all India will perish: I will see that he shall not drink it".[4] Some kings are very courteous and sympathetic to ascetics. A Benares king gives a band of 500 hermits who are his guests 'a large supply of the best spirits knowing that such things rarely come on the way of those who renounce the world and its vanities."[5] A king sends a drum beating about the city, with this proclamation: "I give protection to all creatures." From that time onwards no one durst so much as raise hand against beast or bird".[6] Some kings are awfully anxious not to waste a single moment on worldly matters after the advent of old age. Barbers are, therefore, directed to report the appearance of the first grey hair on their heads—"a sure symptom of the decline of youth and the approach of physical infirmities".[7] An interesting figure of a king who loves his wife dearly is supplied in a *Jātaka*. After her death he is overwhelmed with grief. He has the body laid in a coffin, and embalmed with oil and ointment, and laid beneath his bed: and there he lies without food, weeping and wailing.[8] "This picture is somewhat unique," as Sen rightly remarks,[9] "as in the *Jātaka* literature no other kings love their wives so dearly and so single-mindedly." Kings greedy of money and riches are seen.[10] A figure of a king

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1. J. III, pp. 102-4 GG. 123-4.
2. J. III, pp. 140-1.
3. J. II, p. 319.
4. J. V, pp. 13-4.
5. J. I. pp. 361-2.
6. J. IV, pp. 262-3.
7. J. V, pp. 177 *ff*; I, pp. 137*ff*; VI, pp. 95-6 128-9.
8. J., II, pp. 155-6.
9. *Op. cit.*, p. 91.
10. J., II, pp. 171 *ff*; pp. 212 *ff*.

who is infatuated in love flits across the *Ummadantī Jātaka.*[1] A king is thoroughly angry with ascetics, when he discovers an ascetic misbehaving in his own harem. "These men go about by day in ascetic's garb and misbehave themselves at night," and being angry, he adopts heretical views and drives away the whole community of mendicants from his kingdom.[2] A prince is stricken with leprosy, physicians cannot cure it, but his chaste wife, by the performance of 'an act of truth' (*saccakiriyā*), cures him of this foul disease.[3] Some kings, far from being fearless and courageous, on hearing an unnatural sound or perceiving an ominous phenomenon or dreaming a bad dream, get completely unnerved and at once invite astrologers to explain these occurrences fully.[4] An interesting whim of a king is to do something special or novel so as to attract the attention of the world. He wants to build a palace supported by only one column, thinking that other monarchs, who are accustomed to live in palaces supported by many columns, will regard this as a unique achievement of art, and thus he will easily come to be recognised as the chiefest king in the whole of India."[5] A certain king is defeated in a battle on account of his showing favours to new-comers. He is curious to have some illustrations from the treasure house of past history, and he asks his adviser: "Am I the only king who has ever been defeated through favour shown to new-comers, or have others had the same fate before ?"[6]

SPORTS & AMUSEMENTS OF THE KING.

Let us now proceed to have an idea of the pleasures, games and amusements in which the *Jātaka* kings are found to be indulging. As all other ancient rulers, these also are fond of hunting, dice-play and women. The various places where the king used to enjoy himself (*paribhogaṭṭhānāni*) are given out in the very pathetic utterances of the people who run to all these places to find the king who has turned a hermit. These included the palace, gabled-chambers, *Asoka* garden, *Kaṇṇikā*-garden, *Pāṭali* garden, Mango garden, the royal tank and the pleasuance.[7] Another *Jātaka* enumerates and describes, both in the *gāthās* and in the prose, five enjoyable things (*upabhogarasaṁ*), whereby a king, forgetful of his former glory, is appealed to. These are : *bhojana*—food, *kilesa*—sexual joy, *sayana*—bed, *naccagītavādita*—musical entertainment, and *Uyyāna-nagara*—a guarded garden-house.[8] These correspond to the five occasions when Aśoka, as he says in his *Rock Edict* VI, was supposed to be attending to his personal comforts and enjoyments.[9]

Hunting seems to have been the most favourite out-door sport and amusement. The king went out ahunting in a chariot, followed by a great retinue

1. J., V, pp. 211 *ff*.
2. J., III, pp. 303-4.
3. J., V, pp. 88 *ff*.
4. J., III, p. 45 ; III, pp. 428-9 ; I, pp. 343-4 ; VI, p. 330.
5. J. IV, p. 153.
6. J. IV, pp. 400-1.
7. J., V, pp. 188-90-GG. 223-238.
8. J., V, pp. 505-7-GG. 475, 479.
9. R. E. VI—"*Bhuñjamanasi-orodhanamhi—vacamhi-vinitamhi-uyyānesu*" Barua, *I.H.Q.* II, p. 127.

and in brave array.[1] Welltrained hounds (*susikkhitakoleyyakā*) were taken along with the company.[2] But this royal expedition was often a great source of disturbance to the people—villagers and townsfolk—who could not carry on their normal business, farming or trade. On such occasions the people had to muster strong and try to prevent the great inconvenience that they might have had to go through. "In those days," so runs a story, "the king of Benares was passionately fond of hunting, and always had meat at every meal. Every day he mustered the whole of his subjects, townsfolk and country-folk alike, to the detriment of their business and went ahunting."[3] The people, knowing the immense losses they would have to sustain, at once met together and deliberated as to the remedy, and through concerted action, were successful in their protest. Arbitrary and cruel orders must have been proclaimed by the king to carry out his expedition successfully, without caring a little for the people. So we find in a *Jātaka*[4] that the king while on a hunt made a proclamation to all: "If a deer escapes by any man's post, the man is fined the value of the deer." Of course the men concerned with this proclamation were most probably his courtiers—the retinue,[5] but it was necessarily at the cost of the people residing in the neighbourhood of the hunting ground, mostly the villagers and farmers. No reprehension for hunting in the sense that the Law books take, is to be found in the *Jātakas*. They represent the thing as it was—a favourite amusement of the king.[6]

Another amusement of the king was drinking,—the same old habit or rather vice. The *Jātaka* kings are seen holding great drinking festivals—orgies, we might term them,[7] when people enjoy and indulge in all sorts of merry making and the kings then enjoy the company of the dancing girls (*nāṭakitthīyo*). Here again this drinking indulgence is a matter of course in the stories, though the didactic parts of the *Jātakas*—as does the Epic—may show their disgust and describe at great length, with similes and illustrations, the evils of this vice.[8]

With drinking went women—the dancing girls specially—by whom the *Jātaka* kings are always surrounded. The afternoon hours of rest and amusement in the royal pleasuance outside the city seem to have been the most prominent in the daily routine of kings of the *Jātaka* stories. The royal park[9] was indeed a necessary appendage to the royal city. It was a spacious park, surrounded by a wall of 18 cubits high[10] and having a big gate at the entrance

1. J., IV, p. 431 ; III, p. 270 ; V, p. 22.
2. J., IV, p. 437.
3. J., I, p. 149 ; also J., III, p. 270.
4. J., III, p. 325.
5. *Cf.* J. IV, p. 23.
6. *Cf.* for the Epic kings going on a hunt, Hopkins, *J.A.O.S.*, 13 pp. 119-20. *Arthaśāstra*, VIII, 3.
7. J., I, p. 362 ; V, pp. 13-4 ; VI, p. 161 ; also J., III, p. 40.
8. For instance, J., V, pp. 15-8 GG. 36-59 ; *Cf.* Hopkins, *op. cit.*, pp. 120-1. Kautilya describes the evils of drinking. *Arthaśāstra* VIII, 3. Megasthenes, *Fr.* 27, is evidently not correct when he says that the Indians are not addicted to drinking : See Dikshitar, *Mauryan Polity*, p. 348.
9. J., I, pp. 175, 250, 325, 419, 505 ; III, pp. 143, 229 etc. *Cf. Rock Edict*, VI ; *Arthaśāstra*, I, 19; II, 3.
10. J., V, p. 477.

with high arches (*toraṇa*).[1] Besides other playing grounds, there must be the lake wherein the king sported with his queens and concubines (*udakakīlaṁ*).[2] There used to be a special seat for the king in the park (*maṅgalasilā*),[3] as he had every thing special. There he rested in the lap of his favourite, and gaily witnessed the skilful girls singing, playing on instruments and dancing (*gītavāditanacchehi*)[4] and indulged in all sorts of merriments, affecting very badly, we may imagine, the moral equipment of the high personage. What could have been his abilities for, and an active part in, the actual governance of the state, when and if the 'head' spent away his time in such pastimes, may well be left to the imagination of the reader.[5] About the harem of the king, which was unlimited, we shall presently see.

With gambling, the royal amusements completed the fourfold vices which went on undermining through the ages the character and personality of the kings, and made them utterly unworthy of the high position they were holding—merely through an accident of birth. Dice-play—an old Vedic amusement—[6] was the favourite game of the *Jātaka* kings also.[7] A gambling scene is vividly described in the *Vidhura paṇḍita J.*,[8] which shows some technical knowledge of the game—the throwing of dice on the dice board, the twenty-four throws some of which are called *mālikaṁ, sāvataṁ, bahulaṁ, santi, bhadrā*—.[9] "Let us conquer by fair dealing, and by the absence of violence, and when thou art conquered pay down thy stake"—this is the preliminary talk of the players.[10] Gambling is nowhere depreciated in the *Jātakas*, as far as we can see. As a matter of fact, the *Jātaka* kings play dice without any fear of reprehension at the hands of super-moralists.[11]

Thus the four main amusements of the king turn out in reality to be vices which Kauṭilya[12] discusses at length quite in keeping with his political farsightedness and psychological insight.

We may still go deeper into the royal splendour and paraphernalia. The jewelled throne and the white umbrella are the two majestic symbols of kingship.[13] Descriptions of the court occurring frequently, besides being interest-

1. J., III, p. 356.
2. J., I, pp. 175, 384; II, pp. 38, 227; V, p. 476; VI, p. 420.
3. J., I, p. 441; III, p. 40.
4. J., I, p. 384; II, pp. 227, 350; III, p. 40; VI, p. 348
5. See discussions on addiction to women in *Arthaśāstra*, VIII, 3. Hopkins says, "The military caste was not corrupt or, perhaps, especially given to sensuality; but it knew nothing of the practices of chastity except as a student's discipline," *op. cit.*, 13, p. 118.
6. *Ṛgveda*, x, 34; See *Vedic Index*, I, pp. 2-5; 382. *Cf. Chāndogya Upaniṣad*, IV, 1. 4.
7. J., I, p. 289; III, pp. 91, 187 *ff.*
8. J., VI, pp. 280-2.
9. For the names of Vedic dice-throws, see *Ved. Ind.* I, p. 3.
10. J., VI, p. 280—G. 1227 "*dhammena jīyāma asāhasena.*"
11. *Cf.* for Epic kings at diceplay, Hopkins: "That same gambling hall that ruined him survived through all periods of the Hindu's growth. Tales are told, precepts are given in vain...In the Epic the kings always play dice as a matter of course." *op. cit.*, 13, p. 122. See also Kauṭilya, *Arthaśāstra*, VIII, 3.
12. *Ibid.*
13. J., I, pp. 177, 470; III, p. 32; IV, pp. 40, 125, 402; V, p. 264; VI, p. 217.

ing from the political standpoint, give us an idea of the royal splendour—not quite exaggerated. We read: "Entering the city the Bodhisatta passed into the spacious hall of the palace and then seated himself in all his godlike beauty on his jewelled throne beneath the white umbrella of his kingship. Round him in glittering splendour stood his ministers and Brahmins and nobles, whilst sixteen thousand nautch girls, fair as the nymphs of heaven, sang and danced and made music, till the palace was loud with sounds like the ocean when the storm bursts in thunder on its water."[1] And in another place[2] we find him "seated in majesty and splendour beneath a white canopy of sovereignty upon a throne of gold with legs as of a gazelle...." His solemn processions round the city, specially on occasions like his return from expeditions, are awe-inspiring.[3]

But there are brighter sides of the picture also. If the sports and amusements noted above tended to make the kingly persons slothful, indolent, simply spectacular and unfit for any constructive work, there were certain others, occasional though, which made them more energetic, more alert, athletic and aesthetic and brought them in closer contact with the people at large.

A scene of a great wrestling match at the king's door: "The wrestling ring was prepared; there was an enclosure for the games, the ring was decked out gaily, the flags of victory were readily tied. The whole city was in a whirl, line over line rose the seats, tier above tier."[4]

A vivid representation of a stirring musical competition between two masters, Musila and Guṭṭila at Benares: "At the palace door a pavilion was set up, and a throne was set apart for the king. He came down from the palace, and took his seat upon the divan in the gay pavilion. All round him were thousands of slaves, women beauteously apparelled, courtiers, Brah mins, citizens. All the people of the town had come together. In the court-yard they were fixing the seats circle on circle, tier above tier.... and lute in hand he (Guṭṭila) sat waiting on his appointed place... Musila too was there and sat in his own seat. All round was a great concourse of people".[5] The two musicians display their wits and skill. All the people, the king not excluded, watch them keenly and with pin-drop silence. And when one shows triumph over the other, the multitude in thousands wave and wave their kerchiefs in the air, in thousands they shout applause." In "the chorus of condemnation that is started against the vanquished, the king takes active part and makes a sign to the multitude which thereupon rises up crying and belabours the man to death."

One more instance: The king has summoned all the archers in his dominion to assemble in the palace yard. He invites by beat of drums the people

1. J., I, p. 470.
2. J., I, p. 267.
3. J., I, pp. 325, 444; II, pp. 39, 122, 275; III, p. 188; IV, pp. 190, 403; V, pp. 290, 304.
4. J., IV, p. 81.
5. J., II, pp. 253, ff.

"all that dwell in the city" to come and witness the skill of the master-archer Jotipāla. Followed by a great crowd he comes to the yard and takes his seat on a splendid throne. The hero of the day, Jotipāla, performs many an intricate and amazing feat of archery and is acclaimed with unbounded enthusiasm and wild excitement. "The people make a great uproar, shouting and dancing about and clapping their hands, and they throw off their garments and ornaments so that there is a treasure lying in a heap to the amount of eighteen crores."[1]

Sometimes the king directly interests himself in the propagation of *dharma* and culture among his subjects. He proclaims by beat of drum his intention to address the citizens, including his harem, on some great topic of moral uplift and regeneration, "thus affording himself and the people a direct opportunity for an intimate association and mutual understanding that may alone lead to the realization of the highest purpose of government".[2] The genuineness of his feelings—almsgiving, showing respect to Brāhmaṇas and Samaṇas, parents and *ācariyas*, non injury to animals—can very well be appreciated if we remind ourselves of the most glowing figure of Aśoka, the great Mauryan Emperor who by his piety and sincerity of purpose set on foot the *Dhamma* propaganda "based on a direct appeal to the masses."[3]

All these instances[4] would be sufficient to show that the kings, no matter how and to what extent they indulged in personal pleasures and splendour, did, sometimes, come into close contact with the people and, with their frank and intimate behaviour, succeeded in winning their hearts. The crowd that gathers at these royal gatherings has no distinction whatever of caste or creed or class. Everything there is perfectly democratic. These gatherings seem to have had remarkable influence in contributing their quota to our cultural evolution. Our literary traditions show how kings of those times were great patrons of the arts and literature. The *Jātaka* kings are no exceptions. They got their education at Takkasilā. They travel far and wide receiving practical experience and a "direct knowledge of the glories and achievements of other countries." They must try to emulate them. They did. Learned *Paṇḍits* came to the king with poetical pieces (*gāthās*) and he rewarded them.[5] Sometimes he himself tried his hand at a verse 'so beautiful and appealing, that within a short time the whole people will take it up and commit it to memory".[6]

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1. J., V, pp. 128-30.

2. J., IV, pp. 176: "*aṁbho nagaravāsino, tumhākaṁ tapanīye ca atapanīye ca dhamme desessāmi, appamattā hutvā ohitasoṭā sakkaccaṁ sunothāti vatvā dhammaṁ desesi.*" *Cf.* Sen, *op. cit.*, p. 78.

3. *Cf.* for instance his *Rock Edict* XI: "*etaṁ dāsabhatakānaṁ samma-paṭipati mātāpitusu suśruṣā mitra-sa-mstuta-ñātikānam samaṇabrāhmaṇānaṁ dāna prāṇānaṁ anārambho.... sadhā.*" Mookerji, *Aśoka*, p. 231. Aśoka himself admits that his predecessors had wished to undertake such measures for the *Dhamma* propagation. *Cf. Pillar Edict*, VII: "...*ye atikaṁtaṁ aṁtalaṁ lājāne husu kevaṁ icchisu kathaṁ jane dhammavaḍhiyā vaḍheyā no chu jane amulupāyā dhammavaḍhiyā vaḍhithā.*" Mookerji, *op. cit.*, p. 240.

4. *e.g.*, J., II, p. 222; III, pp. 338, 342.

5. J., II, p. 166; III, p. 194; IV, pp. 393-4; V, p. 23.

6. Sen, *op. cit.*, p. 97; J., II, p. 174; IV, p. 393; VI, p. 414-G. 1464.

He is always surrounded by maids.[1] He tames birds and beasts in his palace and gives rewards to them who bring these presents.[2] Music and drama flourished high under the royal patronage. A king in order to attract his son to the pleasures of the world proposes to have dramas enacted before him. The prince, bathed in perfumed water, is brought into a beautiful inner chamber filled with a mingled fragrance of perfumed wreaths, incense, unguents and spirituous liquor. Gracious women come and try to amuse him with dance and music.[3]

KING'S HAREM.

We have, lastly, to examine the king's harem which has, from times immemorial, played a considerable part in the inner and outer politics, not to speak of socio-moral atmosphere that was affected by it.

The harem (*antapura : orodha*) must have been a distinctive feature of the palace, and occupied a large space. It is described as well-built, with earth and other plasters and suffused with sweet fragrance and beautiful.[4] It is said to have comprised sixteen thousand dancing girls (*solasahassanā-ṭakitthiyo*).[5] The high number is only conventional and cannot be taken as true, though we may believe that it went up to hundreds.[6] These were clearly distinguished from one who was the chief queen '*aggamahesī*' and who commanded a respectable status both in and out of the palace, being presumably the mother of the heir-apparent.[7] It is not, as it may seem, curious or even unimaginable that these lefthanded ladies were freely at the disposal of the king. They are not said to dance by day and go home at night as the Epic says,[8] but they were a part and parcel of the royal seraglio.[9] It is again not incomprehensible that these dancing girls were often handed down from father to son when the former passed over the kingdom to the latter.[10] The harem was not at all despised. The king was free, it seems, to bring in any new girl without much distinction of caste or class—a flower girl, a country girl or any picked out from the wayside.[11] The only thing that was to be con-

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1. J., IV, pp. 274, 396 etc.
2. J., I, pp. 140, 175 ; III, pp. 97,429 ; IV, p. 418 ; V, pp. 110, 228, 345, 365, 458 ; VI, pp. 419-20 : It is interesting to see how Kauṭilya regards these pet birds and animals as remedies against poison. *Arthaśāstra*, I, 20.
3. J., VI, p. 9.
4. J., VI, p. 47-G. 159.
5. J., I, p. 437 ; III, p. 378 ; IV, pp. 191, 316-7 ; V, pp. 40, 486 ; VI, pp. 160, 168, 220, 258.
6. One *Jātaka*, VI, pp. 49, 50, 51, GG. 195-7, 226-8, speaks of 700 wives while another I, p. 392, gives the number as 84000. As to the former, the scholiast says that the 700 wives were only favourites while others were not. The number can never be fixed. It must vary according to dismissals or new arrivals—both of which were usual. As to comparisons, we may note that Abdul Fazl speaks of 'more than 5000 women comprising the *zenana* of Akbar, the Great Moghal'... *Ain-i-Akbari*, Blockman's Trans. I, p. 44.
7. J., VI, p. 220.
8. Hopkins, *op. cit.*, 13, p. 118.
9. *Cf.* J. VI, p. 220 : Aśoka had at least two chief queens and a large harem both at the capital and provinces. See *Pillar Edict* VII "*mama cheva devinaṁ cha savasī cha me olodhanasi*" Mookerji, *Aśoka*, p. 242. See Bhandarkar, *Aśoka*, pp. 12-4.
10. J., V, p. 259-G. 54 ; also VI, p. 160-1.
11. J., III, p. 21; I, pp. 398, 421. *cf.* proverb in Gujarāti : "*rājāne gamī te rāṇi, chāṇā vinatī āṇī*, *i.e.*, whomsoever the king likes, she is the queen as the one brought while picking cowdung.

sidered was, that "she must be unmarried (*avāvatā*)." He dared not take any who had her husband living.[1] The post of the Chief Queen does not seem to be permanently reserved for one and the same only. It must depend on the fancy of the king.[2] The rivalries and jealousies of co-wives in the harem did exist.[3]

The harem was, necessarily, a great source of danger to the king and was therefore carefully guarded, of course by eunuchs and hunch-backed old men.[4] The women themselves were often corrupt and immoral to a degree. The inner affairs were not only an unhappy strain on the mind of the king, but had serious repercussions on the affairs of the state, resulting in outspoken enmity between neighbouring kingdoms. A king starts to quell a disturbance on the frontiers of his kingdom, and at the request of his chief queen sends one messenger at the end of every league to let the queen know how he is and to find out how she fares. The queen, out of her insatiate passion, 'sins' with every one of the messengers and then tries to allure the royal chaplain who is sufficiently "strong" to check her temptation. The chaplain tells the whole story to the king and discloses the wickedness of the queen. The king orders all the messengers to be beheaded. But the chaplain comes forward with a passionate appeal in their behalf : "Nay, Sire, the men are not to blame ; for they were constrained by the Queen. Wherefore pardon them. And as for the queen she is not to blame, for the passions of women are insatiate, and she does but act according to her inborn nature. Wherefore, pardon her also."[5] Once a courtier intrigues in the harem, but the king is placed in a dilemma : "He is a most useful servant...and the woman is dear to me. I cannot destroy these two." He consults his *paṇḍita-amacca* describing the courtier as a jackal, himself as a lion, and the woman in the harem as a happy lake...sheltered at the foot of a lonely hill'.[6] The Counsellor gives this advice :

"Out of the mighty river all creatures drink at will :
If she is dear, have patience—the river's a river still."[7]

Elsewhere[8] a courtier, himself guilty of such an offence, reports to the king about the mischievous behaviour of his servant:

"There is a man within my house, a zealous servant too :
He has betrayed my trust, O King, say what am I to do ?"

The king replies :

"I too a zealous servant have : and here he stands indeed.
Good men, I trow, are rare enow : so patience is my reed."[9]

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1. J., II, p. 122 ; V, p. 213.
2. *e.g.*, J., V, pp. 95, 44, 443-4.
3. J., V, pp. 21.
4. J. IV, p. 105, VI, pp. 435, 502-G. 1828
5. J., I. pp. 437--40.
6. J., II, p. 126-G. 85.
7. *Ibid.* G. 86.
8. J., II, pp. 206-7.
9. *Ibid.* GG. 148-9.

The king had under such circumstances to pocket the affront of the intriguers.

The lovely queen Kinnarā misbehaves herself daily with a crippled, loathesome "ghost of a man" lying in the shade of the rose-apple tree down near the palace itself. The king—Kandari—comes to know about this, and orders her to be beheaded. But the Chaplain, here also, comes with his worldly knowledge, saying "All women are just the same. If you are anxious to see how immoral women are, I will show you their wickedness and deceitfulness." He does show it, and the king pardons her but throws her away out of the palace.[1]

The *Kuṇāla Jātaka*[2] furnishes such other examples apparently historical —of queens misbehaving themselves—Kaṇhā,[3] Kākāṭī,[4] and the fairhaired Karuṅgavī.[5] The woman of surpassing beauty—Sussoṇḍī—the chief queen of Benares, falls in love with a Garuḍa king who comes to play at dice with the Benares king and flies away with him.[6] Even the son of a royal priest has illicit connections with the chief-queen. Here the king himself grants permission to the priestly youth to enjoy her for seven days, but then, both of them abscond. The king after great mental sickness is brought to reconcile himself to his fate. And so he says : "If she loved me she would not forsake her kingdom and flee away ; what have I to do with her when she has not loved me but fled away?"[7] A bold utterance of a true champion of free love indeed ! A more pathetic and a ghastly scene, is portrayed in the *Parantapa Jātaka*.[8] The king flees away from his kingdom with his queen, his household priest and a servant, Parantapa, when attacked by a hostile king. They make a hut of leaves on a river-bank in a wood and live there. The queen, taking advantage of loneliness, sins with the servant and to escape danger she asks him to do away with the king. "If the king knows, neither you nor I would live : kill him." "In what way?" asks the guilty servant. Replies she : "He makes you carry his sword and bathing-dress when he goes to bathe : take him off his guard at the bathing-place, cut off his head and chop his body to pieces with the sword and then bury him in the ground." The ghastly deed is accomplished. Another passionate queen seizes the hands of her stepson, when he comes to take her leave to go and receive his father returning from a frontier expedition, and invites him to enjoy the bliss of love. The prince is adamant. "Mother, my mother you are, and you have a husband living ; such a thing was never before heard of, that a woman, a matron, should break the moral law in the way of fleshly lust. How can I do such a

1. J., V, pp. 437-40 and *gāthā* 308. The pathetic episode of the Kandari-Kinnarā is seen represented on one of the railings of the great Barhut Stupa : See Cunningham, *Stūpa of Barhut*, p. 134, plates, xiv, 2, LIV, 37.
2. J., V, pp. 424-431.
3. *Ibid.* pp. 424-7, and G. 288.
4. Related in full in J., III, pp. 90-2, GG. 105-8.
5. J., V, pp. 428-31.
6. J., III, pp. 187-90.
7. J., III, pp. 337-41.
8. J., III, pp. 417-21.

deed of pollution with you?"[1] Even an *Uparāja* is seen intriguing in the harem of the king—his own brother—and fleeing away for fear of punishment.[2] These and such other instances seem to show that the "inner politics of the harem are often corrupt and polluted." As to their diabolical repercussions on the 'inter-state relations' we may only remind ourselves of several instances of the traditional rivalry of Kāsī and Kosala. There we saw how the guilty minister of the one went over to the side of the other and fomented bitter enmity between the two.

After all is said about the harem, we must not be too much obsessed with the idea that those pictures represent perfectly unbiassed and truthful accounts of the court-life of those days. There is, as Sen[3] remarks, a definite propaganda behind some of these legends. We may still be permitted to hold that the standard of morality was decidedly low. The instances given above must have been developed from a kernel of truth.[4]

On the general position or status of the queens in the royal household or in society, there is not much to be said. Of the little that is here and there given out, we shall speak while dealing with the position of women in general.

ROYAL CHARITIES.

We may now notice a somewhat pleasanter aspect of Court-life. It is Royal Charity which was practised on a lavish scale. Numerous are the instances where we observe generous kings bestowing bountifuls to the poor, distressed and beggars. A king of Benares builds "six halls of Bounty, one at each of the four gates, one in the midst of the city and one before the palace; and everyday he distributes in gifts six hundred thousand pieces of money.[5] So are other kings.[6] Especially of interest is the royal reverence towards wandering ascetics, the *paribbājakas* who receive very warm welcome. The king sees a venerable ascetic from his window, comes down and leads him to a dais and seats him upon the throne under a white umbrella. His own food he gives him to eat and himself eats of it. He then takes him to the royal park, causes a covered walk and a dwelling to be made for him and furnishes him with all the necessaries of an ascetic during his stay there in the rainy season.[7] These charitable activities of the king must have gone a long way to win the loyalty of the subjects and enhance his prestige. No wonder, that Aśoka, following his predecessors, was so enthusiastic over the distribution of bounties and appointed *Dhamma-Mahāmattas* to carry on the work of charity amid all sects and classes of men.[8]

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1. J., IV, p. 190.
2. J., IV, p. 79. *Cf.* also J, .III, p. 392, where even the queen mother falls in love with the *purohita*.
3. *Op. cit.*, p. 86.
4. *Cf.* *Arthaśāstra*, I, 20, where Kauṭilya cites some historical instances of the dangerous women queens murdering their husbands. presumably, through some intrigue: "He shall keep away," says he, "his wives from the society of ascetics with shaved head or braided hair, of buffoons and of outside prostitutes. Nor shall women of high birth have occasion to see his wives, except appointed midwives."
5. J., II, p. 118.
6. J., IV, pp. 176, 355, 361, 402; V, p. 162; VI, p. 42, *etc.*
7. J., II, p. 316; also II, pp. 273 *ff*; III, pp. 79 *ff*; IV, p. 444, *etc.*
8. See *Pillar, Edict*, VII. Mookerji, *op. cit.*, pp. 241-2.

We pass on to the final stage in the life of the king. The *Jātaka* kings often seem to follow the long-standing tradition of relinquishing the throne when they attain a certain age, in favour of their sons, and retiring to the forest to lead a life of penance and prayer. The appearance of "Grey Hair" on the king's head is frequently[1] the '*ārammaṇaṁ*' the cause of abdicating the throne. Sometimes the kings have a keen desire to see their sons rule the kingdom and then they hand over the charge and retire.[2] Again it is not infrequent that they scorn worldly pleasures and yearn for a hermit's life. Even young princes are seen in ascetic moods not caring for the throne that is given to them.[3] There is a tremendously pathetic strain in the *gāthās* of the *Culla-Sutasoma Jātaka*[4] which reproduce the feelings of the near and dear of the king who is about to turn a hermit. The protest, the arguments, the beseechings, gleaned through the *gāthās*, have a remarkable resemblance to those contained in the Great Epic, in the interesting discussion that follows on the desire of King Yudhiṣṭhira to give up royal life and turn a hermit, eminently summarized by Prof. Hopkins in his well-known essay.[5] However, the custom generally did prevail. We have perhaps, if we believe the traditions, historical examples of Candragupta Maurya and Aśoka following this time-honoured custom.[6]

ABDICATION.

III

THE CHARACTER OF MONARCHICAL RULE.

The foregoing details, which must have grown tiresome by now, give us a faint vision of the man who was at the helm of the state and Society of the *Jātaka* times, the most important limb of the body-politic.

Now we examine his powers and prerogatives, limitations and checks to his autocracy if any, the peoples' voice and their power.

The king of the *Jātakas* was a despot, despot in the sense that he was free to exercise his will and pleasure.

The king was the highest personage in the state. He was absolutely necessary. All the circumstances we noticed before, *viz.*, the dire necessity of a king, the people's anxiety to perpetuate the line, the traditional high status of the king, all these would, naturally, force the people to repose confidence in him and not to interfere with his doings, so long as they did not vitally affect them. But to idolize him was never their attempt. They were not merely

1. J., I, p. 138; III, p. 393—G. 114; V. pp. 177 *ff*.
2. J., II, p. 279; IV, pp. 96, 492, 495.
3. J., III, p. 31; IV, pp. 119, 121-2, 492.
4. J., V, pp. 177 *ff*. GG. 192-241.
5. *J.A.O.S.*, p. 13, p. 179-81.
6. See Dikshitar, *op. cit.*, pp. 88-9.

submissive, as their frequent risings will show.[1] The tyrant was not always tolerated.

IDEAL.

The picture of an Ideal king we have already seen before. The ten royal duties and other moral virtues were there. But the typical king of the *Jātakas* does not appear to be prone to act according to them.[2] It is the other and opposite picture that we have frequently to see through the stories.

We do not think there is any misstatement, it may be overstatement, of facts, when a *Jātaka*[3] speaks of a king thus : "With taxes and fines, and many mutilations and robberies, he crushed the folk as it were sugar-cane in a mill ; he was cruel, fierce, ferocious. For other people he had not a grain of pity ; at home he was harsh and implacable towards his wives, his sons and daughters, to his Brahmin courtiers and the householders of the country. He was like a speck of dust that falls in the eye, like gravel in the broth, like a thorn sticking in the heel." Instances of such oppressive rulers are not rare. An oppressive king sucks the country dry of all wealth.[4] By relying on the words of his wicked queen an arrogant monarch kills the prince by casting him down the precipice, heels head first, inspite of lamentations, entreaties and even moral arguments of the people, the courtiers and the women.[5] He even dares to say :

"One side the whole world stands, my queen on the other all above ;
Yet her I cleave to : cast him down the hill, and get you gone."

Another capricious tyrant takes a dislike for all old things and makes a cruel sport of old men and women who have therefore to leave his kingdom.[6] A king falls in love with the wife of a hermit. "Well", thinks he, "if I seize her by my sovereign power (*issariya balena*) what will he do ? I will take her then". And he orders one of his suites to carry her away to the palace, inspite of her complaints and cries that lawlessness and wrong were the world's way.[7]

POPULAR OPINIONS

These and similar instances leave no doubt as to the general autocracy prevailing among the kings. In this connection it would be interesting for our purpose to note some of the popular opinions about the King expressed in the stories. There is no one, so we hear, who does not feel afraid when he hears that it is a king.[8] Amongst the two—the fowler and the bird Bodhisatta-

1. *Cf*. Dicey, *Law and Custom of the Constitution*, p. 74 ; "....but in any State, however despotic the ruler, there is but limited readiness on the part of his subjects to obey his behests." N. S. Subbarao, *Political and Economic Conditions as Described in the Jātakas*, p. 24.
2. *Cf*. Fick, *op. cit.*, p. 100 : "....the king shows a double face in the *Jātakas*, which is to be traced to the Buddhistic account of the original legends.
3. J. II, p. 240.
4. J., IV, p. 224.
5. J., IV, pp. 193-4-GG. 61-7.
6. J., II, pp. 142-3.
7. J., IV, pp. 23-4. "*adhammo loke vattati ayuttaṁ*".
8. J., VI, p. 85—"*Rājā'ti paṇa vutte abbāyento nāma natthi.*"

the former, an experienced man, saying that "Kings, verily are fickle-minded (*calacittā*)" is to our mind, more correct than the latter, a protagonist of Law and Morality, who says that "Kings are wise and understand goodly words".[1] Similarly the hunter of the *Rohantamiga Jātaka*[2] and the *Hamsa Jātaka*,[3] who sets a stag free, seems to pronounce a fact when he says that "Kings are cruel," *rājāno nāma kakkhalā*. Is it an exaggeration—what a man utters in a *gāthā* in the *Sattigumbha Jātaka*[4]: "Kings are like blazing bonfires and most perilous to come near"? Elsewhere[5] a sage warns his young novice against sovereign lords whom he compares with snakes which may stain holy men. The experienced old lion speaks out a simple truth that "Kings have many stratagems" *anekamāyā rājāno.*[6] "Hard are the ways of kings: what will happen no one can tell," these are the utterances of a learned minister of a king.[7] The characteristically sound advice given by Vidhura to those who aspire to attain honour in the kings court[8] we may doubt, and incline to dismiss it as ideological only, but some of the home-truths therein embodied are worth our consideration. For instance, when he says that "the king does not count as a common person: the king must not be paired with anyone else: kings are easily vexed as the eye is hurt if touched by a barley-awn,"[9] does he not utter the truth as already shown above? "Win favour in the eyes of the Great (*i.e.*, the king) for one day: it is enough for a life-time," so remarks a learned scholar of the type of Uddālaka.[10] What wonder, then, if the king should become so bold as to say, "I am king of Benares: there is nothing I cannot do."[11]

POPULAR REVOLTS.

As a matter of fact, we cannot reconcile ourselves with the idea[12] that kings of the *Jātakas* are *not* arbitrary. But we do recognise the fact that the people of those days did not always tolerate, or acquiesce in, the arbitrary or autocratic and despotic deeds of the kings. We have several instances of the powerful risings of the whole people against wicked and unjust kings. Fierce and cruel and like grit in the eye to all folk in his princely days, a king has to suffer severe punishment at the hands of the people for his unjust deeds. "Filled with indignation," says the story, "the nobles and brahmins and all classes (*Khattiya-Brāhmaṇāadayo nagaravāsino*) with one accord cried out,

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1. J. V. pp. 345, 365—"*Rājāno nāma Calacittā....*" and "*Rājāno nāma puññavantā ca paññāvantā ca subhāsitadubbhāsitaññu.*" *Cf.* "....even as water is the refuge of the people, so also is it with kings. If danger arises from them, who shall avert that danger?"—J., III, p. 508.
2. J., IV, p. 419.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 427.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 432-G. 144. "*durāsadā hi rājāno aggi pajjalito yathā.*"
5. J., IV, p. 223-G. 50.
6. J., III, p. 322.
7. J., VI, p. 381—"*rājakammāṇi nāma bhariyāṇi, na ñāyati kiṁ bhavissati.*"
8. J., VI, pp. 292-98-GG. 1266-1309.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 294-G. 1281.
10. J., IV, p. 299. Similar are the words: "by once conciliating kings a man may live happily all the years of his life" put in Setaketu's mouth at J., III, p. 235.
11. J., III, p. 325—Contrast the utterance of the Gandhāra king before the *Yakkha* lady, J., I, p. 398.
12. *Cf.* Sen, *op. cit.*, p. 72.

'This ungrateful king does not recognise even the goodness of this good man who saved his majesty's life. How can we have any profit from the king? Seize the tyrant." And in their anger they rush upon the king from every side, and slay him there and then, as he rides on his elephant, with arrows and javelins, stones and clubs and any weapons that come to hand. The corpse they drag by the heels to a ditch and fling it in and then anoint their chosen person to kingship.[1] In another place[2] an interesting scene is witnessed. A Brāhmaṇa youth has discovered that it is the king himself and his priest who have stolen and concealed a precious treasure. He declares the king a 'thief' and sounds a stirring appeal to the people assembled there :—

> "Let town and country folk assembled all give ear,
> Lo! water is ablaze. From safety cometh fear.
> The plundered realm may well of king and priest complain;
> Henceforth protect yourselves, your refuge proves your bane."

The people realize that the king who should protect them is himself a thief and determine to kill him, 'that he may not in future go on plundering any more.' With sticks and hammers they go out and beat the king and the *purohita* till they are dead. The Brāhmaṇa youth is then proclaimed king. Elsewhere[3] the people are seen putting the priest to death and then hurrying with sticks and stones to kill the tyrant king himself in a fit of frenzied glee. It is only with 'divine' intervention that the king's life is spared. He is driven out of the city and thrown into an outcaste settlement. Similarly when the people of a country find that their king has developed cannibalistic tastes they at once stir in revolt. They approach the commander-in-chief and ask, "What do you propose to do? How will you proceed now? You have caught the man-eating rogue? If he does not give it up, have him expelled from his kingdom." Now they would not suffer the king to say a word. They expel him.[4] Last, but not the least, we have an instance of a king having been slain under similar circumstances. The king is lustful, comes across a lovely maiden—Sujātā—the wife of a peaceful villager, and desires to catch hold of her. But on coming to know that the woman is not unmarried, and therefore not easy to get at, he indulges in a savage misuse of his royal power, has the husband arrested on a false charge of theft, and sentences him to capital punishment. Sakka, 'the people's god' comes to their rescue. He drags the king to the place of execution. When the servants lift the axe and chop off a head—it is the king's head. The *Bodhisatta* is consecrated king amidst the loud approval of the ministers, the Brāhmaṇas, the *gahapatis* and others.[5]

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1. J., I, p. 326.
2. J., III, pp. 513-4.
3. J., VI, pp. 156, *ff.*
4. J., V, pp. 470. *ff.*
5. J., II, pp. 122-4. Sen, *op. cit.*, p. 67, remarks: 'The advent of Sakka is a mythical element in the story—...Sakka is only a name to conjure with, symbolising divine approval of the great revolution, which was the triumph of the people's innate sense of justice and also indicating the profound religious basis underlying the duties of a sovereign."

Undoubtedly the *'vox populi'* was as resonant with revolt as it could then possibly be.

How stubborn and demanding are the Sivi-folk of the *Vessantara Jātaka* ?[1] The prince had given away a dearly-prized elephant to the Brāhmaṇas of Kaliṅga. That was his fault in the eyes of the people. And they gather together and ask for an explanation of the prince's conduct:

"The prince and Brahmin, Vesiya and Ugga great and small,
Merchants and footmen, charioteers and soldiers, one and all,
The country landowners, and all the Sivi folk come by,
Seeing the elephant depart, thus to the king did cry:
'Oh Sañjaya, the people's friend, say why this thing was done
By him, a prince of our own time, Vessantara, thy son ?'[2]

and

The bidding of the Sivi people if you refuse to do,
The folk, then will act, methinks, against your son and you."[3]

The king proposes to sacrifice his throne rather than 'a trueborn son of his', but the people demand:

"Not chastisement doth he deserve, nor sword, nor prison cell,
But from the kingdom banish him, on Vaṅka's mount to dwell."[4]

and the king replies:

"Behold the people's will! and that I will not gainsay."[5]

And even banishment was to be awarded by the people:

"Together let the people come and banish him away."[6]

How meek does the king appear here! and how bold the people!

There is another instance which is highly valued by scholars as showing the limited prerogatives of the king. We refer to the *Telapatta Jātaka* where a *Yakkhiṇī*—an ogress—wife requests the king to hand over to her absolute mastery over his subjects. The king replies: "Sweetheart, I have no power over those that dwell throughout my kingdom; I am not their lord and master. I have only jurisdiction over those who revolt or do iniquity. So I cannot give you power and authority over the whole kingdom."[7] How far is this statement true ? Was the king's authority so much limited in reality ? We do not think it was. Instances that we have noticed before speak quite

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1. J., VI, pp. 489-93.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 490-GG. 1714-21.
3. *Ibid.*, G. 1722.
4. J., VI, p. 491, G. 1726.
5. *Ibid.*, G. 1727—"*Eso ca Sivinaṁ chando chandaṁ na panudāmase.*"
6. *Ibid.*, G. 1728. "*Samaggā Sivayo hutvā raṭṭhā pabbājayantu taṁ.*"
7. J., I, p. 398—'*Bhadde mahyam Sakalaraṭṭhavāsino na kiñci honti, nāhaṁ etesaṁ sāmiko, ye pana rājānaṁ kopetvā akattabbaṁ karonti tesaṁ nevāhaṁ sāmiko ti iminā kāraṇena na sakkā tubhyaṁ sakalaraṭṭhe issariyaṁ ca āṇañca dātuṁ.*"

to the contrary. Whether or not he was the lord and master of his subjects, we may not discuss, for that is all theory. But when the king denies his right of transferring the 'power and authority over his people to another, he may be reminded of many other princes who freely give away that power without any sense of hesitation or any fear of inflicting a blow on the rights of the people'.[1] The king in the *Brahmadatta Jātaka*,[2] for instance, is prepared to make over his kingdom to an ascetic. In another *Jātaka*[3] the king gives away the half of his kingdom to a horse-dealer. Elsewhere[4] we find the king giving away his kingship to the *purohita* with whom the queenmother was in love. Another king lays his kingdom at the feet of a Bodhisatta [5] who however refuses it. In another story the king actually divides the kingdom with a jolly poor fellow and the two rule in harmony and friendship.[6] These instances are sufficient to show that there was nothing, moral or otherwise, that could come in the way of the king transferring his power to anybody he liked. In fact the rule of a country by two kings—*Dvairājya*—did exist as Kauṭilya shows.[7] So that the above statement cannot be taken as pointing to the real state of affairs, and we demur in attaching so great an importance to this passage as scholars[8] have done. As a matter of fact, the evidence is inconclusive. The situation is rather anomalous. From what we saw above, it would be, more or less, nearer the truth if we conclude that the king was, as a general rule, autocratic, having no substantial constitutional checks whatsoever,[9] and that this autocracy varied according to individual kings. This is the impression that lasts on our mind after everything is considered.[10]

THE KING AND ADMINISTRATION.

The foremost duty with which the king was enjoined by the 'Law' was the protection of the people. We see him frequently engaged in wars and frontier-rebellions.[11] There he is the leader of the host. The Commander-in-Chief was, of course, there. But in times of grave disturbance he yielded the command to the king.[12]

1. This is recognised by Sen, *op. cit.*, pp. 71-2.
2. J., III, p. 80; also *ibid.*, p. 353.
3. J., II, p. 291.
4. J., III, p. 392.
5. J., I, p. 486.
6. J., III, pp. 448-9—"*Rājā rajjaṁ dvidhā bhinditvā tassa upaddharajjaṁ dāpesi*;" also *ibid.*, p. 11, which, by the way, gives us to know that on such occasions the king would gather the councillors and throw a thread of a pure vermilion across the white umbrella and then hand over the charge of the half of the kingdom to the person concerned.
7. *Arthaśāstra VIII* 2—"*Dvairājyavairājyayoḥ dvairājyamanyopakṣa-dveṣānurāgābhyāṁ parasparasaṁgharṣeṇa vā vinaśyati.*' See for other instances of this rule by two, Jayaswal, *Hindu Polity*, I, pp. 96-7 The exact interpretation of the term *dvairājya* is however open to doubt: N. N. Law, *I. H. Q.*, I, pp 394-5.
8. Jayaswal, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 184-5; Sen, *op. cit.*, p. 70.
9. Sometimes, though, the merits of the *purohita* or other ministers could triumph over the wickedness of the rulers and stop their arbitrary actions, as for instance in J., III, pp. 317 *ff.*
10. Dikshitar puts a strong case for the limited or constitutional monarchy in Mauryan days in his two works: *Hindu Administrative Institutions*, pp. 71-7; *Mauryan Polity*, pp. 90-101; but on the whole it seems that he has been led away more by sentiment than by unfettered search after truth.
11. J., I, pp. 304, 313, 317, 437; II, pp. 74, 96, 208, 274, 315; III, pp. 8, 400, 497; IV, pp. 189, 446; V, p. 135.
12. J., II, p. 413; VI, p. 393.

In times of peace the most prominent work for him was the *administration of justice.* When we shall come to discuss this aspect of administrative machinery, we shall learn that it was not quite a separate department of the state as we understand it to-day. The king is often an original tribunal, and cases directly come before him for decision. He conducted these cases in his court not only as the highest and ultimate judicial authority, as it may seem to us at first sight, but as a direct court of appeal and the nearest legal authority without any intermediate institution. This was the usual custom,[1] though we may well see that he could not have been the whole and the sole judicial authority when the number of cases increased to the extent which we notice in the stories. A regular post of a justice called the *Vinicchaya-amacca* did exist.[2] And besides him, other judges were also appointed by the king.[3] Very often the king is prompted to *summary justice.* An innocent ascetic is arrested, on a false suspicion of theft, and brought before the king, and the latter pronounces the sentence at once without examining the case: "Off with him, impale him upon the stake!"[4] Similarly another innocent man is summarily sentenced to execution by the king.[5] Sometimes it happens, however, that a protest is made from the side of the minister of justice against an unjust judgment of the king.[6] But this had very little influence on the normal royal authority. No exact demarcation can be made as to the cases which must go to the king and which must be decided by the judges. But as a general rule criminal jurisdiction seems, as Fick[7] has rightly observed, to be exclusively exercised by the king. That any person other than the king can pronounce a sentence of death seems to be nowhere mentioned in the *Jātakas.* Serious crimes such as theft, adultery or bodily injury were punished by *rājaññā, i.e.*, by the order of the king.[8] To what extent the person of the king is attached to the administration of justice is beautifully expressed by the following verses :

"The warrior prince takes careful thought, and well-weighed judgment gives:

When kings their judgment ponder well, their fame for ever lives.[9]

and again

"Kings should give punishment with careful measure."[10]

The villagers, though they had their headman to settle disputes, were free to approach the king directly, if they chose to do so.[11]

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1. J., I, pp. 176, 371 ; II, pp. 2, 187 ; III, pp. 105, 232 ; IV, p. 29 ; VI, pp. 31-2 ; contrast Jayaswal, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 155-6 : "The practice of the king hearing original cases must have been given up very early as there is scanty evidence showing that it was ever done in post-Vedic times." His way of reasoning is, nevertheless, worth consideration.
2. J., II, pp. 181 ; III, 105.
3. J., V, p. 229 ; VI, p. 131.
4. J., IV, p. 29.
5. J., I, p. 371.
6. J., III, pp. 104 *ff.*
7. *op. cit.*, p. 112.
8. *Ibid.* and note.
9. J., III, pp. 106-G. 128, 154-G. 5; IV, p. 451-G. 210.
10. J., IV, p. 451-G. 211.
11. J, II, p. 301, for instance.

We are not told what other works of administration the king actually took part in. It appears that he did not take any active part in other branches of administration, as they were independently looked after by the officers nominated for the purpose.

PRIVILEGES.

It may, however, be interesting to note here some of the privileges and powers of the king that devolved upon him through time-old customs—the Common Law of the Land.

GRANTS.

APPOINTMENT.

One of the powers that he enjoyed was the granting of rewards in the form of villages or towns to persons with whom he was pleased.[1] Sometimes these recipients were the Brāhmaṇas,[2] but more often, they were the officers of the state[3] whose was the greater right, politically speaking. This grant of a village (or villages) meant, of course, the right of the revenue thereof. He had the power of appointing[4] and deposing[5] the officers of the state, though their posts were generally hereditary.[6] It was also in his power to increase or decrease the salaries (*vetana*) of the officials of the state.[7]

TREASURE TROVES.

All unclaimed property, whether lost or stolen, movable or immovable, lapsed to the king. A *purohita* and his wife renounce their worldly possessions and turn ascetics. The king is informed about this, and sends men to fetch the money, for "masterless money comes to me," says he.[8] The Gandhāra king sees a lovely lady—a *Yakkhiṇī*—and is enamoured of her. On finding that she has no real husband, he tries to capture her, because "treasure trove is a royal perquisite."[9] Similarly another king, who finds a girl abandoned by her husband, rejoices to get her, because "treasure trove belongs to the crown."[10] However, the rule about the treasure troves is not clear. Contrary to the above instances, we see a farmer appropriating the whole treasure, a bar of gold, which he discovers in the field.[11] Perhaps the law was not so strictly observed, though this royal privilege with conditions is also to be found in the *Dharmasūtras*,[12] and in an elaborate form in Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*.[13] There is a remarkable statement in a *Jātaka*[14] that "horses are king's property," which may only mean, however, that only the kings could keep horses.

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1. J., I, p. 420 ; VI, p. 344. Fick, *op. cit*, p. 210 ; For restrictions on this privilege in other evidences see Jayaswal, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 119-20.
2. J., II, pp. 166, 310 (*brahmadeyaṁ*), 429-G. 117 ; III, p. 229 ; IV, p. 99-G. 24 ; at J., V, p. 350, a fowler is the recipient.
3. J., I, p. 138 ; II, p. 429, G. 117 ; III, p. 105 ; IV, p. 80 ; VI, p. 462-G.1630 ; at VI, p. 344 it is a merchant's son, a would-be counsellor of the king.
4. J., I, p. 354 ; III, p. 206 ; V, p. 229 ; VI, p. 131.
5. J., II, pp. 30, 187, 427; V, p. 134; VI, 131.
6. J., I, pp. 231, 248, 437 ; II, p. 46 ; III, pp. 385, 392, 455 ; V, pp. 210, 383.
7. J., VI, p. 295—G. 1285.
8. J., IV, p. 485—"*assāmikadhanaṁ aṁhākaṁ pāpuṇāti.*" *Cf.* J. VI, 581.
9. J., I, p, 398—"*assāmika bhaṇḍaṁ nāma rājasantakaṁ hoti.*"
10. J. VI, p. 348—"*assāmikabhaṇḍaṁ nāma rañño pāpuṇāti.*"
11. J., I, p. 277.
12. *Gautama*, X, 43 ; *cf. C. H. I.*, I, pp. 246-7.
13. *Arthaśāstra*, III, 5 ; 16 ; IV, 1.
14. J., III, p. 322—"*assā nāma rājabhogā.*"

MILK-MONEY.

Milk-money, or what Hopkins[1] would like to call 'love-offering' with regard to the Epic king, was a royal prerogative. Such presents were received from the people of all sorts, on occasions like the birth of a prince or the coronation ceremony.[2]

TAXES.

Apart from these, the king was entitled to other taxes, tithes and tolls which we shall consider while dealing with Fiscal Administration. These enhanced the royal treasury out of which the palace expenditure was settled.

AMNESTY.

The King could order release of prisoners on special occasions such as the return from Takkasilā[3] or marriage[4] or coronation of a prince[5] or when the king was exceptionally happy,[6] or in cases of emergency.[7]

PROCLAMATIONS.

Proclamations relating to various matters such as restrict orders,[8] non-slaughter of animals,[9] public exhibitions of skill,[10] executions,[11] getting information from the public[12], or holidays[13] were issued by his orders.

The king usually went on his rounds in the city or country in disguise (*aññātakavesena*) to know the real conditions of his subjects.[14] Visitors to the king were to have their coming to be announced,[15] and had to come in decent attire and manners.[16]

WHILE OUT.

While absent from the capital, the king handed over the charge of government to the ministers—whether as a whole or to particular individuals we have no clear proof.[17] Royal seals (*rājamuddikā*) seem to have been in vogue apparently for purposes of sealing letters or parcels sent to state-officers.[18]

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1. *J. A. O. S.*, 13, pp. 90-1. He regards it as being a "survival of the original free *bali* or offering—or a later natural addition to the regular tax, without thought of the antiquity of the custom." See also *Ved. Ind.*, II. p. 62.
2. J., II, 166; III, p. 408; IV, p. 323, VI, p. 42.
3. J., IV, p. 176.
4. J., V, p. 285.
5. J., VI, p. 156.
6. J., VI, p. 327.
7. J., VI, p. 427.
8. J., VI, p. 431.
9. J., III, p. 434.
10. J., II, p. 222, for instance.
11. J., I, p. 500.
12. J., IV, p. 91.
13. J., II, p. 345.
14. J., II, pp. 2, 427; IV, p. 370.
15. J., I, pp. 350, 357 etc.
16. J., IV, p. 393; V, p. 482 *etc.*
17. J., II, p. 2; IV, pp. 283, 370, 408, 437; once to the Queen mother J., VI, p. 75. *Cf.* Hopkins, *op. cit.*, p. 112.
18. J., II, p. 174.

IV

THE *PUROHITA*

Next to the king stood the *Uparāja*—the Viceroy—in the sphere of administration. As however the *Jātakas* do not give us much that is of special importance as regards his position and functions, and whatever is said by them has already been noticed before, we pass over to another and very important official, *viz.*, the *Purohita.*

Fortunately for us, this 'formidable personage' of Ancient India, as Prof. Hopkins[1] has characterised him, has been subjected to a searching examination at the hands of eminent scholars. The institution of the *purohita,* being as old as the Vedic times, if not pre-Vedic, had naturally roused a lively interest in it, sufficient to engage the best talents of scholars to trace its origin and development. Readers are only directed to the eminent summary of these valuable researches given by the learned authors of the *Vedic Index,*[2] and as regards the Epic, to the masterly contribution of Prof. Hopkins on '*The Social and Military Position of the Ruling Caste in Ancient India.*[3] Our task, here, is to present the *Jātaka* evidence on the point which, though, has been more or less fully examined by that talented scholar, Richard Fick,[4] whose inspiring lead has left us under a deep debt of gratitude.

Looking at the general position of the *purohita,* we notice that he was an indispensable companion of the king. His post was often, though not always, hereditary and remained with the same family for generations together.[5] Once the Brāhmaṇas protest against the installation of a young son of the late *Purohita.* "For seven generations," so complains the mother of the boy, "we have managed the elephant festivals from father to son. The old custom will pass from us, and our wealth will all melt away."[6] Sometimes of course new men, who found favour in the eyes of the king, were appointed to the post, presumably removing the old ones.[7]

The *purohita* is a Brāhmaṇa, *par excellence.*[8] Once a king[9] addresses his *purohita* as 'Brāhmaṇa'. The *purohita* headed the Brāhmaṇas on all ceremonious occasions as the *Senāpati* did the courtiers.[10] He was the highly-respected leader of other Brāhmaṇas. When a *purohita* is about to renounce the world, he summons the Brāhmaṇas before him. He asks them, "What will

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1. *J., A. O. S.*, 13, p. 161.
2. *Vedic. Index*, II, pp. 5-8. See also Dikshitar, *Hindu Adm. Inst.*, pp. 114 *ff.*
3. *op. cit.*, pp 151-62.
4. *op. cit.*, pp 164 *ff.* Here also, as in all other aspects of the subject treated by him, the learned scholar has kept the Brāhmaṇic or priestly individual constantly before him which at times, unknowingly though, debars him from an impartial judgment.
5. J., I, p. 437; II, p. 47; III, pp. 392, 400, 455; IV, p. 200—*purohita kulaṁ.*
6. J., II, p. 47.
7. J., III, pp. 194, 337; but a king has four counsellors of *Dhamma* at J., VI, p. 330. Perhaps they were distinct from the *purohita.*
8. J., I, pp. 370; 484; II, pp. 46; 113, III, p. 513-G. 60. *Cf.* Jayaswal, *op. cit.*, II, p. 20: "He symbolises the Brāhmaṇa."
9. J., IV, p. 272; VI, p. 475-G. 1667.
10. J., V, p. 178.

you do?" They reply, "You are our teacher," and they follow him.[1] Even his wife, who must of course be a 'Brāhmaṇī"[2] was also a respected personality amongst the Brāhmaṇa ladies.[3]

ACARIYA

From the origin of his post, the *purohita* has remained a teacher of the king. The *Jātaka purohita* is always the teacher, the *ācariya*, of the king.[4] It often happens that the *purohita* or the preceptor is the teacher of the king in his youthful days, and is appointed to the post when the latter ascends to the throne.[5] But as a rule the post being hereditary as we stated before, the king accepted the old *purohita* or, as it sometimes happened,[6] his son who was his fellow-mate at the University, as his *Ācariya*. The intimacy thus contracted in early days remained also later on, and the two became inseparable companions, both in private and public activities.[7]

Looking now to the varied functions of the *purohita* we at once notice that he is the spiritual and temporal adviser of the king—*atthadhammānusāsako.*[8] The latter is never different from the *purohita* as Fick[9] seems to make out. We have clear references to show that the office of the *purohita* meant that of the 'spiritual and temporal adviser' of the king. "*Sucīrato nāma Brāhmaṇo Purohito Atthadhammānusāsako ahosi,*" so begins a *Jātaka.*[10] Similarly another 'born in the *purohita kula*' became *purohita*, and therefore the spiritual and temporal adviser of the king.[11]

He was one, probably the foremost, of the ministers (*amaccā*).[12] What were his functions is not clearly stated. Sometimes[13] he is styled '*Sabbatthaka*' or do-all-minister, meaning thereby, perhaps, that he advised the king in all matters—spiritual or temporal. And that is why he is a constant companion of the king.[14] Even in travelling he is with the king.[15] The *purohita* was of course a past master in the Vedic lore,[16] and other sciences.[17] The following *gāthās*[18] give a glimpse of this master-scientist:

1. J., IV, pp. 483-4.
2. J., II, p. 46, 113; IV, p. 484; V. p. 127.
3. J., IV, pp. 484-5; he had also more than one wife J. III, p. 391. Once a *purohita* falls in love with a courtesan whom he leaves big with child (IV, p. 298.)
4. J., II, 29, 376; IV, pp. 270, 371; V, pp. 1, 127.
5. J., II, p. 282.
6. J., I, p. 289; IV, p. 473. also III, pp. 31, 392.
7. J., II, 75; III, p. 320.
8. J., I, p. 184; II, pp. 30, 74, 96, 126, 264; III, pp. 317, 342, 400; V, p. 57; VI, p. 131.
9. *Op. cit.*, pp. 144-5; 174.
10. J., V, p. 57; also VI, p. 131.
11. J., III, p. 400—"*purohitakule nibbattitvā....purohitaṭṭhānaṁ labhitvā rañño atthadhammānusāsako ahosi.*"
12 J., II, pp. 96 (*amaccakule*), 127 (*paṇḍitaamacca*) 264; III, p. 317.
13. J., II, pp. 30, 74; Thomas, J. *R. A. S.*, 1914, p. 389; "*Sarvārthacintakaḥ*" of the Epic: *J. A. O. S.*, 13, p. 85.
14. J., IV, p. 272; V, pp. 101-2.
15. J., IV, p. 232.
16. J., II, p. 243; IV, pp. 245-6; *Cf. Matsya* p., 230, 9 "*Śrutivettā Purohitaḥ.*"
17. J., II, pp. 46, 243; VI, p. 475.
18. J., VI, pp. 475-6-GG. 1666-7; *Cf.* Kauṭilya, *Arthaśāstra*, I, p. 9, who places the *purohita* in the front rank of the state officials, demands of him the knowledge of the *Vedas* and the *Vedāṅgas*, and skill in reading portents, providential or accidental among other things: see also a verse from Śukra quoted by Dikshitar, *op. cit.*, p. 127.

"He is clever, knows all omens and sounds.
Skilled in signs and dreams, goings out
and comings in (of the *nakkhattas*) understands
All tokens in earth and air and stars."

Leaving aside these advisory functions and coming to the practical side, we notice that the *purohita* sometimes, and not usually, took part in the administration of justice. In one *Jātaka*[1] he is represented as a 'backbiter greedy of bribes and a giver of unrighteous judgments (*Kūṭavinicchayiko kuṭattakārako*).' Here we are told that the study of the Holy lore was the rightful and delightful duty of the *purohita*, but that to sit on the seat of judgment was an unusual task handed to him by the king. So he utters at the end :

"Once in holy lore delighting I in sinful toils was cast,
Working evil for my neighbour, through the lengthening years
I passed."[2]

Elsewhere[3] also his appointment as a judge is only due to the fact that the king has a high opinion of his wisdom (*paṇḍito ti vinicchaye misīdāpesi.*) Here again his character as fond of bribes is revealed. He is used to dispossess the real owners and put the wrong owners in possession, thus thwarting the high ideal of justice so frequently preached in the *Jātakas*. This *purohita*-judge once gives a wrong judgment and the defeated man approaches the prince-viceroy who rectifies it, upon which the king dismisses the *purohita* from his office and places the *Kumāra* on it instead.[4] In another instance[5] he is represented in a better light. Here it is the *Senāpati* who conducts cases and is a bad judge, and a defeated man approaches the *purohita*, who reverses the judgment and the king being pleased with him appoints him to judgeship to try all law-suits from that time so that "it will be a joy for my ears and prosperity for the world." These instances, stray though they are, would be sufficient to indicate the nature of his function as a judge. The *purohita* becoming a judge, was not a usual affair.[6]

For other functions of the *purohita*, we have no clear proof. Guarding of the king's treasures seems to have been one of his duties, if we can believe

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1 J., V, pp. 1, 2, 10.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 10—G. 31.
3. J., VI, p. 131.
4. J., VI, "*vinicchayaṁ kumārassa adāsi.*"
5. J., II, pp. 186 *ff*.
6. Contrast Javaswal, *op. cit.*, II, p. 153. "In the *Jātakas* we have the *Purohita* politician and Brahmin ministers as embodiments of political wisdom and moral rectitude. To this class belonged the judges.... The Brahmin for the *Dharma* administration was thus absolutely necessary. We find this jurisdiction being exercised by the *Purohita* in the *Jātakas*. He at the same time heard and decided, sitting along with other officers (probably non-Brāhmaṇas) cases of secular law. Law proper and law ecclesiastical in administration tended to unite into one and unite in the hand of the Brahmin judge. And the Brahmin was fairly above the influence of the king." How these remarks fall wide of the mark as far as the *purohita*-judge of the *Jātakas* is concerned, can well be judged from the above discussion. The difference is self-evident.

in the words which he utters when arrested by the king's servants on a false charge of misbehaviour. "Bring me into the king's presence before you slay me," so he prays, "because as the king's servant (*rājakammiko*), I have toiled greatly on the king's business, and know where great treasures are hidden.... and I have the interests of the royal family at my heart (*rājakuṭumbaṁ mayā vicāritaṁ*).[1] If I am not brought before the king, all his wealth will be lost."[2]

Sometimes, he is shown as settling the prices with dealers and merchants like the horse-dealers from the North.[3] Even here, if he did not act to the pleasure of the king, he was deposed and another '*amacca*' was appointed for the work, though his status as an adviser did not diminish at all, and he might again capture his former office.[4] Such was the irregular, uncertain and vague nature of administrative affairs in those days when the king was anything and everything.

The *purohita's* character as a Brāhmaṇa is seldom, if ever, lost sight of in the stories. If they represent truth, and there is no reason to doubt, he, being a Brāhmaṇa, was greatly a lover of wealth, a greedy fellow. Fick[5] is right in asserting that 'a position of worldly power was neither necessarily connected with his office as house-priest nor determined by proper regulations; the political power of the *purohita* was purely individual and had its source wholly and solely in the personal influence which he obtained over the king through his function as sacrificer and magician." On occasions like the consecration of a king, he is the leader of the officers of the state as we saw before. At one place[6] he is the performer of a festival called *Hatthimaṅgalaṁ* a royal elephant festival...And this was a lucrative performance, since all the trappings and appointments, the entire jewellery, of the elephants which came into the place of festival, fell to the lot of this performer by right. By this means he gained as much as ten millions (*koṭi*) at each festival. This may have been a hereditary office as indicated in the story.

Not only this, but as some of the stories tell, his greed of wealth carries him to the depth of moral degradation which is unworthy of such a man. A sacrifice is proposed by the Brāhmaṇas to avert some calamities foretold for the king; one of the pupils of the *purohita* comes to his *ācariya* and mildly asks, "Master, you have taught me the three *Vedas*. Is not there a text that says 'the slaying of one creature giveth not life to another?' " The Master replies, "My son, this means money to us, a great deal of money. You only seem anxious to spare the king's treasury.... Only hold your peace."[7]

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1. This sentence seems to have been left untranslated by Chalmers, the English Translator of Cowell's edition.
2. J., I, p. 439.
3. J., II, p. 31—"*asse agghāpetvā mūlaṁ aparihāpetvā dāpesi.*"
4. *Ibid.*
5. *Op. cit.*, p. 175.
6. J., II, p. 46. The office of the elephant-trainer should be clearly distinguished from this ceremonial functionary.
7. J., I, p. 343; III, p. 45; also III, pp. 159 *ff. Cf.* the succinct but beautiful remarks of Hopkins as regards the Epic *purohita*: "In the latest portion it is pitiful to see the degradation of the priest. He grovels for gifts. His rapacity breaks every barrier that morality, religion, and philosophy had striven to raise between his soul and the outer world. He becomes a mere 'periculorum proemiorumque ostentator' ": *op. cit.*, 158.

As if all these presents were not enough, the *purohita* seems to have enjoyed a *Bhogagāma*, the revenue of a village.[1] Land may also be given to him, as to priests in general, as sacrificial fee.[2]

It appears from all this, that the functions and the powers of the *purohita* were never so political in nature as advisory and spiritual. Wealth, and not power, seems to have been his innermost desire, and the ultimate goal.

Before we close the discussion on the advisory element of the king, the *purohita*, we may take notice, *en passant*, of another individual named *Kulūpakatāpaso*, who was a hermit and a wanderer and whom the king respected with all earnestness and sincerity in order to receive instruction from him, and thus acquire the merit which leads to heaven (*saggasaṁvattanikaṁ puññaṁ*)."[3]

V

THE MINISTERS

The next element of the Central administration was constituted by the ministers and the Council. It is rather disappointing to learn that the *Jātakas* do not give us any clear idea about the ministers, the Councillors, the assembly or the Court,—institutions which have played, since the dawn of history, a considerable part in the actual working of the administration of the State. There have been plenty of discussions and arguments, views and counter-views, as to the meaning and real significance of the *sabhā* and *samiti* of the Vedic times, or the *mantri pariṣad* of later days, and of the words *amātya mantrin* and *saciva* and even the so-called *Paurajānapada* bodies.[4] All these leave not a shadow of doubt in our mind that howsoever it may have been in its real nature in different periods, there was some form of a State-Assembly whose members were called the ministers—variously termed according to their functions and portfolios which are, unfortunately, never so clearly stated.

However, let us see what the *Jātakas* have to give us on the point.[5]

ASSEMBLY

First of all, there is no clear evidence in the stories as to the composition and constitution of the administrative council or assembly—corresponding to the *mantripariṣad* of Kauṭilya, let alone the Vedic *samiti*; that a council did exist during this period, there cannot and should not be any doubt in the face of overwhelming

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1. J., III, p. 105; IV, p. 473.
2. J., III, p. 516.
3. J., I, p. 506; II, p. 273. *Cf.* Jayaswal, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 109-14, on the influence of hermits and recluses on politics.
4. For the views of *Vedic* scholars see *Vedic Index*, II, pp. 426-428; 430-1; also Jayaswal, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 11-21; II. pp. 21-2; 60 *ff*; 121; N. N. Law, *I.H.Q.*, II, pp. 385 *ff*; 638 *ff*. *Corporate Life in Ancient India*, pp. 117 *ff*. 132 *ff*. 134, 151 *ff*. 216. Mookerji, *Local Government in Ancient India*, pp. 193 *ff*. Dikshitar, *Hindu Administrative Institutions*, pp. 135-62; for the Epic period, Hopkins, *J. A. O. S.*, 13 *ff*. 99 *ff*; 148 *ff*.
5. We should always keep in mind, while dealing with these stories that they are particularly meant for the simple folk of India of those days for whom it was not possible to dive deep in the grand and multifarious working of the state organisation. If therefore we don't get any clear idea about the various offices, it is because of this popular character of the stories.

evidence gleaned from the *Dharma Sūtras* and other literary works dealing with politics, the *Arthaśāstra*, the Aśoka Inscriptions and the notices of Megasthenes and other foreign writers—all covering a period not very far from that which is covered by the stories.

There are references here and there in our stories to an assembly—*parisā*. No doubt can be entertained on this point. But how far do they go in attaching a constitutional meaning is not quite clear. Scholars[1] have tried to attach this technical meaning to it, and equated it with the *pariṣad* of Kauṭilya[2] and the *parisā* of Aśokan *Edicts*,[3] which clearly mean a 'body of Ministers'. It must be stated that among the several references to *parisā* that we have been able to trace in the *Jātakas*,[4] there is not a single instance where the technical administrative meaning cannot be applied. But the fact of the matter is that, we cannot be too much certain on the point. It may not be unreasonable to infer that the 'council of ministers' of the *Arthaśāstra*[5] was a later development of, and a smaller body than, the *parisā* of the *Jātakas* which seems to be a larger body of ministers.[6] The *Jātaka parisā* was probably an intermediate stage between the *Vedic samiti* and the *Arthaśāstra pariṣad.*[7]

Nothing can be obtained from the stories, even indirectly, as to the constitution or composition of the *parisā* or about the real nature of the business it was entrusted to carry out.[8]

There is no clear indication of the existence of an inner cabinet like that of the *Arthaśāstra*[9] though there is reference in a *gātha*[10] to *mantino*, the *mantrins* (spoken as distinct from the *Mahāmattas*) who according to Jayaswal[11] formed the inner cabinet of the *Arthaśāstra*. Anyway, the exact interpretation of *parisā* is open to question. It is however not improbable that there should have been a smaller advisory board consisting of such ministers, ex-officers, as the *uparājan*, *Senāpati*, *Seṭṭhi* and the *Purohita.*

We may now turn to the general body of ministers—*amaccas*—whose constitutional significance is again never clear.

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1. Jayaswal, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 115 *ff*; Dikshitar, *op. cit.*, pp. 138 *ff*.

2. *Arthaśāstra*, I, 15. He cites opinions of his predecessors—Bṛhaspati, Manu and Uśanas, on the composition of the council.

3. *R. E.*, III; VI. See Mookerji, *Aśoka*, pp. 224, 227.

4. J., II, p. 186 (*atthakāraka parisā*) referring to the council of the judge; III, p. 513; IV, pp. 225 (*rāja parisā*) distinguished from the '*amaccas*' in general, thus indicating the real smaller nature of the body; 394 (*rājaparisā*); 400 G. 51; 414 (*parisā*); 449 (*Kumārassa parisā*) referring to the council of the prince; VI, p. 151 GG. 703-5 (*rājaparisā*).

5. I, 15.

6. *Cf.* Jayaswal, "The tradition of a large *Pariṣad, e.g.*, of 1000 members, is preserved both in Kauṭilya, and in the *Rāmāyana*. Probably this is a reminiscence of the *Vedic Pariṣad*: *op. cit.* II, pp. 132-3; *cf.* Basak, *I. H. Q.*, I, p. 524.

7. *Cf.* Dikshitar, "The institution of *samiti* was not a longlived one. It became practically extinct with the commencement of the period of the *Jātakas* (600 B. C.)": *op. cit.*, p. 156.

8. See for this Jayaswal, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 130 *ff*. Dikshitar, *Mauryan Polity*, pp. 133-4. Mookerji, *Aśoka*, p. 148.

9. Jayaswal, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 128-30

10. J., IV, p. 134 G. 101 "*Mahāmattā ca me atthi mantino paricārakā.*"

11. *Hindu Polity*, I, p. 128.

The ministers formed a class by themseves. In the court of the king they are always distinguished from other classes—the *Khattiyas* and *Brāhmaṇas, gahapatis* and others,[1] This does not mean that no *Khattiya* or a *Brāhmaṇa* could be an *amacca*. It only means that the ministers did not belong to any particular caste. It means that the *amaccakula* was a separate group of people as against the *Brāhmaṇas* and the commoners (*gahapatis*).

It is very probable that these ministers, more or less, corresponded to the nobility or the knightly class around the king. These ministers were, as we are told,[2] "the thousand gallant warriors who would face the charge even of a rut elephant, whom the launched thunderbolt of Indra could not terrify, a matchless band of invincible heroes ready at the king's command to reduce all India to his sway." In the same way the five hundred gallant warriors (*pañcasatamattā mahāyodhā*) of king Seyya were his *amaccas.*[3] The 60,000 noble—looking warriors of King Sañjaya are his ministers, whose sons, again, are the birthmates and would—be ministers of Prince Vessantara.[4] A king, intending to have a retinue for his son, calls the commander-in-chief (*mahāsenagutto*) who seems to be the leader of the ministers,[5] and orders him to find out how many young nobles were born in the ministers' houses on the same day as the prince. 500 young nobles are thus found and nurses are appointed to take care of them[6]. "These nobles," to apply Hopkins's remarks,[7] regarding the epic nobility, "for the most part native and well-born, took part in council, conducted the assembilies, led the army and were the king's vice-regents in all military affairs.... They are the real advisers of the king in all matters not purely judicial or spiritual.[8] For the *Mantrins* or cabinet councillors consist chiefly of these nobles.... All the *sacivas* (comites) may be, and often are, purely military. These are officials of the highest rank, to whom in the king's absence, for instance, all the royal business is left."[9]

The posts of ministers seem to have been generally hereditary, as the term *amaccakulaṁ*, frequently used in the stories,[10] suggests. But exceptions

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1. J., I, pp. 260, 470; II, pp 98, 125; III, pp. 376, 408; IV, pp. 335, 414; VI, p. 43.

2. J., I, pp. 263, 264 "*Samatthā sāhasamattā abhejjavārasūrā mahāyadhā....amaccasahassā*"; also III, pp. 5, 6.

3. J., II, p. 401.

4. J., VI, pp. 579-G. 2373 "*Tato saṭṭhisahassāṇi yudhirocārudassanā*; *Ibid.*, p. 588 *Sahajātā saṭṭhisahassā amaccā*; and G. 2335. *Bhāradvāja.* as quoted by Kauṭilya, is of the opinion that the king should employ his classmates as his ministers "for they can be trusted by him in as much as he has personal knowledge of their honesty and capacity. Other pre-Kauṭilya political thinkers differ. *Arthaśāstra*, I, 8.

5. *Cf.* J., V, p. 178 "*Senāpatipamukhāṇi asītiamaccasahassāṇi.*"

6. J., VI, p. 2 "*Mama puttassa parivārā....amaccakulesu jātadārakā*"

7. *J. A. O. S.*, 13, p. 101 The epic nobility comprised royal allies, family connections, subject kings used to a lesser degree, the priests: *Mittāmacca* is of constant occurrence in the *Jātakas*, as for instance, V, p. 123-G. 40, 178-G. 191, 223 G. 116. VI, p. 94-G. 403.

8. *Cf.* for instance J. IV, p. 335, where the ministers, when asked to interpret a dream, frankly refer the king to the Brāhmaṇas for its solution for they themselves do not know anything about such spiritual things: "The Brāhmaṇas know it, O great king."

9. J., IV, pp. 283, 370, 408, 437.

10. J., I, p. 248; II, pp. 98, 125. Fick remarks on this hereditary character of the ministers, "...and in consequence of this hereditary character to which probably, as in the case of the Khattiyas, a specially developed class consciousness is joined." *op. cit.*, p. 143.

did exist. For instance a very poor man was once appointed by the king to the post of Lord Treasurer.[1]

We must confess that no complete idea can be formed from these stories regarding the status, life and functions of the ministers. Only casual references to them are to be noticed.

Whereas, on the one hand, the courtiers seem to be afraid of the king and do not dare speak ill of him,[2] there are instances, on the other hand, which represent them as alert and watchful over the king lest he may grow slothful, and as ready to rouse him to activity by timely warnings.[3] The ministers were completely at the mercy of the king. If he found them inefficient, or guilty of any wrong, they were dismissed at once.[4] Did we not hear of such dismissed ministers joining the services of neighbouring kingdoms and planning destruction of their former masters ? In spite of their getting equitable salaries,[5] they are wont to fetch bribes.[6] Some of the officers seem to have been so privileged as to wait upon the king without any ceremony (*vinā patihāreṇa upaṭṭhanaṁ anujāni*).[7] Needless to state, that jealousies and unhealthy rivalries among the officers of the Court were there.[8] Often, and specially on the accession of the king, the ministers were inspected and their transfers or dismissals, as it was felt necessary, were carried out.[9] Then, as now, the king received valuable gifts and presents from his officers. To King Kandari of Benares, his ministers daily brought a thousand boxes of perfume.[10] An ascetic, while being received by a king, thus thinks in his mind : "Verily the king's court is full of hatred and abounds in enemies".[11] This remark is substantiated by the treacherous acts of the five ministers who do not see twice in carrying out their hedious plans against the poor ascetic who had superseded them in the Court. Finally they are found out and punished. The king "stripped them of all their property and, disgracing them in various ways, by fastening their hair into five locks, by putting them into fetters and chains, and by sprinkling cowdung over them, he drove them out of his kingdom."[12] Such a state of affairs does not seem to be impossible or even improbable, looking to the tendencies of the time.

1. J., I, p. 124.
2. J., II, p. 2.
3. J., III, p. 140; also II, pp. 175-7 ; III, pp. 102-4. See *I. H. Q.*, IX, p. 247. On the views of Hindu writers as to the necessity of having ministers see Basak, *I. H. Q.*, I, pp. 528 *ff*.
4. J,. I,, pp. 262, 355.
5. J., IV, p. 134-G. 100 (*bhattavetanaṁ*); V, p. 128 (*paribbayaṁ*) ; VI, p. 295-G. 1285 (*vetanaṁ*). No definite amount is mentioned. Kauṭilya gives a grand civil list where the allowances range from 60 to 48,000 *paṇas per annum* : See *Arthaśāstra*, V, 3 ; Jayasvwal, *Op. cit.*. II, pp. 135-6 ; Dikshitar, *Hindu Adm. Instit.*, pp. 192-3 ; *Mauryan polity*, pp. 150-1.
6. J., II, p. 186 ; V, pp. 1, 229 ; VI, pp. 131 ; 430.
7. J., VI, p. 345.
8. J., II, pp. 88, 186 *ff* ; III, p. 400 ; IV, p. 197.
9. J., III, p. 239. "*Amaccānaṁ ṭhānantarāṇi vicāretvā.*"
10. J., V, p. 437.
11. J., V, p. 228.
12. *Ibid.*, pp. 228-46.

Qualities and ideals essential on the part of a minister are, here and there, spoken out. A minister must above all be fertile in expedients (*upāyakusalo*).[1] Some of the practical precepts for a king, given in the *Tesakuna Jātaka* and already quoted by us in *extenso* while dealing with kingly duties,[2] may here be recalled, in so far as they appertain to the duties and qualities of ministers. The counsellors must be wise and such as would see the king's interests clearly (*atthassa kovide*), not given to riot and waste and free from gambling and drunkenness.[3] A king hears slanders, without any base, about one of his ministers. He is perplexed how to find out whether a man is friend or foe. Then he is told by his *Paṇḍitāmacca* the sixteen signs by which a 'bad intriguing minister could be easily distinguished from an honest one:'

"He smiles not when you see him, no welcome will he show,
He will not turn his eyes that way, and answers you with 'No.'
Your enemies he honours, he cares not for your friends,
Those who would praise your worth, he stays, your slanderers commends,
No secret tells he to you, your secret he betrays,
Speaks never well of what you do, your wisdom will not praise.
He joys not at your welfare, but at your evil fame,
Should he receive some dainty, he thinks not of your name,
Nor pities you, nor cries aloud—"O, had my friend the same"
These are the sixteen tokens by which a foe you see,
These, if a wise man sees or hears, he knows his enemy."

The opposite signs were to be found in a righteous and steadfast minister.[4]

The *Vidhura Paṇḍita Jātaka*[5] embodies in many a *gāthā* a remarkable exposition on the qualities and requisites essential for the attainment of success and pre-eminence in the King's Court (*rājavasati*). A grand and minute perception of the court life, with all its good and evil, is revealed here in a marked manner. We cannot resist the temptation of reproducing these maxims, even though in a summary form,—maxims which would be found as sound, practical and weighty as can be found in any other ancient authority such as, for instance, Kauṭilya. Here then is a practical advice for a man aspiring to the King's court:[6]

It is not the coward, nor the foolish man, nor the thoughtless, that can win honour in the King's Court. When a minister first enters the Court he is a stranger, when the king finds out his moral qualities (*sīla*) his wisdom (*paññā*) and his purity of heart, then he may gain confidence and a chance to push for-

1. J., III, p. 3.
2. *Supra*, pp. 81-2.
3. J., V, pp. 116—GG. 16-7.
4. J., IV, pp. 197, 8—GG. 77-87. *Cf.* the qualities and qualifications of persons who were eligible for consultation by a king, *MHB. Śānti Parva*, 83,35-40 and 41-7; also *Manu* vii. 54: See Dikshitar, *Hindu Adm. Instt.* pp. 149-50.
5. J., VI, pp. 292-98 GG. 1264-1309.
6. A summary of this is also given by Dr. Sen, *op. cit.*, pp. 120-1.

ward. If he is really trustworthy, the king will not hide any secrets from him. He must be alert and balanced. When he is asked to carry out some business, like a well-fixed balance, with a level beam, and evenly poised, he must not hesitate; if like the balance, he is ready to undertake every burden, he may dwell in a king's court. He should be ready to undertake any business, whether by day or by night. He should not imitate the king. 'He who sees a path made for the king and carefully put in order for him and refrains from entering himself therein, though advised to do so, he is the one who may dwell in a king's court. He may not enjoy the same pleasures as the king! He may not put on a garment like the King's, nor garlands, nor ointments or ornaments like his. He should not practice a tone of voice like his.' If the king sports with his ministers or is surrounded by his wives, let not the minister make any allusion to the royal ladies. Not arrogant, nor fickle, prudent and possessed of insight and resolution and control over his senses. 'Let him not sport with the king's wives nor talk with them privately; let him not think too much of sleep, nor drink strong drink to excess, nor kill the dear in the king's forest. He should not hastily think of himself a privileged man and an intimate person with the king.' Let him prudently keep not too far from the king, nor yet too near to him. The king is not a common person, is easily vexed. He should not be hasty in his speech. Look for an opportunity. But the king should never be trusted—he is a fire. Be on guard, never criticise his deeds. Do not entertain doubts. The wise man will keep his belly small like the bow, but he will bend easily, like the bamboo. 'Trained, educated, self-controlled, experienced in business, temperate, gentle, careful pure, skilful, such an one may dwell in a king's court.' Let him keep at a distance from a spy sent by a foreign king to intermediate; let him look to his own lord alone, and own no other king. One who is energetic in business, careful and skilful and able to conduct his affairs successfully—such an one may dwell in a king's court. He should not employ or promote a son or a brother who is not steadfast in virtue. "Let him employ in offices of authority (*ādhipaccaṁ*) servants and agents who are established in virtue and are skilful in business and can rise to an emergency." "Let him know the king's wish, and hold fast to his thoughts and let his action be never contrary to him." "He will rub him with perfumes and bathe him, he will bend his head low when washing his feet; when smitten he will not be angry; and outside the court "he will make his salutation to a jar full of water, offer his reverential greetings to a crow, yea, he will give to all petitioners.. he will give away his bed, his garment, his carriage, his house, his home and shower down blessings like a cloud on all beings."

This is the practical wisdom of a man of court, whosoever he may have been, probably of the pre-Christian era. The complete surrender, humility—or humiliation!—and submission that are inculcated in the above words can never be comprehended in all their implications by those who are brought up in this twentieth century civilization. But the mentality is not at all unfamiliar to those who have had a chance to know the inns and outs of some of the Native States of India of the present day.

CHAPTER III

FISCAL ADMINISTRATION

I

SOURCES OF REVENUE

WHILE WE CANNOT have any clear grasp of the actual working machinery of administration in general, it seems proper to divide it into its main parts *i.e.*, the departments, and notice whatever information can be had with regard to each. With this end in view, we take up in this chapter Fiscal Administration, dealing with sources of revenue, assessment of revenue, tithes and taxes, other sources of income, and expenditure.

Revenue and taxation were, as they are now, the mainstay of the State. From the earliest times this principle, which reflects practice, must have been firmly established. "The legitimate functions of Government," to employ the economic language of Fawcett,[1] "....cannot be performed without incurring a considerable expense. To meet this expense taxation is necessary." Similarly, 'revenue is the condition of the existence of governments'.[2] These are no modern specialities. If Kauṭilya thinks and preaches that "finance is the basis of all activity of the state."[3] and if other Hindu political thinkers of those ancient times agree with him,[4] the condition must be as much true with the period traversed by the *Jātaka* stories, even though there may not be any such clear-cut principles and theories of taxation. As a matter of fact, the *Jātakas* do recognise the utmost importance of the treasury (*Kosa*) and the store-houses (*Koṭṭhāgāra*).[5]

LAND-REVENUE

Revenue from land was the chief contribution to the income of the state. Each state or dominion was divided, as we shall see, into three political or administrative units, *viz.*, *gāma nigama* and *janapada.*[6] The general administration of the state was carried on, as will appear, on the lines of a perfectly decentralised state working on the 'devolution of powers.' So, as regards revenue administration also, the system seems to have been like this: As a rule the local official or officials of villages and towns and districts who carried on the civil, judicial and military administration, were also entrusted with the work of collecting the revenue. The central government may however maintain

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1. *Political Economy*, p. 196.
2. Mill, *Principles of Political Economy*, p. 483.
3. *Arthaśāstra*, II, 8, "*kośapūrvāḥ sarvārambhāḥ*"
4. See Dikshitar, *Hindu Adm. Instt.* pp. 167 *ff.* Ganguli, *I. H. Q.*, I, pp. 696 *ff.*
5. J., V, p. 184—GG. 212; also VI, p. 27-G. 112.
6. J., III, pp. 3, 61; IV, p. 169; VI, p. 294-G. 1284, "It cannot be said with any definiteness that the government of the provinces was an innovation of the Mauryas." *Mauryan Polity*, p. 109.

a separate department in this connection, and appoint and despatch from time to time officials for direct collection of the revenue or for co-operating with the local authorities.

Land-tax or the king's share of the land produce (*raññobhāga*) had become the law of the land. This was signified by the title of '*bali*', though differing in its significance from the *Vedic* one.[1] The '*bali*' was usually, though not always, paid in kind.[2] What was the amount of this share of the king, the *Jātakas* never give out.[3] It may however be presumed to have been, as a general rule, the traditional *one-sixth*, as even the Buddhist *Mahāvastu*[4] agrees. Probably the rate varied according to the amount of the produce, the cost of cultivation, the condition of the market and the nature of the soil. This, when the king was just and equitable. Otherwise, it, in a great measure, depended on his whim and pleasure. For at his descretion the *bali* was liable to enhancement[5] or remission.[6] And with what of exhortations to establish *bali* justly,[7] we find, not rarely, instances of oppressive imposition of *bali* by the king,[8] not to speak of the exactions by, and tyrannies of, the tax-collectors (*balisādhakas* or *niggāhakas*) 'whose name passed into a synonym for importunate demand.'[9] Of this oppression, we shall speak later on. What we want to notice at present is, that the rate of land—produced-revenue is not given in the stories.

ASSESSMENT & COLLECTION

Let us now turn to see how the administration of this Land-Revenue was actually carried on. We have, unfortunately, no information whatsoever of the different grades of officials connected with this work, from the village to the kingdom as a whole. No elaborate arrangements and the onerous functions of the *gopa*, *sthānika* and *samāhartā* of Kauṭilya[10] or similar officers of the

1. J., IV, pp. 169, 399 ; V, p. 98; for Vedic meaning see *Vedic Index*, II, p. 62 ; Zimmer, *Altindisches Leben*, pp.166, 167. Kauṭilya also seems to mean by *bali* a different kind of tax, perhaps a religious one as some scholars hold : See Thomas, *J.R.A.S.*, 1909, pp. 466-7 ; The *Rummindei Pillar Inscription* of Aśoka also names '*bali*' and *bhāga* separately ; Mookerji, *op. cit.*, p. 244 ; See also Dikshitar, *Mauryan Polity*, p. 144.

2. J., II, p. 378.

3. Prof. K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar's statement that 'in the *Jātakas* the rate seems to have been from a twelfth to a sixth' is misleading. See *Economic thought*, p. 127.

4. Senart, *Mahāvastu*, I, pp. 347-8. *Cf. Dialogues of the Buddha*, III, pp. 84 *ff*. Ghoshal *Agrarian System in Ancient India*, pp. 25, 108. One-sixth was the traditional rate. But it varied from one-twelfth, one-tenth, one-eighth and one-sixth, in normal times, to as much as one-fourth and even one-third, in times of emergency. See for different authorities Samaddar, *J.B.O.R.S.* VI, pp. 101-2 ; N. C. Ganguly, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 138 *ff*. On the information of Megasthenes that the royal share was one-fourth : *J.A.O.S.* 13, p. 88 ; For the village of Lumbini Aśoka reduced the share to one-eighth ; *Rummindei Pillar Inscription*, Mookerji, *op. cit.*, p. 244.

5. J., III, p. 9.

6. J., IV, p. 169.

7. J., IV, p. 399—G. 48 "*Dhammaṁ baliṁ paṭṭhayassu rāja adhammikāro ca te mā hu-raṭṭhe.*"

8. J., V, pp. 98, 240 etc.

9. J., II, p 17; V. pp. 98 *ff*. In J., IV, p. 362 G. 235, the class of Brāhmaṇas coming to the villages and towns and refusing to quit them unless given a gift, is compared to the tax collectors, *niggāhakas*.

10. *Arthaśāstra*, II, 35. See Ghoshal, *The Agrarian System in Ancient India*, pp. 13 *ff*.

Dharmasūtras,[1] can be seen in the stories which seem to represent much simpler methods. They nevertheless give us very interesting details of the work which are difficult to be obtained from other 'serious' works.

As far as the revenue administration was concerned, the afore-mentioned distinction between *gāma* and *nigama* was, it seems, not taken into consideration. And we might, for the present, forget that. Let us only imagine the land as a whole divided, leaving out other portions of land, into separate farm-holdings[2] in possession of individual farmers or villagers. From the produce of each farm-holding the king was to be given his share,—his *bhāga*. Now let us turn to the method of assessment. The details are given out by the *Kāma Jātaka*.[3] In the story we read that a Prince renounces his claim to the throne in favour of his younger brother, and goes away to a village and lives with a merchant's (*Seṭṭhi's*) family. The Royal officers (*rājakammikā*) come to the village to measure the fields (*khettappamāṇagahaṇatthāya*) including that of the *Seṭṭhi*. The *Seṭṭhi* asks the Prince to write to the king for remission of the *bali* which the latter accordingly grants. On this instance other villagers also approach the Prince and request him to get the *bali* reduced, and it is done. We see here how the measurement of land by the State Officials is immediately associated with the assessment of *bali*. This implies the existence of a standard or average rate of the Government demand for a known unit area, which could be applied for the assessment of the individual holdings.[4] That is to say, the land was surveyed and the field was measured to determine its area, which, when calculated by the known standard,[5] would give the quantity of the produce of the field and thus settle the kings' share, whatever it was.

We turn to another *Jātaka*.[6] Here the details are more informative. We are introduced to three important personalities With the remaining eight of the list we are not at present concerned...These are: the *Rajjuggāhaka amacca* (shortened in the *gāthā*[7] into *Rajjuko*), the *Seṭṭhi* and the *Doṇamāpaka Mahāmatta* (or briefly, as in the *gāthā*, *Doṇa*). The *Rajjuggāhaka amacca*, whose title literally means the rope-holding minister, is seen measuring a *Janapada* field by holding one end of the rope tied to a stick, the other end being

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1. See Gupta, *The Land System in South India*, pp. 268-9.

2. These were, in the times of the Earlier Guptas, known as *pratyayas*. See Fleet, *Gupta Inscriptions*, No. 38, dated 571 A. D.

3. J. IV, p. 169.

4. See Ghoshal, *The Agrarian System in Ancient India*, pp. 25-6. This corresponds to the method prevalent in Moslem India and called Measurement. *Ibid.*; *Moreland, The Agrarian System of Moslem India*, p. 7.

5. What exact measurements in connection with land-survey were in vogue, we do not know. But we have reason to believe that they were measured in *karisas* as some references show: See J., III, p. 293; IV, p. 276. A *Karisa*, according to Childres, *Pāli Dictionary*, *s. v. ammaṇaṁ*, is equal to 8 acres. If however the *rajju* of the *Rajjuggāhaka Amacca* had the technical meaning of a measure of length, it might then correspond to that of Kauṭilya which was equal to 10 *daṇḍas* or about 40 yards: *Arthaśāstra*, III, 20; *Cf. I. H. Q.*, III, pp. 817-8. In the copperplate grants of the 6th century A. D. we have "*pādāvarta*" (a square foot) as a measure of length and also *Kulyāvāpa* as that of land area, See Fleet, *G. I.*, p. 170; Pargiter, *I. A.*, 1910, pp. 214-5; Pran Nath, *op. cit.*, p. 84; Dikshitar, *Mauryan Polity*, pp. 365-6.

6. J., II, pp. 366 *ff*.

7. J., II, p. 367 G-7

held by the owner of the field (*khettasāmika*). He sees a crab's lurk-hole at the spot where he wants to pitch the stick and the thought comes to him: "If I put the stick in the hole, the crab in the hole will be hurt; if I put it on the other side (*purato*), the king's property (*rañño santakaṁ*) will lose; and if I put it on this side (*orato*), the farmer will lose."[1] This again is sufficient to show that the official measurement of land was connected with the assessment of the land revenue.

The *Seṭṭhi* again is described as carelessly plucking a handful of paddy (*sālisīsamuṭṭhiṁ*) from his own field from which the king's share has yet to be paid.[2] "This doubtless points to the method of Appraisement of the standing crops."[3]

How was the *bali* collected? For this we turn to the third personality, an important one, *viz.* the *Doṇamāpaka Mahāmatta*, the measurer with the *droṇa* measure.[4] The story describes him as sitting at the door of the royal granary and causing the king's share of the produce to be measured.[5] He takes a grain out of the unmeasured heap of rice and employs it as a marker (*lakkhaṁ*). Owing to a sudden rainfall, he hastily rushes indoors after counting the markers and then sweeping them all together. He, standing on the doorway, is filled with doubt whether he has thrown the grains used as markers over the measured or the unmeasured heap. And he reflects that if he has placed the markers, over the measured heap, he has improperly increased the king's share and diminished that of the cultivator (*gahapatika*). "This evidently points to the method of Division of the crop at the king's granary."[6] This moreover shows that the *Doṇamāpaka*, significantly styled *Mahāmatta*, was in this case the chief collector of land-revenue, probably, corresponding to the *Koṣṭhāgārādhyakṣa* of Kauṭilya,[7] who was a subordinate officer to the *Sannidhātā*,[8] Finance Minister, who looked after the Treasury and the store-house.[9]

So far it is fairly clear. Lands were surveyed[10] and divided into separate holdings (*pratyayas*) marked by denfinite boundaries.[11] These holdings were measured by the *Rajjuggāhaka amacca* or by the *Rājakammikas*,[12] who also assessed the land-produce and settled the king's share. The crop could not be gathered in before the kings' portion was assessed. And finally, this kingly

1. *Ibid.* p. 376.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 378, Fick remarks, "By such considerations however characteristic they may be of thinking influenced by Buddhist morality, an officer can hardly be guided." *op. cit.*, p. 151.
3. Ghoshal, *op. cit.*, p. 26.
4. For the different varieties of this *droṇa* measure see Pran Nath, *A Study of the Economic Condition of Ancient India.* pp. 75, *ff.* A *droṇa* is approximately equal to 26 lbs. *Ibid.*
5. J., II, p. 378. "*So ekadivasaṁ koṭṭhāgāradvāre nisīditvā rājabhāge vīhiṁ mināpento.*"
6. Ghoshal, *op. cit.*, p. 27.
7. *Arthaśāstra*, II 15; or was he the forerunner of the officer who was the head of the *droṇamukha*, headquarters in the centre of four hundred villages? *Arthaśāstra*, II, 1; III, 1.
8. *Ibid.*, II, 5.
9. Dikshitar, *Hindu Adm. Institutions*, *p.* 202.
10. "The earliest references to land-survey are probably in the *Jātakas*" K. M. Gupta, *The Land System in S. India*, p. 288.
11. See also J., IV, p. 281.
12. J., III, p. 293, IV, p. 276; *Cf. Karmikas* of Kauṭilya, *Arthaśāstra*, II, 7.

due in kind was collected under the supervision of the *Doṇamāpaka Mahāmatta* at the king's granary.

Now a word about these two officers connected with the land-survey and revenue-collection *viz. Rajjuggāhaka* and *Doṇamāpaka.*

It was Bühler who in 1893 first[1] pointed out the identity between our *rajjuggāhaka* or *rajjuko* and the *rājuka* of Aśokan *Edicts.*[2] He also equated these with the *rajjuya* of the Jaina *Kalpasūtra* where Jacobi translated it simply by a clerk or an accountant.'[3] His identification has been accepted by the majority of scholars[4] while some[5] would connect the word '*rājuka*' with the Pāli '*rāju*' meaning 'king' and not with '*rajju*', rope. However the question must now be considered as finally decided after the elucidated discussion, on sound philological grounds, by Ghoshal and S. K. Chatterji[6] in favour of Prof. Bühler. Our *Jātaka* does not give any thing more about the duties and functions of this officer than that he was connected with land measurement and survey. The *Rājukas* of Aśoka, on the other hand, are High Officers having a great responsible administrative status. It is again not improbable that these officials were the same as *Corarajjukas* of Kauṭilya[7] and those of whom Megasthenes[8] speaks thus: "Some superintend the rivers, measure the land, as is done in Egypt, and inspect the sluices by which water is let out from the main canals into their branches so that every one may have an equal supply of it."[9] It appears from all this that originally, and in the *Jātaka* period, the *Rajjukas* were very likely the chief provincial revenue officers connected mainly with survey, land settlement and irrigation.[10] With time their powers must have increased as seen from Megasthenes' statement given above. And Aśoka, with his truly administrative zeal, invested them with more extensive powers "over hundreds of thousands of souls" granting them independence in their administration of Law and justice so that they may perform their duties confidently and fearlessly, distribute the good and happiness of the people of the country (*Janasa janapadasa*) and also bestow favours upon them.[11]

The *Daṇamāpaka Mahāmattas* seem also to have been important and influential district-officials, probably connected with direct collection of revenue. Those were subordinate officers to the *Rajjukas* who may well be compared

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1. *Z. D. M. G.*, 47, pp. 466 *ff*; *cf.* *E I.*, 11, p. 466 n.
2. *R. E. III, P. E.*, IV.
3. Bühler, *E. I.*, 11, p. 369.
4. *Cf.* Hutzch, Inscriptions of *Aśoka*, p. xli : Lüders, *op. cit.*, *l. c.* Thomas, *C. H. I.*, I, p. 487. Fick *op. cit.*, pp. 148. Bhandarkar, *Aśoka*, p. 53; Dikshitar, *M. P.*, pp. 365-6.
5. Jayaswal, *op. cit.*, 11, pp. 129-30. Mookerji, *op. cit*, 133-4.
6. *I. H. Q.*, VI, pp. 424-31; 628. The Epigraphic evidence, too, is clearly in support of this. See Lüder, *A List of Brāhmī Inscriptions*, No. 1195. We think moreover that No. 281 of his list, *Bhadata rājukasa* should also be included here.
7. *Arthaśāstra*, IV, 13.
8. Fragment 34.
9. McCrindle, *Megasthenes and Arrian*, p. 86, See Dikshitar, *Mauryan Polity*, pp. 216-7; 364-6.
10. Thomas, *C. H. I.*, I, pp 487, 508. *Cf.* "The office of the *Rājukas* had been in existence before Aśoka but Aśoka invested them with greater authority." Mookerji, *op. cit.*, 53. But see Mitra, *Indian culture*, I, 2, pp. 309-10.
11. *P. E.* VI; See Dikshitar, *Mauryan Polity*, pp. 218-9.

with modern District Collectors[1]. It seems to us, moreover, that the *Doṇamāpakas* were the forerunners of the *Dhruvādhikaraṇas* who figure in Valabhi grants and are represented by the modern *Dhruvas* connected with revenue collectors.[2]

Before passing on to the discussion of other sources of income, a few more points in connection with land may here be noticed.

Villages in those days were of two kinds according as the revenues yielded by them were enjoyed by an individual or by the State.[3] The former were known as *'bhogagāmas,'* and the persons who enjoyed the income coming therefrom were styled *Gāmabhojakas*. The term *gāmabhojaka* has generally been taken to mean the village-headman. The natural inference from this would be, then, that the person who enjoyed the right of revenue of his *bhogagāma* was also the headman of that village. But this does not seem to us to be wholly true. Not every *gāmabhojaka* was the headman of the *gāma* he enjoyed, and not every headman the *gāmabhojaka*. Since we are to return to this subject when discussing the local or village government proper, we may not go in details here. Suffice it to bear in mind that there were some villages which were called *bhogagāmas*. Those others which the king's officers visited for the purpose of collecting revenue are not termed as *bhogagāmas*. The former were thus grants, endowments or assignments given as reward of merit or as an act of favour from the king.[4] The revenue coming therefrom was enjoyed by the respective individuals and, may be, those individuals had to pay a certain portion of their income to the central Government.

"A stock phrase used in some of the *Jātakas* to describe the villages assigned or proposed to be assigned by the kings introduces us for the first time to an important development of the procedure in connection with such grants."[5] This phrase[6] is *'satasahassuṭṭhānaka gāma,'* meaning 'the village which produces one hundred thousand pieces (of coins)'. The figure 100,000 is of course purely conventional, but as Ghoshal has pointed out[7] "a careful consideration of the context in which it occurs is enough to show that it corresponds to the process concerned with assignment which prevailed in Moslem India, and has been conveniently indicated by the term 'Valuation', *i.e.*, the estimate of the probable future income from any area, required in order to facilitate the allocation of grants or assignments to claimants entitled to a stated income."

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1. S. N. Mitra, *Indian Culture*, I. 2, pp. 308 *ff.*—"The *Rājukas and Prādeśikas of Aśoka in relation to the Yuktas*; "The *Kurudhammajātaka* mentions *'rajjuka'* (lit, rein-holder of the royal chariot, *i.e.*, of the State) as a highly important functionary. In the prose narrative he is described as a *rajjugāhaka amacca*."
2. *I. A.*, V, pp. 204-5. The present writer recollects many an incident where he personally saw the austere and autocratic figures of these '*Dhrus*' troubling the poor villagers.
3. *Cf.* Sen, *op. cit.*, p. 105.
4. *Cf.* Ghoshal, *op. cit.*, pp. 28-9.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 28.
6. J., I, p. 420; III, p. 229; V, pp. 360, 371.
7. Ghoshal, *op. cit.*, pp. 28-9.

We may conclude this by noticing some of the instances of oppressive measures employed in connection with revenue or tax-collection.

Whatever the methods employed in collecting the taxes, the Collectors were certainly oppressing the poor folk to a very great extent. *Balisādhakas,*[1] *Balipatiggāhakas,*[2] *Niggāhakas,*[3] *Tuṇḍiyas*[4] and *Akāsiyas*[5] are the terms used for these tax-collectors. Never is a word said in praise or sympathy or favour of these officers. On the contrary, bitterest feelings and piteous cries of the oppressed are heard. We repeat what we have said before that it was on sound grounds that the name of these collectors passed into a synonym for importunate demand[6] or hungry robbers-like[7] draining the poor earnings of the cultivator.

> "*Akāsiyā rājuhi vānusiṭṭhā*
> *tad assa ādāya dhanaṁ haranti.*"

"His subjects being oppressed by taxation," so says a story, "took their wives and families and wandered in the forest like wild beasts; where once stood villages, there now were none, and the people through the fear of the king's men (*Rājapurisā*) by day did not venture to dwell in their houses but fencing them about with thorn branches, as soon as the day broke, they disappeared into the forest.[8]

> "By night to thieves a prey are we, to publicans by day,
> Lewd folk abound within the realm...."[9]

By taxes and fines the folk was crushed as it were sugar-cane in a mill,[10] so much so that they could not lift up their heads.[11] These descriptions, with simple yet appropriate similes, are too vivid not to have a realistic background. And even to-day the cultivators' plight is the same, if not worse.

Other sources of state-income are not very definitely stated in the stories **TRADE.** It seems that trade and commerce were a source of income. Such is at least the implication which the following *gātha* conveys:

> "So should he spoil his citizens—
> So apt by trade to gain,
> A failing source of revenue
> Will his exchequer drain."[12]

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1. J., V. p. 106.
2. J., II, p. 17.
3. J., IV, p. 362-G. 235.
4. J., V, pp. 102—G. 319; 104-G. 324; 328; 105-G. 333; 106-G. 338.
5. J., VI, p. 212—G. 913.
6. J., IV, p. 362—G. 235 "*Nādinne vutthahissāma gāmamhi ca vanamhica niggāhakasamā rāja, te pi vuccanti brāhmaṇā.*" Fick, *op. cit.*, p. 218 n., remarks, "As the tax-collectors sit down in front of the gates of the tax-payers and do not leave until the tax is collected, so the Brāhmanas do not cease begging till they are paid."
7. J., VI, p. 212—G. 913.
8. J., V, pp. 98-9
9. *Ibid.*, pp. 102 G. 319; 104-G. 324, 328; 105-G. 303; 106-G. 338.
10. J., II, p. 240 "*Ucchuyante ucchuṁ viya janaṁ pilesi.*"
11. J., III, p, 9 "*Mayaṁ balinā piliyamānā sisaṁ ukkhipituṁ na sakkoma.*"
12. J., V, p. 248-G. 177.

That taxes were imposed by the king on merchants and fixed by his officials is also seen from another story, where a prince is described as having gained the merchant-folk and traders on his side, among other conciliatory measures, by fixing just and equitable taxes upon them.[1]

GATE-DUES.

Another important source was that from the city-gates as we know from the *Mahāummagga Jātaka*,[2] where the king, being pleased with his wise minister, is stated to have given over to him the income, accruing from all the four city-gates (*catusu dvāresu sunkaṁ dāpesi*). This corresponds to the *dvāradeya* of Kauṭilya,[3] which was the tax on goods entering and leaving a town or a city, amounting to one-fifth of toll dues which again varied according to commodities imported or exported.

FINES.

Numerous references to *daṇḍa* and *kara*[4] are found in the stories, but no definite conclusions can be formed from them. It appears, however, that litigation in courts of justice brought a considerable amount of income in the form of fines. Says a *gāthā*:

"Even so when strife arises among men,
They seek an arbiter: his leader then
Their wealth decays, and the king's coffers gain."[5]

Fines were also extracted from those who transgressed or disobeyed the orders of the king publicly proclaimed by beat of drum.[6]

Various taxes which are termed '*sunikaṁ* or '*sunkaṁ*'[7] must have been in vogue in those times, if Kauṭilya, a few centuries later, enumerates them minutely.[8]

FORESTS.

It seems probable that the produce arising from the forests, waste-lands and such other, presumably, state-owned properties went to the king's store-house.[9]

Among other sources of income to the state must be mentioned those prerogative-rights of the king, treasure-trove, unclaimed property and voluntary contributions (*paṇṇākārā*) like the milk-money—all referred to before.[10]

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1. J., IV, p. 132 *Vāṇijānaṁ suṁkāni* (*sulkāni?*)

2. J., VI, p. 347.

3. *Arthaśāstra*, II, 6; 21; 22; the *Sāmantapāsādikā*, 1, 52, says that Aśoka's income from the four gates of Pāṭaliputra was 400,000 *kakāpaṇas* daily. Beni Prasad, *The State in Ancient India*, pp. 213-4.

4. J., I, p. 199; II, p. 240; VI, p. 431 '*Kara*' of Kauṭilya has been taken to mean the share of produce from fruit and flower-gardens; See Dikshitar, *op. cit.*, p. 144.

5. J., III, p. 336—G. 38 "*rājakoso vaḍḍhati*"

6. VI, p. 431 "*Yo ito nikkhamitvā Mahosaddha paṇḍitassa nagaramāpitaṭṭhānaṁ gacchati sahassaṁ daṇḍo.*"

7. *Cf.* J., IV, p. 84.

8. See Dikshitar, *op. cit.*, pp. 143-7.

9. J., III, p. 150; N. S. Subbarao, *op. cit.*, p. 32. *Cf. Arthaśāstra*, II. 17. There is a reference to a king owning a herd of goats." J., I, p. 240.

10. *Supra*, pp. 128-9.

There is no trace of forced labour (*rājakāriya*) *viṣṭi* of Kauṭilya[1] and *Veṭh* of modern times—having been utilised by the king of the *Jātaka* stories though it is not improbable.

II

EXPENDITURE

It will have been seen from the above discussion, that the income of the king was sufficiently large to leave a fair surplus. Let us see now what were the items of royal expenditure.

Nothing is said in the stories directly about the way in which the king's expenses were met. There was no 'Civil List' as in the *Arthaśāstra*.[2] The revenues and taxes, however, were mainly used to maintain the royal establishment. Of course various officials of the state, though not so large in number as we find them in Kauṭilya's time and later, had to be paid. Some of them were paid in cash (*vetana*),[3] as we have seen, while all the important state-officers, such as the *purohita* and the *Senāpati*, were endowed with revenue-villages (*bhogagāmas.*)[4] A considerable amount was spent in charity[5] towards the aged, the disabled and the starving, and above all to the Brāhmaṇas and the ascetics (*samaṇabrāhmaṇā*).

Of other items of expenditure by the state or by the king in person, we have no knowledge. It may be presumed, however, that some of the economic and social functions of the state, of which no direct information is available, must have come in for a large item of expenditure. Works of public utility, comparatively limited in those days, must have entailed an appreciable expenditure.[6] We have instances, moreover, of the state bearing the cost of, or awarding scholarships to, students who went to far-off universities like Takkasilā for purposes of education.[7]

THE TREASURY

The *Jātaka* kings who, not rarely, are found to have indulged in gorgeous luxuries, had obviously a rich treasury at their command. Did we not observe, while discussing the splendour and luxuries of kings,[8] what a great amount of wealth they possessed in the form of valuable articles like perfumes, cloths and various kinds of pearls and jewels? There were officers employed to guard

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1. *Arthaśāstra*, II, 1; See Pran Nath, *op cit.*, p. 155; Rhys Davids, *B I.* p. 49.
2. V, 3; *Cf.* Dikshitar, *op. cit.*, pp. 150-1.
3. J., III, p. 505; IV, pp. 132, 134-G. 100; V, p. 128; VI, p. 295-G. 1285.
4. J., I, pp. 138, 365; II, p. 429-G. 117; III, p. 105; IV, pp 80; 473; VI. pp. 344; 462-G 1630; *Cf. Arthaśāstra*, II, 1.
5. J., II, pp. 118, 273, 316; III, p. 79, IV, pp. 176, 355, 361, 402, 444; V, p. 162; VI, p. 42.
6. Benches (*piṭhake*) on the roads for the travellers to rest are referred to: J., I, p. 348; The *sālās* of the city and village gates: J., II, p. 211; IV, pp. 315-6.
7. J., III, p. 238; V, pp. 127, 310, 247, 263.
8. *Supra*, pp. 108-9.

the various treasures of jewels (*nānāratanagopakā*).[1] The *Herañññaka* or the keeper of the king's purse was not an ordinary official.[2] Similarly the *Bhaṇḍāgārika* or the treasurer proper, was the superintendent of the storehouse.[3] Besides these, there was the Valuater—the *Agghakāraka* who, on behalf of the king, valued the articles that came to the palace for sale.[4] Thus it seems that the treasury of the *Jātaka* kings was richly furnished. To keep it efficient, and in order, accounts and records of income and expenditure must have been maintained, though we have no reference to this in the stories. The king lived amidst unbounded luxuries, while the cultivator groaned under the weight of taxation.

However, the general impression that we form after going through these stories, is that the *Jātaka* State, being simpler and not concerned with much intricate problems of administration, was far from Financial and Fiscal intricacies and affairs. Revenues and taxes came to the king in the case of Central affairs and were spent, first in maintaining himself and his whole establishment, and then in other administrative purposes which also were not many.

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1. J., III, p 505. The treasury of the Mauryas contained pearls from the Pāṇḍya and Kerala countries, from Persia and the Himalayas, gems (*maṇi*) of different size and value from the Vindhyas and the Malaya mountains, diamonds of various kinds from Kaliṅga, Kośala, and Benares, coral from the isle of the Yavanas: See *Arthaśāstra,* II, 11; Kalidas Nag, *Les Theories Diplomatiques de L'Inde Ancienne,* pp. 133-5.

2. J., p. 429.

3. J., IV, p 43; V, p. 120; VI, p. 38.

4. J., I, p. 124; IV, p. 137.

CHAPTER IV

ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE

I

JUDICIARY AND JUSTICE

ONE OF THE PRIMARY functions of the State, as we saw before while dealing with the King as an administrator, was the administration of justice. To settle disputes between man and man, and between man and society, must have been the first and foremost duty of those who were chosen to be the heads of society during the earlier stages of its progress. Election or regular succession of a king as the case may be, was preceded by a thoughtful consideration by the people whether, firstly, the man on whom the mantle of sovereignty was to be offered was endowed with the necessary physical fitness and qualities of a leader, and secondly, whether he had the qualifications and the mentality of a careful and competent judge.[1] If he had not these, he was set aside.

IDEALS OF JUSTICE.

The *Jātakas* abound in thoughtful instructions and well considered reflections over the importance and necessity of a conscientious discharge of legal duties. Repeated emphasis laid on impartial judgment free of any prejudices shows the high standard of justice set up in those ancient days. Judgment and punishment must not be hasty but full and calm consideration must be given to different sides of the case. The king, who was the fountain of justice, was repeatedly warned to have no regard whatever to his own will or whim in administering justice.[2] It is wrong for one who bears rule to act without trying the case.[3] Let us hear these verses which bear eloquent testimony to the high standard of justice prevailing in those days :

"No king should punish an offence, and hear no pleas at all,
Not thoroughly sifting it himself in all points, great and small.[4]
The warrior chief who punishes a fault before he tries,
Is like a man born blind, who eats his food all bones and flies ;
Who punishes the guiltless, and lets go the guilty, knows
No more than one who, blind, upon a rugged highway goes ;
He who all this examines well, in things both great and small,

1. *Supra*, pp. 101 *ff*.
2. J., II, p. 2.
3. J., III, p. 105—"*tasmā aviniochitvā kātuṁ na yuttaṁ rajjaṁ kārentena.*"
4. *Cf. Dhammapada*, p. 341.

And so administers, deserves to be the head of all.

He that would set himself on high must not all-gentle be,

Nor all-severe : but both these things practise in company.

Contempt the all-gentle wins, and he that's all-severe, has wrath :

So of the pair be well aware, and keep a middle path."[1]

The beam of balance (*tulā*) was even then, as it is today, regarded as a symbol of equal and unbiassed justice.[2] Amongst others, circumspection is an essential quality demanded of a judge (*nisammakāriṇā bhavitabbaṁ*).[3] Another sound maxim is that

"A thoughtful act, wherein is careful policy pursued,

Like a successful medicine, the issue must be good."[4]

Punishment should be awarded with "careful measure" (*nisamma*) proportionate to the nature and degree of the offence committed.

"The warrior prince takes careful thought and well-weighed judgment gives :

When kings their judgment ponder well, their fame for ever lives."[5]

All these are, no doubt, sound maxims and wise instructions imparted to the kings. They are Ideals preached to be translated into practice.[6] And ideals, as we have often stated, are both the cause and the effect of actualities. Therefore, neither shall we attach too much importance to these, in considering the real state of affairs, nor shall we wholly pass them off as useless or unnecessary for our purpose. Nevertheless it should be stated here that the general impression that one gets after noticing the various stories connected with this question is, that the judicial arrangements were not sound and efficient, but corrupted and exploited to a degree.

THE KING AS THE HEAD OF JUSTICE.

The king, as will appear, was regarded as the head of justice. In fact the legends would have us understand, that all the cases were heard and decided by the king in person, as it is always to the king or the *Khattiya* that the sound maxims quoted above are addressed. This could hardly have been the real state of affairs. Of course, as a rule the king used to hear cases, and we may assume that the king "actually went each morning to the Court house" as in

1. J., IV, p. 192—GG. 61-7 : *Cf.* Aśoka's instructions to his Governors : *Separate Kaliṅga Edict* I ; Mookerji, *Aśoka*, pp. 218-20.

2. J., I, p. 176—"*Rañño nāma kāraṇagavesakena tulāsadisena bhavituṁ vaṭṭati.*"

3. J., III, p. 105; IV, p. 30.

4. J., IV, p. 451-G. 208.

5. J., III, pp. 105-G, 128; 154-G. 5 ; IV, p. 451-G. 210 ; also *ibid.*, GG. 211-2.

6. And Aśoka did try his best to establish equal and impartial justice within his Empire. See *Pillar Edict IV*. "*Viyohālasamatā, daṇḍa-samatā*" ; Mookerji, *op. cit.*, p. 238.

the Epic[1] and heard cases. When not himself, some one or more of his ministers decided the cases, as we see the *purohita,* the *Senāpati* and even the Prince acting as judges[2] in addition to their normal duties in their respective spheres of action. The post of a judge was named that of a '*Vinichhayāmacca*',[3] and that there were more than one justice can be assumed from the term '*Vinicchayamahāmattā's* sometimes used in the stories.[4] One *Jātaka* gives the definite number of five.[5]

JUDGES

The Hall of Judgment is frequently mentioned[6] where the judges, appointed by the king,[7] sat and attended to their daily duties. There is no reference to a definite Code of Law by which the judges were to be guided in deciding the cases, but we come across such passages as these: "he said, 'execute justice in this way' and he had righteous judgment inscribed on a golden plate"[8] or "then he caused a book of judgments to be written and said 'by observing this book ye should settle suits.' "[9] The question of the authorship of such books "is immaterial here, and there is no reason why the existence of such useful works should be doubted, when one of the foremost duties of a government was to administer justice in the strictest sense of the term."[10] It is also possible that a body of precedents had grown up by that time.[11] Still, with all this, the question of deciding cases depended largely upon the personal characteristics of a judge, his nature, whim, temperament and even prejudices. For in the stories, judgment is often almost invariably associated with bribery.[12] It is rather strange to see that there was no orderly or systematic course in which the cases were decided, and the frequent mention of the upsetting of a bad judgment of one by others—like the *senāpati,* the princes the *purohita* and even an ascetic, who happened to come upon the scene and to whom the party who had lost his cause appealed for redress—is, to say the least, surprising.[13] The one who judged rightly was applauded by the people, and then he would be formally appointed by the king as a judge. In one of such instances the king, while appointing the man to judgeship, gives the following directions as to the time and the way in which he should spend his daily routine: "It will be to the advantage of the people if you decide cases: henceforth you are to sit in judgment.... You need not judge the whole day, but....go at early dawn to the place of judgment and decide

1. Hopkins *J. A. O. S.*, 13, p, 132.
2. J., II, pp. 2 "*amaccāpi dhammen 'eva vohāraṁ vinicchiniṁsu*;" 186-7; V, p. 1; VI, p. 131.
3. J., II, p. 181; III, p. 105.
4. J., II, p. 380; VI, p. 45.
5. J., V, p. 228 "*Tassa pana rañño pañca amaccā....vinicchaye niyuttā.*"
6. J., I, p. 176; II, pp. 2, 186, 297; III, p. 505; IV, p. 120.
7. J., V, p. 229; VI, pp. 131-2.
8. J., V, p. 125—"*evaṁ vinicchayaṁ pavatteyyāthā ti vinichhayadhammaṁ suvaṇṇapaṭṭe likhāpetvā....*"
9. J., III, p. 292- "*Vinicchaye piṭṭhakaṁ likhāpetvā' imaṁ poṭṭhakaṁ olokentā aṭṭaṁ tīreyyātha.*"
10. Sen, *op. cit.*, pp. 128-9.
11. Subbarao, *op. cit.*, p. 37, *Cf.* Hopkins, *op. cit.*, 13, p. 132.
12. J., II, p. 186; V, pp. 1228; VI, p. 131.
13. J., II, p 187; V, p. 229; VI, p. 131.

four cases; then return....and partaking of food, decide four more cases." In this way he was required to decide only 8 cases per day. This arrangement was apparently made for the convenience of an officer whose time was mostly occupied in spiritual work and we have reason to believe here and elsewhere,[1] that the court sat the whole day from morning to sun-set, after which all business was to stop.

Let us now proceed to have a glimpse of the nature of cases which came before the king or his Court of Justice and the procedure followed in the decision of these.

CASES.

The term used for a law suit is '*atto*' and the suitors are called *atta-kārakās*. Ordinarily there was a great bustle (*uparavo*) among the waiting suitors in the precincts of the royal palace where, presumably, the Court of Law was situated. This is well inferred from the following description of the Court appearing in the *Rājovāda Jātaka*[2] which, presenting as it does an exceptional case, proves negatively the ordinary course of affairs: "And as he ruled thus justly, his ministers on their part were also just; thus while all things were justly done, there was none who brought a false suit into court. Presently all the bustle of suitors ceased within the precincts of the palace; all day long the ministers might sit on the bench, and go away without seeing a single suitor. The Courts were deserted."

Theft and robbery seem to have been the most ordinary cases that came before the court for adjudication.[3] Very often an innocent man was arrested on a charge of theft, and brought before the Court. Inflictions of tortures, with a view to elicit confession of a crime, were prevalent.[4] A simple rustic (*Jānapado*) perfectly innocent man, is arrested by the King's men (*purisā*) on a charge of theft of the queen's pearl-necklace and is forced to plead guilty of the charge, only to avoid the crushing and ruthless blows administered to him: "If I deny the charge, I shall die with the beating I shall get from these ruffians. I'd better say I took it."[5] Thus the man had to confess. And when brought before the king, he naively implicated the Treasurer, the latter in the same manner implicating the Chaplain, he the Chief Musician and then a Courtezan who utterly denied ever having received the necklace.[6] All

1. J., I, p. 384; II, p. 2; V, p. 229
2. J, II, p. 2.
3. *Cf.* Hopkins "and trial for theft seems the earliest kind of judicial inquiry in India": *J. A. O. S.*, 13, p. 134; also *C. H. I.*, I. p. 282.
4. J., I, p. 384.
5. *Ibid.*
6. *Ibid.*, pp. 385-6. The story, moreover, presents a very interesting insight into the mentality of these five undertrial prisoners who, when alone in the lock-up, give out the reasons of implicating one another in the charge of which all of them were innocent. The Treasurer questions the rustic who answers: "Worshipful sir, it has never been mine to own aught so valuable even as a stool or bedstead that wasn't rickety. I thought that with your help I should get out of this trouble." Then in answer to the chaplain's question, the Treasurer says: "I only said so because I thought that if you and I, both high officers of State, stand together, we can soon put the matter right." Then the chaplain to the Musician: "I only said I did because I thought you would help to make the time pass more agreeably." Lastly the Musician (a jolly fellow) to the Courtezan: "Why be angry my dear? We five have got to keep house together for a bit; so let us put a cheerful face on it and be happy together."

the five prisoners were however found innocent and released. Another very interesting case[1] is that in which Gāmaṇicaṇḍa, a retired Government servant, 'the most innocent man that ever was born in the world,' stood charged of four offences, *viz.*,

1. Non-return of oxen taken on loan.[2]
2. Miscarriage.
3. Murder, and
4. Injury to a horse.

He is brought before the king together with the plaintiffs. In a perfectly judicial manner the proceedings are related in the story. The plaintiff in each case sets forth his complaint. The king questions Gāmaṇi, the accused, about its correctness. The latter on every occasion replies in the affirmative, but he also places his own story by way of justification of the case without making any secret of it. The king cross-examines the complainants and finds them guilty of 'wilful suppression or denial of truth.' Hence both the parties are found guilty, and deserve to be punished. "The decisions contained such conditions as ever took the breath of a Shylock away."[3] The judgment on the first charge runs thus: "You failed to return the oxen, and therefore you are his debtor for them. But this man, in saying that he had not seen them, told a direct lie. Therefore you with your own hands shall pluck his eyes out, and you shall yourself pay him 24 pieces of money as the price of the oxen." On the second charge the judgment was: "Caṇḍa, you take the man's wife to your house; and when a son shall be born to you, hand him over to the husband"; on the third: "Caṇḍa, this man must have a father. But you cannot bring him back from the dead. Then take his mother to your house, and do you be a father to him"; and on the fourth: "This man has told a direct lie in saying that he did not tell you to hand back the horse. You may tear out his tongue, and then pay him a thousand pieces for the horse's price." All the complainants were however dumbfounded and departed.

As to the judgments and punishments awarded in these cases, prejudiced as they are, we may safely pass them off as not reliable, but there is absolutely no reason of doubting the existence of such charges and their coming before the Court for decision. From an untoward and natural utterance of Gāmaṇicaṇḍa we learn, that one was to pay fine for causing an untimely birth or compensation for any loss for which one might be liable.[4]

In another instance,[5] we have a still more interesting case. Here some village boys stand charged of the murder of a doctor. It happened that the boys were playing at the foot of a banyan tree at the entrance of the village.

1. J., II, pp. 300-7.
2. *Cf.* *Ṛṇadānaṁ* of *Arthaśāstra* list of cases, III, 11: N. N. Law, *Studies in Ancient Hindu Polity*, p. 119.
3. Sen, *op. cit.*, p. 126.
4. J., I p. 302: "*....ime maṁ rañño dassessanti, ahaṁ goṇamūlaṁ pi dātuṁ na sakkomi, pag eva gabbhapātanadaṇḍaṁ, assamūlaṁ paṇa kuto lacchāmi.*"
5. J., III, pp. 202-6.

A poor old doctor, who had no practice at that time, strayed out of the village to this spot, and saw a snake asleep in the fork of a tree with its head tucked in. He thought, "there is nothing to be got in the village. I will cajole these boys and make the snake bite them, and then I shall get somewhat for curing them." So he said to one of the boys, ' If you were to see a young hedgehog, would you seize it?" "Yes, I would," the boy answered. "See, here is one lying in the fork of this tree." The boy climbed up the tree and seized it by the neck and, when he found it was a snake, he did not allow it to turn upon him, but getting a good grip of it, he hastily flung it from him. It fell on the neck of the old doctor, and he fell down dead on the spot. The boys were arrested and placed before the king for trial. The whole matter was carefully investigated, and when their innocence was proved, the boys were set free. How the investigation took place we are not told, but *purisās* must have been sent and ascertained the true facts.

Elsewhere[1] we witness a curious suit between a villager and a townsman being decided by a judge. The townsman stood guilty of wrongful possession of some ploughshares belonging to the villager who, again, was charged for kidnapping the former's son. The townsman had produced this cause, that the ploughshares were devoured by the mice while the villager, an equal genius, had said that a falcon had carried the child off. The judge presses the townsman to tell the truth and, realising the mischief committed by both, he gives out the judgment:

"Give back the plough, and after that,
Perhaps, the man who lost the plough
May give your son back to you now."[2]

In all these instances,[3] we notice that there is nothing like cross-examination as we may understand to have been prevalent at that time. Only the judge himself questions the parties and decides accordingly.

Among other cases, those of disputed ownership seem to be of common occurrence, in almost all of which justice is thrown to the winds and bribery succeeds. Several crying figures of rightful owners being defrauded and deprived of their property flit across the pages of these stories.[4]

Once a Courtezan came to the court to take advice as to whether in the eye of the law she was still bound by the terms of a contract entered three years previously with a man who had since not made his appearance.[5] The judges

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1. J., II, pp. 181-4. The two offences described in this story may correspond to debts and abduction, if we use the legal language.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 183-G. 135.
3. *Cf.* also J., II, pp. 51-2 (here one of the litigant parties is a vulture).
4. J., II, pp. 186 (*assāmike sāmike karoti*): V, p. 1, 229; VI, p. 131. *Cf.* Also J, II, p. 75. "*atte sahassam parājito.* *Cf. Arthaśāstra*, III, 16 (*Svasvāmī sambandtha.*)
5. J., II, p. 380; Sen, *op. cit.*, p. 127: Fick, *op. cit.*, p. 148.

advised her to return to her former profession. This makes us feel that such suits involving contractual rights and obligations must have been commonly tried in the law courts.

Much more valuable is the reference to a case where a father who does not wish his wicked son to succeed to his property goes to the Court and disinherits his son.[1] This must imply the existence of the necessary written records in possession of the family and also of the Court.

There is a vague reference to fire-ordeal for the sake of proving the chastity of a woman,[2] but it does not seem that it was a prevalent system employed and supported by the government, as even Kauṭilya, though conversant with that institution as recommended by the law-books,[3] does not mention it, evidently because he regarded such ordeals as questionable expedients.[4]

LEGAL PROCEDURE.

In the instances of cases that we noticed before we nowhere see anything like legal proceedings, lawyers defending their clients and raising points against the opposite party. Nevertheless it does not seem proper to hold that there were absolutely no lawyers who could place and defend the cases of their clients before the Court, and earn their livelihood from that profession. For there are some references to '*Vohāra*' which, if consistent and correct in their application, would go to prove that some sort of legal practice was followed. Once[5] we are told that a certain Brāhmaṇa earned his livelihood by following *Vohāra*. This of course does not give any definite meaning of the term *Vohāra*. Our hesitation lies only in this, that the meaning of this *Vohāra* is not always the same. In one place[6] it clearly applies to trade, whereas in another[7] it expressly goes with the administration of justice. That it went with the latter is also clear from the expression "*So dhammeṇa rajjaṁ kāresi, vinicchayaṁ anusāsi....amaccāpi dhammena 'eva vohāraṁ vinicchiniṁsu,*" occurring elsewhere.[8] Thus the association of *Vohāra* and *Vinicchaya* here is unquestionable and unequivocal, and it makes us bolder therefore to state, that *vohāra* or *vyavahāra* as meant by the Law books and the *Arthaśāstra*[9] was prevalent in the *Jātaka* times, though not as strictly as later.[10] Though we have no details of hearing suits, the instances already cited at least show that the complainant stated his case, and the accused made his statement in return, probably on oath. The Court was attended by others than the parties to a suit, and applause was not suppressed, but, on the contrary, considered with respect

1. J., V, p 468 "*Atha naṁ vinicchayaṁ netvā aputtabhāvaṁ katvā niharāpesi.*
2. J., I, p. 294.
3. See *C. H. I.*, I, pp. 282 *ff.* P. N. Banerji, *Public Administration in Ancient India*, pp. 163-4.
4. See Dikshitar, *Hindu Adm. Instt.*, pp. 236 *ff*; *Mauryan Polity*, 166.
5. J., II, p. 15 "*Tassa pitā vohāraṁ katvā jivikaṁ kappeti.*"
6. J., VI, p. 34 "*Vohāraṁ katvā dhanaṁ uppādetvā....suvaṇṇabhūmiṁ gatvā*
7. J., IV, p. 192-G. 64 "*sudiṭṭhaṁ anusāseya sa ve vohātuṁ arahati.*"
8. J., II, p. 2.
9. See Dikshitar, *Hindu Adm. Instt.* pp. 255 *ff*. *Cf. Viyohālasamatā* of *Pillar Edict* IV.
10. This is doubted by Fick. *op. cit.*, p. 147 n.

and due weight by the king. Witnesses (*Sakkhī*) may be produced,[1] though there is no clear indication for this. Perhaps on the evidence of a witness, cases were reconsidered, as the term '*nijjhāpanaṁ*' occurring also in Aśokan *Edicts* seems to show.[2] On the whole it seems that the Court was a distinct place by itself, with something of legal atmosphere pervading it.[3] With the growth of various trades and professions, special judgeships were instituted,[4] which shows the development of legal affairs.

II

CRIME AND PUNISHMENT

We have noted above the nature of some of the cases and offences that came up for trial and the punishments awarded therein. It is not always possible to connect offences and punishments. Drinking is *sometimes* punished with heavy fines.[5] Some wine-merchants, accused of poison-making, are once ordered to be executed by the king.[6] Slander was punished with a fine of 8 *kahāpaṇas*.[7] Adultery in woman (that in man is never referred to as something punishable) was punishable with "death, imprisonment, mutilation or even cleaving asunder."[8]

Punishments were of various kinds: fines, imprisonment, 'mutilation' banishment and death penalty—*vadha-bandhana-chejja-bhejja*.[9] Of the four robbers brought before a king, one is sentenced to receive a thousand strokes from whips barbed with thorns, another to be imprisoned in chains, a third to be smitten with a spear and the fourth to be impaled.[10] Confiscation of property was not uncommon.[11] Trampling the criminals to death under the feet

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1. J., VI, p. 108-G. 453. *Sakkhi* is equivalent to modern *sākṣi*.
2. J., IV, p. 495—G. 334. *Pillar Edict* IV; Barua *I. H. Q.*, II, p. 125.
3. It would be interesting and also, we think, instructive in this connection to observe the life-like and realistic court-scene of those days represented on a medallion at Barhut. The scene is taken from one of our *Jātakas*, No. 546. We reproduce here the description of the scene as given by A. Foucher in his "*The Beginnings of Buddhist Art*," pp. 50-51: "Amarā, the virtuous wife, whose husband is absent, has four suitors to whom she assigns an interview for each of the watches of the same night, and it is also in great esparto baskets that she causes her tricked lovers to be packed by her servants. At the moment chosen by the sculptor we are in the midst of the Court: the king is seated on his throne, surrounded by his ministers, and at his right side one of the women of the harem is waving a fly-flapper. Amarā is standing on the other side, her left hand on the shoulder of her attendant, and at her order the covers of three of the baskets have already been raised and the heads of three of the delinquents uncovered, whilst two coolies bring the fourth." See *Ibid.*, pl. V, 5; Cunningham, *Stūpa of Barhut*, pl. xxv, fig. 3.
4. *Cf.* 1, IV, p. 43. "*Sabbaseṇinaṁ vicāraṇārahaṁ bhaṇḍāgārikaṭṭhānaṁ*". See Mrs. Rhys Davids, *J. R. A. S.*, 1901, p. 865.
5. J., I, p. 199.
6. J., V, p. 14.
7. J., I, p. 483.
8. J., V, p. 444; also J. II, p. 309.
9. J., V, pp. 245-6, 444. *Cf. Arthaśāstra*, IV, 2; *R. E.*, V; P. E., IV.
10. J., VI, p. 3. "*Tasmin Khaṇe cattāro corā ānitā, tesu ekassa sakaṇṭakāhi kasāhi pahārasahassaṁ āṇāpesi, ekassa saṁkhalikābandhanāgārassa pavesanaṁ, ekassa sarire sattipahāradānaṁ, ekassa sūlāropanaṁ.*"
11. J., V, p. 357 "*gharavilopanaṁ*"

of elephants may have been in vogue.[1] But such cruel and harsh punishments were resorted to in the case of tried thieves and robbers. Some offenders were sometimes banished from their country in great humiliation, with all their property confiscated to the State or were ordered to live in the *Caṇḍāla* settlement.[2] Shaving the heads of criminals was regarded as a great punishment.[3]

Thefts and highway robberies were, as we said before, very common in those days. And it is not at all unnatural that the *Jātaka* kings very often deal very harshly with these criminals. It seems that no legal procedure, even of the kind of which we have noticed before, was gone through in such cases. Summary justice by the king seems to have been the ordinary course. Whenever a thief was found out,[4] he was first of all belaboured by the people themselves, and then dragged before the king for punishment.[5] At least sometimes thorough investigation is carried out to find out the criminal, such as shutting all the city-gates and searching the suspected places.[6] Fetters for a thief were current.[7] Though such statements in the summary justice by the king as "off with him, impale him on the stake"[8] are parts of the fanciful stories, it is nevertheless certain that such inhuman punishments as impaling the criminal on a wooden stake[9] and the execution by axe[10] were not uncommon. This whole system of execution and the office of the Executioner (*Coraghātaka*) seems to present[11] a realistic picture through the description of the stories which we should note.

EXECUTION.

When a person was to be announced as to be executed, special execution-drum (*vajjabherī*) was beaten.[12] The condemned man was tightly bound, his hands behind his back, and a garland of red flowers (*kaṇṇavera vajjamālā*) was placed around his neck. He was sprinkled with brick-dust on his head and then, scourged with whips on every square (*catukka*), was led away through the South gates, to the place of execution (*āghāṭa*) to the music of harsh-sounding drum.[13]

1. J., I, p. 200.
2. J., VI, p. 156.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 135—G. 588. This and such other punishments to disgrace the man in the eye of the public have been resorted to throughout history. Megasthenes mentions cropping of the hair as a punishment. *Fragment*, xxvii. They are still practised. On these methods of punishment and disgrace, see Kalipada Mitra, *J.B.O.R.S.*, xx, pp. 80-6, who treats the subject from a folklorist's point of view. That such practices persist even to-day is proved by some incidents witnessed by the above writer.
4. *Corā dhanassa paṭṭhenti*—Thieves ever watch to steal our wealth—seems to have been a common cry of the people, J. VI, p. 28-G. 120.
5. J., II, p. 122.
6. J., II, pp. 122-3; III, p. 436, 461.
7. J., I, pp. 370, 500.
8. J., I, p. 371: IV, p. 29.
9. J., III, p. 34; IV, p. 29; VI, p. 3 (*Sūlāropaṇaṁ*). *Cf. Manu*, VIII, 320.
10. J., II, p. 124; III, pp. 41, 178-9; V, p. 303.
11. The executioners are also known as *Kāsāviyā*; J. III, p. 41; IV, p. 447.—GG. 193, 197,
12. J., I, p. 500; III, p. 59.
13. J., I, p. 500; II, p. 123; III, pp. 59, 436; IV, p. 191. *Cf.* the figure of this condemned man in the *Mṛcchakaṭikaṁ*.

The figure of the *Coraghātaka* is as distinct as it is cruel. A hatchet (*pharasu*) on his shoulder, and a thorny rope (*kaṇṭakakasan*) in his hand, dressed in a yellow robe (*Kāsāyanivāsano*) and adorned with a red garland (*rattlamālādharo*) he accompanied the horrible procession and prepared himself for his cruel task.[1] There in the place of execution (*āgātaṁ*) the condemned person was placed within the fatal circle (*dhammagaṇḍikaṁ*) and the axe did its deed.[2] Such savage sentences were a prominent sign of those early days when society and government were not so well organised and well advanced as to deal with all such problems in a proper manner. They may have survived in the Middle Ages, but have greatly been lessened in their severity with the march of progress in modern times. The main force in giving such harsh and inhuman punishments in those days is set forth by Bertrand (now Lord) Russel while discussing the current movements towards the betterment of society. Says he: "Severity of punishment arose through vindictiveness and fear in an age when many criminals escaped justice altogether, and it was hoped that savage sentences would outweigh the chance of escape in the mind of the criminal."[3]

IMPRISONMENT.

Let us now peep a little through the jail administration of those days. Regular prisons—*bandhanāgārāni*—did exist.[4] But we do not know what kind of offenders were imprisoned or how the period of imprisonment was apportioned in accordance with the seriousness of the offence. Learned and trusted ministers are once thrown into prison for plotting against the life of an innocent man,[5] for what term we are not told. As to the life of the prisoners, it was very hard indeed. They were bound in chains of iron (*Saṅkhalikābandhanaṁ*).[6] The sad and miserable plight of a released prisoner is taken as a standard of comparison (*nikkahmaṇakālo viya*) for a person who has not bathed for days together, nor rinsed his mouth nor performed any bodily ablutions.[7] The stories seem to suggest that the prisoners were wholly at the mercy of the king—their life and death were in his hands. A king, in order to save his own life from a *yakkha*, promised to send to him one man daily as his food. His ministers encouraged him by saying "Be not troubled, there are many men in the jail." The king at once began to send one prisoner daily, and after a time the jails became empty."[8] In the same way in another place[9] the prisoners are murdered.

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1. J., III, pp. 41, 178-9; V, p. 303.
2. J., III, p. 41; IV, p. 176. A curious idea is embodied in a *gāthā*, no 1381 (repeated in no. 1407) of J., VI, p. 315 which says: "The victim should not address the executioner, nor should the latter ask the victim to address him."
3. *Roads to Freedom*, London, 1928, p. 135.
4. J., I, p. 385; III, pp. 326, 392; V, p. 459; VI, pp. 3, 387, 388, 427.
5. J., VI, p. 387-8.
6. J., VI, p. 427.
7. J., VI, p. 8. *Cf. Manu*, ix. 288.
8. J., III, p. 326 "*mā cintayitthā, bahu bandhanāgāre manussā ti....aparabhāge bandhanāgārāni nimmanussāni jātāni.*"
9. J., V, p. 459.

In case of emergency, even the prisons were thrown open and the released thieves and robbers were employed as warriors and fighting-men against an enemy.[1]

On certain special occasions also like the return of a prince from Takkasilā[2] or his marriage and coronation,[3] or on festivals,[4] general release of prisoners was declared by beat of drum (*bandhanamokkho ghosito*).[5]

Obviously, the hard and dehumanising treatment of the prisoners was, as is even now, intended to serve as a deterrent. To quote Bertrand Russel again: "the object of the prison administration is to save trouble, not to study the individual case. He is kept in captivity in a cell from which all sight of the earth is shut out: he is subjected to harshness by warders who have too often become brutalized by their occupation. He is solemnly denounced as an enemy to society. He is compelled to perform mechanical tasks, chosen for their wearisomeness. He is given no education and no incentive to self-improvement. Is it to be wondered at if, at the end of such a course of treatment, his feelings towards the community are no more friendly than they were at the beginning?"[6] This is the present day condition of prisons all over the world, excepting a few cases. There is no exaggeration in the above observation as many a political prisoner in India has personally witnessed during recent days.[7] How far, then, this present civilization can be called advanced when practically the same prison-administration prevails after a period of not less than 2000 years?

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1. J., VI, p. 427.
2. J., IV, p. 176.
3. J., V, p. 285; VI, p. 156-G. 746.
4. J., VI, p. 327-G. 1444 "*ye keci baddhā mama atthi ratthe sabbe va te bandhanā mocayantu.*" Also *ibid*, p. 592-G. 2467.
5. *Cf. Arthaśāstra*, II, 36; Aśoka's *P. E.* V.
6. *Roads to Freedom*, p. 135.
7. See, among others, K. J. Śridharāṇī, *Insān Miṭā dūṅgā* (*Guj.*) J. K. Meghaṇī, *Jel officenī bārietht* (*Guj.*)

CHAPTER V

MILITARY ORGANISATION

I

THE FOUR-FOLD ARMY

ORGANISATION.

AS WARS AND FRONTIER-troubles were quite frequent in those days, each State had necessarily to keep and maintain a well-equipped and organized military force at its command. Though the stories do not enlighten us much upon this military organisation, whatever little they give is not altogether valueless. The traditional division of an army into four component parts is quite familiar (*caturaṅgiṇi senā*).[1] These consisted of chariots (*rathā*) elephants (*hatthi*) cavalry (*assā*) and infantry (*patti*).[2] There are also references to a complete army of 'Eighteen *akkhohiṇis*' (*aṭṭhārasa akkhohiṇī saṁkhāya sena*)[3] well-known as the combined force of the Kauravas and the Pāṇḍavas in the Great War.[4]

CHARIOTS.

A chariot was a very important and an esteemed apparatus of war. No details as to its construction are however met with. But we may imagine it to be not very materially different from the Epic chariot which again was not a great development on the *Vedic* one. Let us observe its different parts (*aṅgā*) which were complete (*samattā*) and well-fastened to one another (*susaññatā*).[5] It had generally two wheels (*cakka* or *cakra*) probably four angular wides,[6] a felly, spokes (*ārā*) and a nave (*nābhi*). The rim and the felly together constituted the *nemi*. The hole in the nave was called '*kha*' into which the end of the axle was put. The axle (*akkha-akṣa*) was made of wood and the body of the chariot (*kosa*) was placed above it. There were seats for the warriors (*upādhiyo-upasthā*)[7] Ordinarily, there was a pole (*īsa* or *kubbaro-kūbara*),[8] which was fastened to the box of the car on one end and passed through the yoke on

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1. J., III, p. 249; IV, p. 125; V, p. 486; VI, p. 275-G. 1188.
2. J., V, p. 195—G. 4; 322—G. 125 "*Hatthiassarathapattisenāya caturaṅgiṇi*. VI, p. 275 G. 1188.
3. J., VI, p. 21—G. 67; pp. 395, 399, 409, 434, 435.
4. See Hopkins, *op. cit.*, p. 196 "This is an enormous number, making a total of 3,936,600 in the whole of the forces engaged and is doubtless a great exaggeration. P. N. Banerji, *op. cit.*, p. 201; also G. T. Date, *The Art of War in Ancient India*, p. 53.
5. J., IV, pp. 209-10; J, VI, pp. 252-3 GG. 1127-36, names almost all the parts of a chariot which is here taken to compare with the human body. See for these parts Hopkins, *op. cit.*, pp. 237-43; Date, *op. cit.*, pp.46-8; *Ved. Ind.*, II, pp. 201-3.
6. J., IV, p. 210, by the bye, seems to indicate that in place of an iron sheath, a strap of leather like that of a lion's skin may also be used, and used with a greater advantage as in that case the *nemi* would be much stronger (*galacammaṁ uppāṭetvā caturaṅgula matte ṭhane ayapaṭṭena viya nemimaṇḍale parikkhitu nemi ca thirā bhavissati*), *ayosukatanemiyo* in J., VI, p. 580-G. 2382.
7. Hopkins, *op. cit.*, p. 238-9; *Vedic Index*, II, p 207.
8. When a distinction is intended, *īsa* is the lower, *kūbara* the upper end of the pole, *J. A O. S.*, 13, p. 241.

the other end. The yoke (*yugo*) was placed on the necks of the horses, one on each side of the pole. The fastenings of the yoke are termed *yottaka* (*yoktṛ*- modern *jotar*) which fastened the yoke and the pole in the middle and probably the two ends of the yoke with the neck of the horses. There were reins, *raśmi*, controlled by the *Sārathi* who goaded the horses with the *patoda*. The car-pole, held at one end by the yoke, was either regarded as divided at the heavy end into three parts, two of these being side braces that ran behind the horses and connected at each end with the axle-wood, and this was called the 'three-fold piece' *tidaṇḍa* (*tridaṇḍa* or *triveṇu*) or this piece was a triangle of bamboo one side of which was parallel to the axle and the other two ran together to the pole.[1] There was a white *chattaka* (*chhatra*) or an umbrella above. Whether the sides (*vakkhara*) had railings or not we do not know.[2] The noiseless running of the car (*akūiana*) seems to be praised. The little, light and swift (*lahu-laghu*) car was desirable. The normal number of horses seems to have been two, but four are also often mentioned.[3] "It is uncertain whether in these cases, the extra horse was attached in front or at the side; possibly both modes were in use."[4] This is a typical description of a war—chariot:

> "Lo! Sixty thousand cars all yoked with banners flying free
> With tiger skin and panther hide, a gorgeous sight to see,
> Each driven by mailed charioteers, all armed with bow in hand."[5]

No reference is to be found in the stories as to the size and dimensions of the different parts of a chariot.[6]

ELEPHANTS.

The elephant was a new animal for the early *Vedic* Indians who recognized it as the animal with a hand (*mṛga-hastin*).[7] But in course of time the people became acquainted with it and, as in the Epics, so in the *Jātaka* stories, it had taken an honourable rank in the army and on other royal occasions. In the stories before us we find these war-animals clad in armour, mounted upon by mahauts (*gāmaṇis*) and armed warriors and causing a great havoc in battle. It seems, the king,

1. Hopkins, *op. cit.*, pp. 241-2. This reference to the *tidaṇḍa* in J., VI, p. 252-G. 1132 is obscure to the English translators, See J. VI, p. 125 n.
2. Hopkins, *op. cit.*, 13, p. 240.
3. J., I, p. 181—"*Dve bhatikā sindhave rathe yojetvā* . II, p. 39 "*Sabbasetacatusindhava-yuttarathavare* ; VI, p. 223-G. 965 "*Tatrāsuṁ kumudā yuttā cattāro sindhavā hayā.*"
4. *Vedic Index*, II, p. 202. Hopkins, *op. cit.*, pp. 242-2: 250-1.
5. J., V, p. 259—GG. 49-50; VI, pp. 48-G. 172-3; 49-G. 205-6. On the standards and flags of the Epic war-car Hopkins remarks: "They bear an important part in battle, for they are the rallying points of either party, and the standard of a great knight is well spoken of as the upholder of his whole army. They are not however national, but individual." *J. A. O. S.*, 13 p. 243. The best horses in the stories are always white Sindh horses and scarcely Kaṁbhojakas. See J., I, pp. 175, 181; II, pp...39, 428; VI, pp. 223—G. 965; *Kaṁbojakā assatarā*: J. IV, p. 464 G. 242. The epithets applied to these horses are *setā*, *kunudavaṇṇā*, *ajāneyyā*, *samadantā*, *vāhi*; *cf.* for all these, Hopkins, *op. cit.* pp. 255-7 For the equipment of the chariot of Poros see Curtius VIII, 14; for its representation on the bas-reliefs at Sāñchī and the Barhut Stupas. See Cunningham, *Stupa of Bharhut*, plxii,
6. The *Vedic* car had 188 *aṅgulis* (finger-breadths) for the pole, 104 for the axle, and 86 for the yoke: *Ved. Ind.*, II p. 203. The best chariot in the Mauryan period measured 10 *puruṣas* (*i.e.*, 120 *aṅgulas*) in height, and 12 *puruṣas* in width. Other kinds of chariots of different dimensions are also mentioned: *Arthaśāstra*, II, 23.
7. *Vedic, Index*, II, pp. 171-2.

when he led the army against his enemy, sat on his special elephant (*maṅgalahatthi*) and thence attacked the enemy's city.[1] Besides this state-elephant, there were of course a host of other elephants. Their value in fight was recognised. In fact, the battle-field was thought to be their home. Thus spurs a warrior:

> "O Elephant, a hero thou, whose home is in the field,
>
> There stands the gate before thee now: why dost thou turn and yield!"[2]

The tremendous havoc that these sturdy beasts did in battles is described in many a story. '*Yuddhe vikkantacāriṇā*',[3] they really were. "Winding his trunk about the shafts of the pillars he tore them up like so many toad stools; he beat against the gateway, broke down the bars, and forcing his way through entered the city and won it for its king."[4] In another scene the elephant is seen trampling and frightening away the host and breaking the camp and seizing the king by his topknot.[5] The ideal war-elephant is strongly-tusked and best when sixty years old—'a type of male vigour.'

> "*Nāgā ca kappitā dantī balavantā saṭṭhihāyanā*".[6]

These elephants were, as we said, clad in armour in girths and caparisons.[7] And the mahauts—*gāmaṇis*—were armed with spikes and hooks (*tomaraṅkusā*) to urge and direct the beast. The warriors who sat on their backs (*nāgakhandhādhipatino*) were the brilliant princes, brilliant in their ornaments and dress, carrying swords, well-oiled, glittering, held fast, these mighty men who strike and strike again, and wave their banners.[8] There were special elephant trainers (*hatthācariyās*) in the king's service.[9] In times of peace the elephants were richly decorated and used for processions.[10]

CAVALRY.

The third part of the four-fold army consisted of horsemen. Horse-riding was well known even in *Vedic* times,[11] but its use in battle in those early days is not proved.[12] In the Epic, of course, cavalry is a separate part or body (*kulaṁ*)[13] though the mounted soldiers do not necessarily act together. "They appear," says

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1. J., II, pp. 22, 94; III, p. 385.
2. J., II, p. 95-G 61—"*Saṅgāmāvasaro sūro*" *Cf. Arthaśāstra*, VII, 2; and for Greek writers who praise this beast see McCrindle, *Megasthenes and Arrian.*, pp. 93 *ff*; 222.
3. J., III, p. 386-G. 98.
4. J., II, p. 95.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 22. These deeds of strength are included in Kauṭilya's enumeration: *Arthaśāstra*, x. 4.
6. J., VI, pp. 449-G 1579; 581-G. 2392. *Cf.* Hopkins, *op. cit.*, 13 p. 268.
7. J., V, p. 258-G. 43 "*Suvaṇṇakacchā mātaṅgā hemakappanavāsasā*" VI, pp. 21—G. 64; 47–G. 168; 49-G. 199; 581—G. 2392 "*Kacchāya baddhamānāya kuñcaṁ nadati vāraṇo.*"
8. J., VI, p. 449—GG. 1579-84.
9. J., II, pp. 20-2; VI, p. 47.
10. *Supra*, p. 109.
11. *Vedic Index*, I, p. 42.
12. *Ibid.*
13. Hopkins, *op. cit.*, p. 13, 262.

Hopkins, "as concomitants, dependent groups, but separate horsemen appear everywhere. Their employment was much influenced by that of the elephants."[1]

In our stories this cavalry-host is as firm and sturdy as the war-cars and the elephants. These war-horses were clad in iron-armour (*vammaṁ*) and mail (*sannāhaṁ*).[2] The best thorough-breds were the Sindhava horses and were called *ajāniyā*: *Ajānīya ca jātiyā Sindhavā sīghavāhanā,*[3] though Kamboja horses are also known.[4] Thus are the thoroughbreds described:

> " No matter when or where,
>
> In weal or woe,
>
> The thorough-bred fights on;
>
> The hack (*valavā*) gives in,"[5]

and so in another place a noble horse fallen wounded on the battle-field is made to utter these brave words before his charger:

> "Though prostrate now, and pierced with darts, I lie,
>
> Yet still no hack can match the destrier.
>
> So harness none but me......"[6]

The cavalry-men were armed with swords and bows (*illiyācāpadhārī*),[7] but not lances as Arrian is reported[8] to have seen in the Mauryan cavalry.

INFANTRY.

Foot-soldiers constituted the main portion or force of the army. We have no information from these stories as to the various classes of these soldiers like the *maula*, *bhṛtaka*, *śreṇibala*, *mitrabala*, or *aṭavika* of Kauṭilya.[9] But it seems certain that they were recruited from the brave people of the *Kṣatriya* blood, faithful to the core.[10] The foot-soldiers also were clad in mail-coats in order to protect themselves from the attacks of the sharp arrows and other dangerous missiles.[11] And in their hands they carried various weapons, noticeable among them being bows and swords and spears. They probably were dressed up in robes of different colours, some in blue some in brown and others

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1. *Ibid.*
2. J., I, p. 179; V, p. 322-G. 123; VI, p. 139-G. 614. *Uracchado* occurs at *ibid.*, p. 265. G. 1161.
3. J., V, p. 259—G. 46; VI, pp. 47—G. 170; 49-G. 201, 579—G. 2380; other epithets *Jātarūpamayā kaṇṇā* and *kacaṁbhamayā khurā*: J. VI p. 268-G. 1161.
4. J., IV, p. 464—G. 242; *Arthaśāstra*, II, 30.
5. J., I, p. 181-G. 23. '*ajañño* and *valavā* are distinguished here as in "*seyyo va valavā bhojjho* in J I. p. 180. *Valavā* perhaps represents the *Vedic Vaḍavā*, "mare"—of the *Vedic Index*, II, p. 237.
6. J., I, p. 180.
7. J., V, p. 259—G. 47; VI, pp. 47—G. 1711; 49-G. 202; 579-G. 2381.
8. McCrindle, *op. cit.*, p. 221.
9. *Arthaśāstra*, IX, 2.
10. *Cf.* the perilous tests to which the soldiers were subjected in J., III, pp. 5-6.
11. J., VI, pp. 448—G. 1575 (*vammim*); 579-G. 2374 (*Sannaddha*); also V, p. 373-G. 140.

in white.[1] Most of these foot-soldiers were trained archers, as we find that archery was in a greatly advanced stage in those days, and kings kept those versed in this branch in their service.[2] The soldiers clad in armour, *Kalāpa* on their heads, with leather-shields and bows in their hands, present a typical scene of the infantry :

> "(*Nassa*) *cammaṁ va kītaṁ va*
>
> *Vammiṇe ca dhanuggahe.*"[3]

The above were the four component parts[4] of the army. But these did not exhaust the composition of a complete army. There accompanied with the army carpenters and other workmen with their tools ready, sages and *paṇḍits* for opportune advice and encouragement, other mercenaries with conches and drums. Here is a vivid description of the army of the Pañcāla king Cūlaṇi : "This army of Pañcāla is infinite. Men with burdens on their backs (*piṭṭhimati*), foot-soldiers, men skilful in fight, men ready to destroy, a great din, the noise of drums and conches, here is all skill in the use ot steel weapons (*lohavijjālaṅkārā*) here are banners and knights in mail, artisans (*sippi*) and warriors (*Sūrā*). Ten sages (*paṇḍitā*) are here, profound in wisdom, secret in stratagem (*rahogamā*) and eleventh, the mother of the king encouraging the host of Pañcāla.... this host arrayed with three intervals...."[5]

We see how well-equipped the *Jātaka*-army was. No reliance can be placed however on loose statemets as to its numerical strength. And moreover the statements are in themselves not clear. Sometimes the number of the warriors (*yodhā*) is only 500,[6] at others 1000[7] while 60,000 is a stock phrase.[8] 14,000 is the number given for each of the three forces of elephants, chariots and horses in one place,[9] whereas in another[10] it is 60,000. The numbers may not be precise, but they seem reasonable at least, when we know, even from the notices of foreign travellers, that 'armies of vast proportions were not unknown in India.' The army of Chandragupta Maurya, according to the records of Pliny and Plutarch, consisted of as many as 9,000

1. I. VI, p. 519, G. 2375.
2. J., I, p. 356-7 ; V, p. 128.
3. J., V, p. 373—G. 140.
4. There is no reference to anything like a naval force in the *Jātaka* stories. Both Kauṭilya and Megasthenes speak of the department in detail. See Dikshitar, *Hindu Adm. Institutions*, p. 294-6.
5. J., VI, pp. 396-7—GG. 1451-8. A similar description occurs at J. V, 322-GG. 117-28 ; the music in the army consisted of : '*bherī, mūtiṅgā ca saṅkhā paṇavadeṇḍimā*' ; the tumultuous army is thus pictured : '*akkhobhaṇi apariyantā sāgarasseva ūmiyo*' 'Unbroken, limitless, as are the billows of the main.' The ordinary soldiers wore no such paraphernalia as the king himself—"*Vālavījanaṁ uṇhīsaṁ khaggaṁ chattaṁ ca paṇḍaraṁ*" J. VI, p. 22-G. 72; also V, p. 322-GG. 119-22. See Hopkins, *J. A. O. S.*, pp. 316 *ff.*
6. J., II, p. 401—*pañcasatamattā mahāyodhā.*
7. J., I, pp. 263-4—*Sahassamattā*....*Sūramahāyodhā* ; III, pp. 5, 6.
8. J., VI, p. 579-G. 2374—"*saṭṭhisahassāṇi yadhino cārudassanā*"
9. *Ibid.*, pp. 579-80 ; GG. 2378-82.
10. J., V, pp. 258-9-GG. 43-50.

elephants, 30,000 horses and 60,000 footmen, besides chariots,[1] while according to Strabo[2] his camp had 400,000 soldiers.

The whole of the army-organisation was thus divided into several divisions which were probably under different generals. But the whole army-administration was under the control of the Commander-in-chief—the *Senāpati*—who was one of the chief administrative heads. Though no clear picture of this officer is given by the stories, we can well imagine his position from some general statements made about him. Often, as we have seen,[3] he belongs to the ruling family and, as such, occupies a prominent place among the ministers. In fact one *Jātaka*[4] clearly suggests that he was the first among all ministers. As the title indicates, he was the leader of the army, and in wars occupied the next highest military post after the king. In times of peace, however, he is seen acting as a judge[5] and looking after the due protection of life and property of the citizens.[6] He resides in a well-guarded palace with gates and watch-towers in the city and lives in prosperity,[7] conferring with other ministers on important matters.[8] It seems to us that the *Mahāsenagutta*—protector of the army—twice mentioned in the stories,[9] is the same as the *Senāpati*, and there is nothing to distinguish between the two as Fick[10] seems to do.

II

WARFARE

Well-organised and well-constituted as the armies were in those days, it is but natural to see that the art of warfare, together with its various tactics, stratagems and practices, was well known. The unsafe condition of the frontiers due to the depredations of robbers and the aggressions of neighbouring kings or even the revolts of impatient princes, no doubt, kept the hands of the soldiers full. When the troops stationed on the borders (*paccantayodhe*) failed to cope with a situation, they sent letters to the king who immediately proceeded to the scene of operations, even though the season might not be favourable.[11]

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1. See Dikshitar, *The Mauryan Polity*, p. 190.
2. McCrindle, *op. cit.*, p. 55. According to Arrian, Porus possessed cavalry 4000 strong, chariots 300, elephants 200, and 30,000 efficient infantry. For various other estimates see Date, *op. cit.*, pp. 53 *ff.*, P. N. Banerji, *op. cit.*, pp. 196-7.
3. *Supra*, p. 95.
4. J., V, p. 178—"*Senāpatipamukhāni asītiamaccasahassāni*"
5. J., II, p. 186 ; V, p. 125.
6. J., V, pp. 212 ; 459.
7. *Ibid*, p. 213, 214-G. 60.
8. *Ibid*, p. 461.
9. *Ibid*, pp. 115, 184.
10. *Op. cit.*, p. 146 n.
11. J., I, pp. 304, 313, 437 ; II, pp. 74, 96, 208 ; 274 ; 315; III, pp. 8, 400,497 ; IV, pp. 189, 446 ; V, p. 135.

When a fight was to ensue, the whole army was warned to assemble for the purpose by beats of martial drum.[1] One might infer from this that, "there were either no fixed quarters for the troops or that they lived in different barracks in different parts of the city, and were therefore required to be collected together by some convenient means. Or was it calling a citizen-militia to arms ?[2] The latter seems to be the more primitive stage and, from the nature of references to warriors, the inference is that there were regular troops, though there was no caste-restriction in the recruits. As to the real war-life of these soldiers we know next to nothing from these stories. How they were supported, what they did in peace, what did they get from the king as salary, if they at all got it, are questions which cannot be satisfied with answers. Inference makes us say, however, that the pay of the soldier was a part of the booty in war : that the older stage when he was a fraction of the common folk, carrying on ordinary activities of tending cattle, offering sacrifices *etc.* had gone, and now he had become a regular officer of the king.[3]

We have no very detailed description of the march of the army. As the most common feature of warfare is around the city—the capital city—and not in open battle-fields, it is natural that we do not find any such description. One interesting thing we know. The army during its march set up camps (*khandhāvāraṁ*).[4] Some specific time of the year must have been regarded as proper and seasonable (*kāle*) for starting on a campaign.[5] The army marched in regular bands (*vaggavaggā*).[6] The army took a suitable position, not far from the city on which the attack was to be made. An aspiring king of Benares once comes to capture the Gandhāra capital, and stations his different forces in this manner : "Here be the elephants, here the horses, the chariots here, and here the footmen : thus do ye charge and hurl with your weapons ; as the clouds pour forth rain, so pour ye forth a rain of arrows;" and he stirs up his soldiers witn an exhortation.[7] The arrangement of the different

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1. J., I, p. 358; III, p. 160; IV, p. 170 "*nagare bheriñ carāpetvā balakāyaṁ sannipātetthā*".
2. Sen, *op. cit.*, p. 131.
3. Able remarks of Hopkins on the Epic soldier can be applied here : "As to the primitive Hindu soldier of the pre-Epic period, how he was supported, what he did in peace etc., we know next to nothing save by inference and by works too late to be considered as valid for the Epic period. We judge that his pay was a part of the booty ; that at first he was a fraction of the common folk, and in peace was not different from his neighbours, tending cattle, offering sacrifices, repelling assaults, making forays as times and wishes twirled his inclination. But gradually the cattle were left to others that preferred a quiet life ; agriculture arose and caste gratings separated thenceforth and forever the hired soldiers from the ranchman and the farmer. Now he belonged wholly to the king, and drew his pay from his valour, or later still, from a regular stipend, plus what his individual bravery enabled him to seize as private booty on the field of wars. In the Epic period he lives a life in part beautifully resembling that of the German soldier ; in war he fights as he is bid. In peace he amuses himself, and does nothing else"—*J. A. O. S.*, 13, p. 190. Both Megasthenes and Arrian support our inference. See McCrindle, *op. cit.*, pp. 85, 211.
4. J., II, p. 208 ; V, p. 195 ; VI, p. 528.
5. J., II, p. 208—G. 150. *Cf. J. A. O. S.*, 13, p. 191; Dikshitar, *Hindu Adm.*, *Inst.*, p. 297.
6. J.,III, p. 6 ; IV, p. 346. *Cf. Arthaśāstra*, X. 2.
7. J., II, p. 217 and GG. 156-7 ; also *Ibid.*, pp. 219-21 ; VI, p. 405. Kauṭilya gives valued consideration on the choice of a suitable ground for encamping the forces which must be favourable to the invading monarch and unfavourable to the enemy : *Arthaśāstra*, X, 4.

orders of the army in the above instance must have been in accordance with some one of the arrays '*Vyūhas*' known in those days. Three such orders of battle are known to the *Jātakas*, *viz.*, the Lotus array, the Wheel array and the Waggon array.[1] Amongst these, the Lotus order as arranged by the leader of the boars against a tiger is described in a legendary manner as follows: "In the midst he placed the suckling pigs, and around them their mothers, next to these the barren sows, next a circle of young porkers, next the young ones with tusks just a-budding, next the big tuskers, and the old Boars outside all. Then he posted smaller squares of ten, twenty, thirty a-piece here and there (*dasavaggaṁ visativaggaṁ*). He made them dig a pit for himself, and for the tiger to fall into a hole of the shape of a winnowing basket: between the two holes was left a spit of ground for himself to stand on. Then he, with the stout fighting boars, went around everywhere encouraging the Boars."[2]

Legendary though this account is, it no doubt, brings out the underlying idea behind such an arrangement of army—forces in actual warfare. "The order was a concentric one, based on a careful adjustment and assortment of the varying degrees of strength of the different elements of the army, and the posting of the different grades of the fighting material in such a fashion, that the strongest and the most efficient of the members always occupied the outermost circle."[3]

Before the actual start of the war (*saṅgāme paccupaṭṭhite*) the *purohita* and other wise sages who accompanied the army or the leader or the king himself made a short but passioned speech to inspire and encourage the soldiers to fight to the finish and never fly from the field.[4] *Saṅgāme apalāyinaṁ* is the epithet of a true hero.[5] And everything should be at the foot of Honour:

"Where shafts and spears in battle's van are hurtling fast and free,

And in the rout when comrades fall or turn them round and flee,

At Honour's voice they check their flight even at the cost of life,

And panic-stricken as they were once more renew the strife."[6]

It is very rarely, if at all, that we witness an open fighting between two hostile armies. The Assaka-Kaliṅga conflict may be taken as typical. The

1. J., II, pp. 405-6 "*Yuddhaṁ nāma padumavyūhacakkavyūhasakaṭavyūhavasena tividhaṁ hoti;*" IV p 345—"*Yuddhaṁ nāma sakaṭavyūhādivasena tividhaṁ hoti.*" Details of various other arrangements are found scattered in the *Dharmasūtras*, *Arthaśāstra*, *Purāṇas* the Epics and later works on '*Nīti*'.. Even if we disregard other later works like the *Agni Purāṇa*, which give codes of war in accordance with Prof. Hopkins' strict and cautious criticism against using them for more antique period, we cannot possibly ignore Kauṭilya who is so precise and combines in himself practical knowledge with theory. See Hopkins, *J. A. O. S.*, 13, p. 194, note. Not to speak of other works, Kauṭilya mentions details of various battle-arrays which include our *Sakaṭa* and *Cakka vyūhas;* See *Arthaśāstra*, X, 6. For the detailed descriptions and maps of these, see Date, *op. cit.*, pp. 72 *ff*; 94. 105.
2. J., II, pp. 405-6; p. 345.
3. Sen, *op. cit.*, p. 132.
4. See J., II, pp. 217-GG. 156-7; 219-G. 158.
5. J., VI, p. 449-G. 1577. *Cf.* J., III, p. 5 "*anivattino hutvā yujjathā.*"
6. J., V, p. 410-G. 283.

two armies meet on the borders of their respective kingdoms. The Assaka king, advised by his intelligent minister, marches on a thorough-bred with his thousand followers against the opposite host. The Assaka army is victorious, for it has:

> "......the hero bold.
>
> The fixed resolve that may not yield,
>
> Intrepid prowess in the field,
>
> High courage and adventurous might."[1]

The siege-warfare, on the other hand, was the usual practice. The aggressive king would besiege his neighbour's capital and would take the offensive with the call of "either surrender or battle." If it was surrender, it was all right, otherwise the besieged king had to be ready for battle. It was for this reason that the cities of those days were so strongly fortified. The fortifications consisted of walls (*pākāra*) and, at intervals, gates (*dvāra*) with towers (*aṭṭālakoṭṭhaka*) and battlements (*gopura*). And immediately surrounding the walls, were moats and trenches (*parikhā*) which obstructed the approach of the enemies as far as practicable.[2] In one instance, along the rampart of the city, watch towers were constructed at the four gates and between the watch towers three moats were dug, *viz.*, a water-moat, a mud-moat and a dry moat.[3] The walls were generally built of bricks (*iṭṭhikā*)[4] and the height did not extend beyond 18 cubits.[5]

The first step during the operation of the siege was directed against the ditches. Thus we hear a command given by the invading king to his army: "Disperse all about the city, fill up the trenches, break down the walls, raze the gate-towers, enter the city, use the people's heads like pumpkins cast on a cart ...."[6] But this was not an easy task. The besiegers could surround the city, could girdle it with fences of elephants and horses, chariots and mass of soldiers,[7] arranged in any number of ways.[8] But the actual attack very often taxed the skill and energy of the besiegers to the utmost in scaling or battering down the walls of the enemy's city, and success was hard to get, if at all.[9]

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1. J., III, p. 3-7 and G. 4.

2. J., II, pp. 50, 95, IV, p. 106-G. 38. "*Ukkiṇṇantaraparikhaṁ dalhamaṭṭālakoṭṭhakaṁ.*" VI, p. 276—GG. 1190-1.

3. J., VI, p. 390—"*nagare mahāpākāraṁ....tathā anupākāradvāraṭṭālake antaraṭṭālake udakaparikhaṁ kaddamaparikhaṁ sukkha parikhaṁ ti tisso parikhā.*" *Cf. Arthaśāstra*, II 3.

4. J., III, p. 446.

5. J., IV, p. 182 "*aṭṭhārasahatthaṁ pākāraṁ.*"

6. J., VI, p. 400—"*Khippaṁ ito ito ca nagaraṁ avattharitvā parikhaṁ bhinditvā, pākāraṁ maddantā dvāraṭṭālake bhinditvā nagaraṁ pavisitvā sakaṭehi kumbhaṇḍāni viya mahājanassa sīsāṇi gaṇhāthā.*"

7. *Ibid*, p. 396.

8. *Ibid*, p. 397-G. 1457 "*tisandhiparivāritā*" p. 435, "*tisandhiratusaṅkhepaṁ.*"

9. J., II, pp. 218, 221; III, p. 159 "*parehi appadhaṁsiyaṁ*"

First, the trenches were so deep and filled with water or mud, with snakes and crocodiles, that it was not a very easy task to cross them.[1] Even if they could, the walls and gate-towers afforded a stronger resistance. For it was from there that the mighty warriors belonging to the other party, roused up and, armed with all manner of weapons, marched up to the gate and red-hot missiles, showers of mud and stones, were thrown upon the invaders. When the latter were in the ditch, attempting to destroy the wall, the men in the gate-towers dealt havoc with arrows, javelins and spears, with the result that the attempt of the invaders ignominiously failed.[2]

When such attempts at storming and attacking failed, other means to cause the other party to surrender were thought of. Here it was that stratagies and diplomacy came to play an important part. Men of shrewd commonsense and profound wisdom, being at the helm of military affairs, brought into play their endless manoeuvres and novel tactics, thus lending a considerable interest to martial operations.[3] Stoppage of supplies of necessary provisions, by means of blockade, seems to have been a very familiar device by which obstinate resistance could be forced into surrender.[4] In order to avert the calamity consequent upon such a blockade, elaborate and comprehensive measures were taken before-hand for storing up food, water, wood and other necessaries of life by far-sighted ministers and advisers of the king. The city was thoroughly guarded. Poor people residing in the city were removed outside, where they could be free to get food and water, and instead rich families from outside were brought and settled in the city, and great quantities of corn and water stored up.[5]

A regular system of espionage was another feature of such siege-warfare. Spies (*upanikkhittapurisā*) were regularly employed to watch the activities and preparations going on in the enemy's camp, and secret reports were received which greatly helped to determine lines of actions to be taken against the enemy.[6] The postern gate (*Cūladvāra*) of the city was the usual way through which the ingress or egress of these men was possible. Ingenuous efforts were made through these spies who mixed up with the enemy's people to know the secrets, and spread internal dissensions and disaffection by "so representing the facts (*musāvādaṁ*) as to produce an impression, that the whole army had been corrupted by taking bribes from the other party." In this way

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1. J., VI, p. 407-8. "*parikhāyaṁ kuṁbhilādīnaṁ galakuṁbhila*" *Cf. Arthaśāstra*, II, 3.

2. J., VI, p. 400 "....*taṁ sutvā sūrayodhā nānāvidha āvudhahatthā dvārasamīpaṁ gantvā....puresehi pakkamāla-kalalasiñcanapāsāṇapātanādihi upaddutā patikkamanti, pākāraṁ bhindissāmā' ti parikhaṁ otiṇṇe pi antaraṭṭālesu ṭhitā usu-satti-tomarādihi mahāvināsaṁ pāpenti.*"

3. Sen, *op. cit.*, pp. 132-3.

4. J., I, p. 409 "*Sabbadisāsu sañcaraṁ pacchinditvā nagaraṁ rundhi....tato dārūdakabbhattaparikkhayena kilantamanussaṁ nagaraṁ vinā yuddhena jantussati.*' VI, pp. 400, 401,402, 406.

5. J., VI, pp. 390, 393 ; 400-2.

6. *Ibid.*, pp. 296-G. 1293. "*Ārakā parivajjeya sahituṁ pahitaṁ janaṁ ;*" 389-90 ; 401-2: These spies, both in peace and war, being away from their families, had the right of allowance and maintenance for their families from the State.

the forces were disrupted and plans failed.[1] Sending and receiving of messages were mostly effected by fastening letters to the arrows and throwing them in the desired direction.[2] Flight of the king or the leader from the field was an unfailing signal for his party to retreat.[3]

There remain now a few observations to be made as regards warfare. It was realized that "a small army with counsel could conquer a large army that has none, one king could conquer many, even as the rising sun conquers the darkness."[4] There is nothing more to be said with regard to the ethical side of war. The long-standing custom of not hurting a messenger or ambassador was followed.[5] It is moreover probable that wounded soldiers in war were carried away on stretchers (*phalakā*) and properly treated.[6] When a king was invited by another king, the expenses (*paribbayaṁ*) of his army were borne by the latter.[7] The victorious king while returning to the city, went round it in a solemn procession,[8] and the warriors feasted on dainties.[9]

WEAPONS.

Various kinds of weapons were in use for offensive and defensive purposes. It is not necessary to go into detailed descriptions of each.[10] Bow (*dhanu*, *cāpa*), quiver (*kaṇḍa*) and arrow (*sara*) were familiar. There were three parts of an arrow: *tāla* handle, *daṇḍaka* stock, and *vaja*-feathers.[11] Poisoned arrows were also in use.[12] *Nārāca* was perhaps an iron arrow.[13] *Vāsī*, *pharasu* or *kuṭhāri* representing axe, and *mugara*, a kind of club, were ordinary weapons.[14] *Sūla* was a trident spit.[15] Sword and spear were more familiarly used; *Sarasatti* is a frequent compound;[16] *tomara* was a kind of javelin.[17] Sword (*khagga*: *asi*) reigns supreme. The common type was about 33 *aṅgulas* long,[18] "of the colour of sheat-fish, well-oiled, glittering, well-finished, very sharp, made of tempered steal and strong.[19] Sheath and hilt of the sword—*tharu*: *thala* are known.[20] *Vajira-vajra* or the thunderbolt is mentioned.[21] Of

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1. *Ibid.*, pp. 391, 399, 401, 403.
2. J., II, p. 90; VI, p. 400 "*paṇṇaṁ likhitvā kaṇḍe bandhitvā taṁ pavattim pesesuṁ.*"
3. J., II, p. 21.—"*Niññāyakattā saṅgāmassa mahantaṁ pi balaṁ yujjhamānaṁ thokathokaṁ osakkati.*" VI, pp. 405, 409, 446—G. 1563.
4. J., VI, p. 448—G. 1566 "*Appaseno pi ce manti mahāsenaṁ amantinaṁ jināti rājarājāno adicco v'udayan tamaṁ.*"
5. J., II, p. 319—"*dūto smīti vadantaṁ na vārenti;*" VI, p. 528 "*tasmā dūtaṁ na hananti esa dhammo sanantano.*" *Cf.* S. V. Viśvanātha, *International Law in Ancient India*, p. 29.
6. J., VI, p. 55. "*laddhappahāre phalake nippajjāpetvā vuyhanti.*"
7. *Ibid*, p. 428.
8. J., I, p. 438.
9. J., III, p. 522-G. 75.
10. For this one may be directed to Prof. Hopkins' learned treatment in *J. A. O. S.*, 13; pp. 269 *ff.* and Date, *op. cit.*, p. 10 *ff.*
11. J., V, p. 130: feathers of heron: II, p. 89; V, p. 475-G. 390. *nāli* should be quiver III, p. 220; *dhanutuhnira*, V, p. 129.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 49; *J. A. O. S.*, 13, pp. 277-8.
13. J., IV, p. 182; V, p. 129; *J. A. O. S.*, 13, pp. 275, 279.
14. J., I, p. 273; II, p. 102; IV, p. 208.
15. J., V, pp. 163, 488.
16. J., I, p. 173; III, p. 6; V, pp. 410, 481; VI, p. 400; *Kaṇaya* in I, p. 273.
17. J., VI, p. 400.
18. J., I, p. 273; III, p. 338.
19. J., VI, p. 449—GG. 1581-3; *nettiṁsa-nistriṁśa*: *Ibid.*, p. 188; 449-G. 1581.
20. J., III, pp. 220-1.
21. J., IV, p. 182. See Date, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

defensive armour and weapons, we have both *cammaṁ* and *vammaṁ*. The leather-shield (*cammaṁ*) is described as of a hundred layers carefully wrought by leather-workers and a strong defence against arrows.[1] And coat-of-mail or armour was also very well known, and used, as the word *vammiṇo*, so frequently occurs. It was worn underneath the undergarment (*nivāsanantare*).[2] *Kiṭa*, *Karoṭi* and *Uṇhīsa* representing the diadem worn on the head are known.[3]

Before closing up this chapter, we would like to notice the police arrangements of those times, as this should come under the head of military-organisation.

As we are, all this time, speaking about central administration, we may leave the local police-system which, however, rested with the village-headman himself.

For the city and towns, there was an official variously called chief-constable, city-governor and Lord Protector—the *nagaraguttika*. As the title signifies, he was the city governor, his duties being to guard the city, especially during the night, to arrest thieves and questionable personalities and to carry out sentences of punishment.[4] At night-fall, the gates of the city were closed by the gate-keepers who called out three times before doing so,[5] and the city-guards petrolled the streets.[6] Probably, a drum was sounded to the night-watches[7], which were three.[8] The *nagaraguttika* wore round his neck, as a badge of his office, a wreath of red flowers[9]. He was "king by night.'[10] The police however was not above corruption.[11] Our *nagaraguttika*, perhaps, corresponds to the *nagala-viyohālaka* of Aśoka,[12] and the *nāgaraka* or the *pauravyavahārika* of Kauṭilya.[13]

There is an indication of the presence of a sort of 'Volunteer Police' (*aṭavirakkhikā*) who, dwelling at the entrance of woods and forests, hired themselves out to guide travellers through those forests which were frequently infested with robbers.[14] It seems from the relations of these '*vanacarakas*' with the king, that they had some official position and probably correspond to the Kauṭilyan *araṇyacaras*.[15]

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1. J., VI, p. 454-G. 1610 *Yodhaphalaka*: V, p. 389.
2. J., VI, p. 296 (*nivatthakojo*), V, p. 129; *Sannāhakañcukaṁ*: *ibid.*
3. J., V, pp. 128-9; 373—G. 140; VI, p. 592-G. 2464.
4. J., III, pp. 30, 59, 436.
5. J., II, p. 379 "*nagaradvāraṁ pidhanavelāya tikkhattuṁ saddaṁ anusāvesi.*"
6. J., I, p. 457, II, p. 140; III, pp. 59, 436.
7. J., V, p. 459—"*yāmabherivelā*"
8. J., I, p. 103 "*tiyāmaratti*"
9. J., III, p. 30 "*nagaraguttikānaṁ kaṇṭhe rattapupphadāma*"
10. *Ibid.*
11. J., III, pp. 59, 436.
12. *Separate Kaliṅga Edict I.*
13. *Arthaśāstra*, 1, 13; II, 36; IV, 5.
14. J., I, p. 283; II, p. 335; III, pp. 98, 150, 249, 371; V, pp. 22, 471.
15. *Arthaśāstra*, II, 1, 34.

CHAPTER VI

LOCAL GOVERNMENT

There can be no doubt, that so extensive states like Kāsī and Koasla, Aṅga and Magadha, Assaka and Kaliṅga, with well-marked boundaries and distinctions, were divided into different administrative units, provinces or districts and villages. Though we, unfortunately, do not get much information about the provincial or district administrative arrangements, it is nevertheless conceivable that officials like the *rajjugāhaka-amaccas* or *rājukas*, with whom we have already become familiar, were provincial heads. It has been well-maintained[1] that the *Rājukas* or *lājukas* of the Aśokan Inscriptions were provincial heads, their main functions being, presumably, survey, land settlements and irrigation. Though the term *mahāmatta* occurs several times in the *Jātakas*,[2] it is very difficult to say how far it corresponds with that occurring in the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya and the Aśoka Inscriptions where, indeed, it has been taken to mean provincial official.[3] Similarly is it doubtful whether the *yuttas* and the *purisas* appearing so often in these stories[4] should have any affinity with the *yuktas* and the *puruṣas* of the Mauryan administrative system.[5] It is certainly difficult to attach any technical significance to these general terms. Still we may be permitted to hold, that these were officials connected with the provinces or districts, but did not possess such wider and more distinct powers as their followers of the Mauryan days did. We may lastly note that there is even a suggestion to the fact that some kings appointed their princes as governors or viceroys over the provinces (*janapadas*) in their kingdoms,[6] as was really the case in the Mauryan days.[7]

AN ADMINISTRATIVE UNIT.

The village, on the other hand, was clearly an administrative unit. After all, what was a kingdom if not a definite collection of villages?[8] Then, as even now, the bulk of the people lived in villages. The greatness of a kingdom is represented by the number of villages it included.[9]

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1. Dikshitar, *The Mauryan Polity*, pp. 208; 216-9.
2. J., II, pp. 367, 378 ; IV, pp. 134—G. 101 where *mahāmattas* are distinct from *mantins*, 202 "*raññā va rājamahāmattena*"
3. Dikshitar, *op. cit.*, pp. 208-10. Of the third group of provincial officers *viz.*, the *prādeśikas* or the *pradeṣṭāras*, we have no mention in the stories.
4. J., IV, p. 492 ; V, pp. 14, 117—G. 20, where *yuttā* are clearly associated with the *Janapada* or district affairs ; I, pp. 200, 263, 384 ; II, p. 122 ; III, p. 326 ; VI, p. 135.
5. Dikshitar, *op cit.*, pp. 222-7.
6. J., IV, p. 131. "*Rājā tesaṁ janapadaṁ datvā uyyojesi ;*" also VI, p. 294—G. 1284.
7. Prince Bindusāra was the Viceroy of the southern provinces; Aśoka is also said to have been Viceroy at Takkasilā ; and under Aśoka himself, no doubt, his princes (*kumālas*) were appointed as viceroys at Taxila, Ujjain, Tosali and Suvarṇagiri : See Dikshitar, *op. cit.*, p. 200 *ff.* ;
8. *Cf.* Rhys Davids "But the peoples of India, then much more even than now, were, first and foremost, village-folk." *Buddhist India*, p. 50
9. J., III, pp. 365-367, G. 76 "...*gāmasahassāni paripuṇṇāni solasa;*" V. p. 258—G. 41 "*Saṭṭhi gāmasahassāni paripuṇṇāni sabbasa.*" The figures 16,000, and 60,000 may seem to be exaggerated, but they are not improbable. *Cf.* Pran Nath, "Videha may certainly have contained 16,000 villages, provided *village* be taken in the sense of survey village or estate. *Economic Condition*, p. 51.

A village (*gāma*) consisted of closely-situated habitations in the midst of cultivated fields and jungles. Beyond the fields lay the waste and the woodland, where the village-cattle were grazed,[1] and the villagers went to gather firewood and leaves of trees.[2] Most of the villages were protected with simple bamboo-palisades with gates.[3]

The population of a village extended from thirty to a thousand families[4] or, approximately, from 150 to 5000 souls. It is not necessary at present to go into economic details. But it is quite essential here to state some of those facts in order to get an idea of this administrative unit—the village.

There were different orders of villages, *viz.*, *nigamagāma*, *janapadagāma*, *dvārgāma* and *paccantagāma* and villages occupied with different guilds varying in importance and population. People could live in these villages a simple and inornate life, pursuing their trade and commerce, agriculture, and various other avocations in peace and security.

Though, so far as the internal administration of a village was concerned, it enjoyed a fair amount of autonomy, the central government did not follow a strictly non-interfering policy, as we shall see.

THE HEADMAN.

Every village was under the control of its headman called the *gāmabhojaka*[5] or the *gāmaṇi*.[6] The literal meaning of the title *gāmabhojaka* would be "one who enjoys a village", *i.e.*, a village given in reward by the king. Now, as has already been hinted at before,[7] there seem to have been two types of villages, *viz.*, (*a*) those, the revenues yielded by which were enjoyed by an individual and (*b*) others, the revenues of which were enjoyed by the State. In either case there must be a headman. Whether this headman was the rewarded person himself or not, is not at all clear. It may be easily supposed, however, that the higher officers like the *purohita*, who were the recipients of such grants, could not possibly act as the headmen of the villages. In that case, they only had concern with the annual income to fetch which they would proceed to their respective villages and leave every other item of administration in the hands of a person who was really the headman. In some other cases, where the recipients were just ordinary persons like a merchant or a Brāhmaṇa, the headman may have been the same as the recipient. Anyhow, since the distinction cannot be more comprehensive, we may proceed with our task of observing the actual administration of a village, taking the *gāmabhojaka* of the stories as the headman proper.

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1. J., I, pp. 193-4.
2. J., V, p. 103.
3. J., I, p. 239; II, p. 76 "*nalaparikkhitto*"; 135; III, p. 9; IV, 370.
4. J., I, p. 199. "*Tasmiṅ ca gāme tims 'eva kulāni honti;*" V, p. 71—"*ekekasmin pañca pañca kulasatāni vasanti;*" III, p. 281 "*Tesaṁ gāmato avidūre añño sahassakuṭiko gāmo*" also III, p. 8 "*Tattha tiṁsa janā rājasevakā vasanti.*" where 'thirty men' must of course mean thirty men with their families.'
5. J., I, pp. 199, 354, 483; II, pp. 136, 300—G. (?); IV, pp. 115, 326.
6. J., IV, p. 310—G. 84. *Grāmaṇi* is a *Vedic* title for the village-headman: *Vedic Index* I, p. 247. see now Atindranath Bose, *I.H.Q.*, Dec. 1937, pp. 610 *ff*.
7. *Supra*, p. 145.

The functions and powers of the *gāmabhojaka* were wide and important. He exercised judicial powers and also executive authority, so far as his civil and, to a certain extent, criminal jurisdiction extended. Thus one *gāmabhojaka* issued prohibitions against the slaughter of animals within his jurisdiction,[1] and another stopped the sale of wine.[2] Elsewhere[3] a *gāmabhojaka* fined a fisherman's wife for stirring up a quarrel and she was tied up and beaten to make her pay the fine. Once, when crops failed in a village due to famine, the headman distributed food to the famine-stricken villagers on promise of receiving a share of their next crops.[4] These instances sufficiently indicate that the headman had substantial powers at his command. But his powers were not unlimited, nor completely transferred. He could not become a tyrant in his own village.

Firstly, he was not without any control from above *i.e.*, the king. Once a *gāmabhojaka* spoke ill of the villagers to the king, but on their innocence being proved, the slanderer's (*pesuññakārakassa*) possessions were given over to them and he was made their slave and finally turned out of the village.[5] Another headman was properly punished by the king, as he, with his own people, went away to the forest, deliberately leaving the villagers at the mercy of robbers.[6] That his judicial powers also were restricted in character is seen from the fact, that he could not deal with complicated law-suits arising in his village,[7] nor could he inflict graver punishments. We see from the *Gāmaṇicaṇḍa Jātaka*,[8] that in judicial matters the final authority largely rested with the king or his Court. It also proves that the administration of justice was one of the essential links[9] that bound the villages to the Central Government. If one of the litigant parties in a village wanted redress at the hands of the king or his Court, inspite of suitable arrangements in the village itself, he could do so, and the case had to be decided accordingly. If the other party refused to agree to such a course he was liable to punishment. "Now this people," so we are told, "have a custom that they pick up a bit of stone or a potsherd, and say, 'Here's the king's officer: come along'. If any man refused to go, he is punished."[10]

VILLAGE ASSEMBLY.

Secondly, the villagers themselves, perhaps through their committee, exercised not a little amount of influence on the activities of the headman. In both the instances cited above, *viz.*, of prohibitions against animal-slaughter and sale of intoxicating liquors, the villagers make a representation in a body to their headman to suspend or annual the prohibitions, for those were their

1. J., IV, p. 115—"....*gāmabhojako māghātaṁ kārāpesi.*"
2. *Ibid.*, "....*gāmabhojako majjavikkayaṁ vāretvā.*"
3. J., I, p. 483.
4. J., II, p. 135.
5. J., 1, pp. 199-200.
6. J., I, p. 355—"*ayaṁ duṭṭhabhojako corehi ekato hutvā gāmaṁ vilumpāpetvā coresu palāyitvā....taṁ kammaṁ pākaṭaṁ jātaṁ. Ath 'assa rājā dosānurūpaṁ niggahaṁ akāsi.*"
7. J., III, p. 204.
8. J., II, p. 301.
9. Another essential link was the revenue-collection.
10. *Ibid.* "*Tesu pi janesu yaṁ kiñci sakkharaṁ va kapālakhaṇḍaṁ va ukkhipitvā ayṁ te-rājadūto, ehīti vutte yo na gacchati tassa rājañaṁ karonti.*"

time-honoured practices. The headman had to yield and say: "Do as you have always done aforetime."[1] The village-committee must have been a potent force in the carrying out of the affairs affecting the common interests of the villagers in general. Although it is not possible to say anything definitely regarding the constitution of such committees, indications are not wanting to point out the fact that the heads of the houses in a village carried on their common affairs in remarkable harmony and co-operation. It is necessary to point out in this connection, that though the majority of villages very likely contained a heterogeneous population, there were others, inhabited exclusively or mainly by members of a single class or followers of a single occupation, thus making a homogeneous whole.[2] In this latter case, the guild or corporation (*seṇi*), which was, as we shall see later on, already a powerful factor in the economic and social life of the people, shared with the headman the responsibility of carrying on the management of rural affairs. And if the village consisted of men following more than one profession, the village-committee might have comprised a representative of each family in the village. Thus we see in the hamlet of Macala in the kingdom of Magadha, heads of thirty families of which its population was composed, assembling together in the middle of the village, and carrying on the business of the village.[3] Similarly in another place[4] we find the same number of men transacting the village-affairs. This is significant. And as has been well observed,[5] "it may not also be improbable that, irrespective of the total population of a village, the committee usually consisted of thirty members or thereabouts."

The meetings of the village-committee must have been held in a hall (*sālā*) in the midst of the village, provided with boards, seats and a jar of water.[6] As to the nature of work generally performed at these meetings (*gāmakammaṁ* or *gāmakiccaṁ*) the same Macala hamlet provides us with an interesting example. The members of this corporate body are found to be in complete agreement with their leader, who is credited with much initiative (*te tiṁsa janā Bodhisattena samānacchandā ahesuṁ*).[7] Here the leader is said to have established the members of his committee in the Five Commandments and thenceforth to have gone about with them doing good works. Then the people too "doing good works always in the Bodhisatta's company used to get up early and sally forth with razors and axes and clubs in their hands. With their

1. J., IV, p. 115.—"....*mahājano sannipatitvā āha-Sāmi mayaṁ migasūkarādayo māretvā yakkhānaṁ balikammaṁ karissāmā.... pubbe imasmin kāle surāchano nāma hoti.... Tumhākaṁ pubbekaraṇaniyamen eva karothā*".

2. This will be discussed in detail while speaking of economic conditions in the following section of this work.

3. J., I, p. 199—"*Tasmiñ ca gāme tiṁs 'eva kulāni honti, te ca tiṁsa kulamanussā ekadivasaṁ gāma majjhe thatvā gāmakammaṁ karonti.*"

4. J., III, p. 8 "*Tattha tiṁsā janā rājasevakā vasanti. Te pāto va gāmamajjhe sannipatitvā gāmakiccaṁ karonti.*"

5. Sen, *op. cit.*, p. 108.

6. J., I, p. 199 "....*gāmamajjhe.....sālaṁ kāresi, tattha phalakāsanāni santharitvā pāniyacāṭiṁ thapesi.*" The *santhāgāra*, or the mote-hall, was a feature of the town. J., IV, p. 74; *gāmassa kammantaṭṭhānaṁ* at J., IV, p. 306.

7. J., I, p. 199.

clubs they used to roll out in the way all stones that lay on the four highways and other roads of the village, the trees that would strike against the axles of chariots they cut down; rough places they made smooth; causeways they built, dug water tanks and built a hall."[1] A remarkable picture, this, revealing before us the healthy spirit of communal work, the sense of dignity of labour and the genuine public spirit. Observes Dr. Radhakumud Mookerji: "We have here in this short paragraph a most graphic and complete account of the evolution through all its stages of a village built up by the communal labour of its inhabitants. We may notice how the assembly hall of the village figures prominently in its public works as being the indispensable material requisite for the growth and sustenance of that larger public spirit or civic consciousness, which builds up the village itself."[2] Indeed the villagers of Macala provide us with a refreshing example through the gloom of the intermediate period of our history, specially when we are to-day bent upon planning a country-wide rural-reconstruction schemes. There is nothing to show that the workers of the Macala village had to depend upon state-funds or grants for their public works. The village was self-supporting.

Influential as the village-committee was, it often went against the interest of the *gāmabhojaka*. For instance, in the same Macala village, the members of the committee, having by common consent given up the habit of drinking wine, incurred the displeasure of the headman who practically traded on the immorality of his own people: "When these men used to get drunk and commit murders and so forth, I used to make a lot of money out of them, not only on the price of their drinks but also from fines and dues they paid. But now here's this young brahmin Maga bent on making them keep the Commandments; he is putting a stop to murders and other crimes."[3]

From all this, it seems that the village government was largely carried on by the committees with the help of the headman, and, excepting judicial matters of graver character and the revenue-collection, the Central Government did not interfere much with the rural affairs. Village life was thus peaceful in general but sometimes disturbed by the autocratic actions of the headman or the harassment by the tax-collectors as we saw before. Even so, the villagers would not suffer a despotic *gāmabhojaka*. They would take the law in their hands. For instance, when once a headman intrigued with a villager's wife he was seized by the lock of hair on the top of his head,

1. J., I, p. 199. "*Te pi ten 'eva saddhim puññāni karonti kālassa vutthāya vāsipharasumusalahatthā catumahāpathādisu musalena pāsāṇe uppattetvā pavattenti, yānānaṁ akkhapatighātarukkhe haranti, visamaṁ samaṁ karonti, setuṁ attharanti, pokkharaṇiyo khananti, sālaṁ karonti,*"

2. *Local Government in Ancient India*, 2nd ed., p. 146.

3. J., I, p. 199—"*Cātikahāpaṇādivasena c'eva daṇḍabalivasena ca dhamaṁ labhāmi.*" amongst these *Cāṭi* deserves our special notice. It most probably comes from the word *Cāṭa* or *Cāra* a well-known word in epigraphic records, but its meaning is differently given. However, a *Cāṭa* meant a policeman and unjust extortion by him from the people is so clear from the epigraphical records: *Cf. e.g., E. I.*, IX, 283, 298; XI, 179, 221. For fuller description of this official see Pran Nath, *op. cit.*, p. 64 *ff*. Our *gāmabhojaka*, then, had also police-duties to perform. It is clear that he is represented by the *paṭel* of our times; contrast Mrs. Rhys Davids. *J. R. A. S.*, p. 887 (1901).

dragged into the courtyard and thrown down as he cried, "I am the headman." He was thrashed till he fainted and made to remember the lesson.[1] If he was congenial, he could be left free, surrounded by comrades enjoying in dances and music and favoured by the king.[2] On the whole it would seem that the village was a self-governing unit.

1. J., II, p. 136.
2. J., IV, p. 310—G. 84—"*So gāmaṇi hoti sahāyamajjhe naccehi gītehi pamodamāno.*"

SECTION III

ECONOMIC ASPECTS

INTRODUCTION

"ECONOMICS," says Marshall, "is a study of mankind in the ordinary business of life; it examines that part of individual and social action which is most closely associated with the attainment and with the use of the material requisites of wellbeing."[1] With this general but able definition of Economics, we proceed to examine the *Jātaka* evidence on the economic conditions of Ancient India. The fact has come to be recognised on all hands that economic currents are the most active forming agencies of the world's history. It has become quite clear, as shown by that great thinker, dreamer of a new era, Karl Marx that economic forces have been the main guiding forces behind all prominent repercussions in the world's history. And this is as much true of the olden days as it is of the present age, which reverberates with momentous economic problems, plans and efforts at solutions all the world over; and if to-day another world war looms large on the horizon, be sure it will be largely due to economic causes and conflicts.

To interpret history and understand it in this light, and on this basis, becomes necessary and all the more interesting. Of course, many will sneer at the idea of looking at ancient history and that too of a land like India with the modern perspective. But this must be done if history has any value.

If we use the modern scientific terminology, the economic life of the *Jātaka* people, as in all other cases, may conveniently be studied under the usual heads of Production, Consumption, Distribution and Exchange. Though the material at our disposal is not quite sufficient to present a systematic account of every fact under these heads, the method itself will nevertheless prove to be valuable.

It is delightful to note, moreover, that there is nothing of theories and ideal speculations here, but actual facts, and sometimes figures, which give us a realistic picture of the economic people, both villagers and townsmen, of those ancient days.

NATURAL ENVIRONMENT.

The study of the physical or the natural environment which is always the basis of all economic life and activity must precede our investigation. But the task becomes difficult when the period chosen is far removed from the present, as it is with us, and materials for our studies are silent on this point. We can therefore only have a general idea of this phenomena which should be taken for granted as not quite materially at variance with what it is at present. The geographical situation must have been the same as now, with little of geological disruptions. So also with climatic conditions. The

1. *Principles of Economics*, I, 8th ed. p. 1, quoted by Alfred E. Zimmern, *The Greek Commonwealth*, 3rd. Ed, p. 213.

Gaṅgā-Yamunā plain was rich and fertile with plenty of water, and hence the plentiful growth of rice and sugarcane which we notice in the stories. Kaliṅga or Orissa suffered most from want of rain. The Central-Indian stretch of land was covered over with dense forests—the Mahākantāra of a little later period—which brought heavy rainfall. The richness and variety of *flora* and *fauna* that are to be seen in the *Jātakas* show the large extent of area and a great variety in physical features and climate of the country even in those days. As for the facilities of communication, they were decidedly few and that too bad. Roads were not well constructed and were infested with thieves and robbers thus impending free communication. Water transport was comparatively better. The coast was not developed, though natural and rough harbours did help the adventurous traders of Bharukaccha or Caṁpā or Kavirapattana. On the whole, the conditions were, as may be expected, simple and primitive. Nature was ready to respond, but where was the human being to call and question her? But, then, can we expect this at a time more than two thousand years earlier in the history of evolution?

SOCIAL BACKGROUND.

As to the social background, we need not say much here, as we are going to have a separate chapter on this subject. But in order to understand its influence on the economic life, we may point to the existence of joint-family system, which preserved the status and condition of a man, system of hereditary occupations, which also helped to stabilise the industries, system of religious mendicancy which deprived labour of a much useful element, and the class-divisions into the well-off nobility (*issarā*) and the poor (*daliddā*) which to a certain extent marred the social harmony, as usual.

NATURE OF WEALTH.

From the analysis of the modern conception of wealth, we find four characteristics, *viz.*, it is material, it is consummable, it is appropriable and it is transferable. Wealth of the *Jātaka* times consisted in gold and silver and such other precious metals, household gear, kine, oxen and horses, cattle (*pasu*), fields and stores of grain (*Koṭṭhāgārā*) and even slaves and hired labourers—mostly agricultural and commercial capital. And what industrial capital there was, was in the form of tools and implements of the various craftsmen. We may also add that the organisation of industry was based on private and not collective property of land and other means of production and distribution. Finally, there was, as we shall see, a considerable differentiation of occupations most of which again had become hereditary. This naturally necessitated facilities of exchange. And though we hear of a girl working for a garment and a dog being bought for a piece of money and a cloth, money economy had come into existence.

CHAPTER I

PRODUCTION

I

LAND

WE KNOW THAT in any investigation of Production, the determination of its primary factors is quite essential. As in modern times, so also in those days, the factors of production were land, labour, capital and organisation. These are the chiet means of production. Let us, then, try to get whatever information we can, for each of these factors.

Agriculture was the main occupation of the masses as usual. This and other items such as cattle-breeding and dairy-farming constitute rural economics which we should first study

TYPES OF VILLAGES.

The whole country was filled with a net-work of villages and towns, the former occupying a much larger space. As already stated, there were different orders of villages such as *gāma*, *gāmaka*, *nigamagāma*, *dvāragāma* and *paccantagāma*. *Gāma* means an ordinary village, *gāmaka* a small village, or more appropriately, a hamlet. *Nigama* ordinarily meant a town, "though there was not....any such hard and fast line between *gāma* and *nigama* to warrant the exclusion....of some *gāmas* which may have amounted to *nigamas*."[1] A *nigamagāma* thus means a village, astir with the bustle of a market town, as distinct from a *gāma* with its quieter life.[2] *Dvāragāma* obviously means a village near the gate of a city or a great town, that is, in other words, a suburb. The other order of villages was that of the *paccantagāmas* or border-villages. Economically speaking, all these orders can be classified into three main types which may be designated as : the mixed types, the special or the suburban types, and the border types.[3] Under the first type, come those villages which were occupied by people of different castes and occupations. Perhaps these were in majority, and had the *gāmabhojaka* as their administrative head.

The special and the suburban types consisted of those villages which were occupied solely, or mainly, by particular communities, some of them specialising in some kinds of industry. Both the *nigamagāmas* and the *dvāragāmas* come under this head. We have instances of villages of Brāhmaṇas,[4]

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1. *C. H. I.*, p, 200.
2. J., II, pp 225, 232, for instance.
3. See Gupta, *Land System*, pp. 25 *ff*.
4. J., I p. 368 . III, p, 293, 342 ; IV, p. 276.

Caṇḍālas,[1] hunters,[2] robbers,[3] carpenters,[4] smiths,[5] potters,[6] and weavers.[7] "These were either suburban to large cities, or rural, and constituting as such special markets for the whole country-side."[8] The existence and growth of such suburban areas were due either to the policy of segregation adopted by the higher castes or the king with regard to the people of lower classes like the Caṇḍālas or to the natural tendency of localisation of particular kinds of handicraft or industry, in which case the villagers had of necessity to depend on a contiguous town or a self-contained village. In any case, the economic life in these *dvāragāmas* was very poor.[9] These villages were under their headmen (*jeṭṭhakā*).

The third type, namely the Border villages (*paccantagāmas*) was also a very notable feature of those days. We have already seen, that these border-villages were in a very insecure condition owing to the organised depredations of robbers and marauders.[10] It was for this reason that these *paccantagāmas*, where it was difficult to distinguish between a rebel and a loyalist,[11] could not reasonably flourish as much as the villages of the former types which were nearer to the heart of a kingdom or which enjoyed the privileges of a close proximity to towns and cities.[12] It is therefore not at all surprising that we read of some border villages deserted and in a ruined state (*purāṇagāmaṭṭhāna*).[13] The economic life of the people on the borders was very largely in a primitive stage, as we see them making their settlement wherever they can best find their food, dwelling and shelter.[14]

As regards the size and population of an ordinary village, we have seen that it might consist of anything from a group of two or three houses to an indefinite number, and that the number of its inhabitants varied from 30 to 1000 families or 150 to 5000 souls. And if we take the number of the villages in the country as 60,000, then the total population would be 30 crores. But this is only a conjecture.[15]

1. J., IV, pp 200, 376, 390 ; VI, p. 156.
2. J., II, p 36 IV, p. 413 ; V, p. 337 VI, p. 71. A *nisādagāma* is also mentioned in the *Lāṭyāyana Śrauta Sūtra*, VIII, 2, 8 . *See Ved. In*, I, 454.
3. J., IV, p 430—"Both in North and South India there are still villages inhabited solely by criminal tribes"—Gupta, *op. cit.*, p. 26.
4. J., II, pp. 18, 405 ; IV, pp. 159, 207, 344.
5. J., III, p. 281.
6. J., III, p. 376.
7. J., I, p. 356
8. *C. H. I.*, I, p. 208 ; *J. R. A. S.*, 1910, pp. 862 *ff.*
9. J., III, p, 162 . IV, p. 225 ; V, pp. 288, 442, 476 ; VI, p. 170, 180.
10. See specially J., IV, p, 220 "*Tadā paccantavāsino corā janapadaṁ pavisitvā gāmmaṁ paharitvā karamare gahetvā bhaṇḍikā ukkhipāpetvā puna paccantaṁ payesuṁ.*"
11. J., III, p 9 : "*tvam kosi, rājapuriso corapuriso ?*"
12. Sen, *op. cit.*, p. 104.
13. J., I, p. 478 . II, pp, 76, 102 ; *Cf*, *Mahāvagga*, III, 10.
14. J., IV, p. 289-90. "*paccantavāsino yattha yattha bahuṁ maṁsaṁ labhanti tattha tattha gāmaṁ nivesetvā araññe vicaritvā migādayo māretvā maṁsaṁ āharitvā puttadāraṁ posenti.*"
15. *C. H. I.*, I, pp 200-1.

All this about the habitat, the homostead (*bhūmibhāga*).[1] Now let us take up the cultivable or arable or the agricultural land (*khetta*) proper. For, this is *the* land which formed the largest and the most important factor in production. And the wealth of the nation then, as always, primarily depended upon the strength of the country to produce commodities, agricultural or manufactured.

AGRICULTURE.

This arable ground of the *gāma* (*khetta*) lay outside clustered dwellings and beyond the sacred grove of trees of the primeval forest (*araññа*) left standing when the forest-clearing had been made for dwelling and cultivation.[2] It was divided into small individual farm-holdings, each in the possession of an individual land-owner or a peasant-proprietor. Boundary stones (*thaṁbhe*) were set up to distinguish the plots of land possessed by different owners.[3] The limits of the whole *khetta* might be extended by fresh clearing of the forest-land.[4] And while the majority of these farm-holdings were probably small 'manageable single-handed or with sons and perhaps a hired man,'[5] and though the nature of agricultural implements would hardly permit big farming, large estates of 1000 *karisas* (8000 acres?) were not quite unknown.[6] The fields were guarded by fences,[7] snares,[8] placards (*paṇṇasaññaṁ*)[9] and various other means[10] and field-watchmen,[11] from intrusive beasts and birds. The internal boundaries of each farmer's plot must, apparently, have been made by channels dug out for carrying the water for irrigation.[12]

As for the local or physical aspects of agriculture, we need not go much deeper, for it is always determined by the condition of the soil, climate or water-supply in such parts of the country where lands are brought under cultivation. And these facts were not materially different then from what they are now. Mighty rivers like the Gaṅgā, Sindhu, Yamunā, and also other smaller ones like the Kaṇṇapeṇṇā, Godāvarī and Soṭṭhivatī watered and enriched practically the whole of the continent except perhaps Rājaputānā. As to climate, it will not be unfair to say that on the whole, apart from slight variations, it was not different in substance from what it is now. The only part which looms large before our eyes as unfortunate in getting sufficient rain and thus becoming famine-stricken, was Kaliṅga or Orissa, which, even to-day, is not well-off in this respect.

1. J., IV, p. 359-G. 217.
2. *B I.*, p. 45. J., II, 358 and G. 60—"....*sabbaṁ vanaṁ chinditvā khettāṇi kāritvā kasikammaṁ karinsu.*" IV, p. 359-G. 217.
3. J., IV, p. 281 ; Contrast, Rhys Davids, *B, I.* p. 46.
4. J., II, pp. 357-8 ; *C H. I.*, I, p. 202.
5. J., I, p. 277 III, p. 162.
6. J., III, p. 293 ; IV, p. 276.
7. J., I, pp. 143, 153 ; III, p. 216.
8. J., I, p. 143.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 153 ; IV, pp. 262-3.
10. J., I, p. 143 "*tattha tattha opātaṁ khananti, sūlāni ropenti, pāsāṇayantāni sajjenti, kūṭapāsādayo pāse oddenti.*"
11. J., II, p. 110 (*khettarakkhakā*) ; III, p. 52 (*khettagopakā*) ; IV, p, 277.
12. How these fields were ordinarily constructed can be gathered from a description in *Mahāvagga*, VIII, 12, 1, where the Buddha is said to have beheld the Magadhan rice-fields divided into short-pieces (*accibaddhaṁ*) and in rows (*pālibaddhaṁ*) and by outside boundaries (*mariyādābaddhaṁ*) and by cross-boundaries (*siṅghāṭakabaddhaṁ*) which he likened to a patchwork robe.

Scarcity owing to drought or to floods is often referred to,[1] "In days of famine and drought," says the *Vessantara Jātaka*,[2] "corn did not grow and so men being unable to live used robbery : tormented by want, poor people would gather at the king's courtyard and upbraid him." And the *gāthā:*

"In hope their fields the farmers plough and till,

Sow seeds and labour with their utmost skill ;

But should some plague, or drought afflict the soil,

No harvest will they reap for all their toil."[3]

shows the intensity of this phenomenon, experienced even to this day in the form of the 'Quake and the Cold wave and frost.

METHOD OF PLOUGHING.

How was this agriculture actually carried on ? Ploughing was, as it even now is, done with ploughs drawn by an oxen-pair.[4] The folk expressed the idea of ploughing as the "making two of one."[5] After ploughing, clods in the earth were broken,[6] and soil was turned with spades.[7] Nothing definite can be gathered from the stories as to how and wherefrom water was supplied to the fields. It is however presumed that, even though the artificial irrigation such as digging long canals was for all practical purposes unknown in those days,[8] the presence of large rivers and tanks and wells must have been made use of much in the same way as to-day. Much of course depends on rains which were uncertain. Water was taken through conduits (*nikkhaṁ sukuṇḍalaṁ*), 'the green grass clothing it about.'[9] Seed was sown at usual time,[10] and to the grown-up crops, the proverb gave the title '*guhya*' because they could cover the crow out of sight.[11] When ripe, the crops were cut and corn threshed on a prepared floor (*khalamaṇḍala*)[12] and then taken to the granary.[13] Beyond this, we do not know anything about agricultural methods, such as the use of fertilisers and the adjustments and rotation of crops, existence of which may however readily be conceded.

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1. J., I, pp. 329, 450 ; II, pp. 135, 149, 367 ; V, pp. 183, 401 ; VI, p. 487.
2. J., VI, p. 487.
3. J., V, p. 401—G. 245.
4. J., I, p. 502 ; II, pp, 59 (*naṅgalisa*), 165, 300 (*dve goṇe*) ; V, p. 68.
5. J., VI, p. 364-"*Ekassa dvidhākaraṇaṁ nāma kasaṇaṁ.*"
6. J., II, p. 59.
7. J., V, p. 68.
8. The existence of dams across the rivers for irrigation purposes can be seen in the famous *Sākiya-Koliya* episode given in the Introductory portion of J., V, pp. 412 *ff.*
9. J., V, p. 401-G. 245.
10. J., II, p 135; V. p. 401-G. 245 "*Vapanti bījāni*"
11. J., II, p. 174—G. 120—"*jātaṁ yavaṁ yena ca guhyamāhu.*" For *kākaguhya* see Pāṇini, *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, III, 2. 5.
12. J., II, p. 341 ; VI, p. 297—G. 1301.
13. J., I, p. 467 ; II, p. 135 ; IV, p. 240 ; VI, p, 297-G. 1301.

FIELD-CROPS.

What then were the agricultural products in general? The predominant grain-harvest was that of rice of different varieties (*sāli: vihi: taṇḍula*).[1] The eastern portion of India, specially Bihar and Bengal, has always been famous for this rice-harvest which mainly depends upon the abundance of water-supply which could be got from the Ganges and its tributaries. Amongst other field grain-crops are mentioned barley (*yava*) and millet (*kaṅgu*).[2] Among pulses, grams (*kalāye*) peas and beans (*muggamāsa*)[3] and also perhaps sesame (*tila*)[4] are mentioned. Oil-seeds like the castor (*eraṇḍa*) must have been grown and with these may be mentioned the cocoanut trees.[5] Of the spices, we have mention of pepper (*marica*), moist and dry ginger (*addasingi-vera*), white mustard (*siddhatthaka*) and cumin (*jīraka*).[6] Salt and vinegar (*loṇa-aṁbila*) are frequently mentioned as necessary ingredients in food.[7]

Sugar-cane (*ucchu*) seems to have been a very common crop and its sweet juice was used in plenty.[8] Sugar (*sakkara*) was most probably obtained from sugar-cane.[9]

Of the fibre-crops, cotton (*kappāsa*) was of course the most important.[10] Other kinds of fabrics, *viz.*, silk (*koseyya*), wool (*kaṁbala*) and linen (*khoma*)[11] are also mentioned, but we do not know as to the extent to which these articles were produced. It is also probable that the aloe-fibre was grown and utilised.[12] The *śālmali* or *siṁbali* or the *simul* (silk-cotton) trees which yield a silky fibre, were known.[13] But no information is at hand as to whether these fibres were converted into fine silk or not.

We cannot clearly ascertain whether indigo or such other chemical dyes were produced or known, though the mention of a variety of colours[14] may lead us to believe in their existence and cognisance.

Betel (*taṁbulaṁ*) and arecca-nut (*pūga*) appear to have been extensively grown.[15]

Of vegetables, a large variety is to be found. Among others pot-herbs, pumpkins, gourds, cucumbers and convolvulus (*sākaṁ eva alābu-kuṁbhaṇḍī-*

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1. J., I, pp. 429, 484; II, pp. 135, 378; III p. 383; IV, p. 276, V, p. 405-G. 262; VI, d. 530—G, 2030.
2. J., II, p. 110; III, p. 216; VI, p. 580.
3. J., II, p. 74; I, pp. 429, 484; V, p. 37; VI, pp. 355, 580.
4. J., VI, p. 335 (?).
5. J., I, p. 423; II, p. 440; V, pp. 354, 417; VI, p. 529 G. 2023.
6. J., I, p. 244; II, p. 363; III, p. 225; V, p. 12; VI, p. 536—G, 2083 (*sasāpo*); 539—G, 2113.
7. J., I, pp. 244, 304; II, p. 263; III, p. 225.
8. J., II, p. 240; IV, p. 160-1; VI, p. 539—G. 2113.
9. J., III, p. 110; IV, pp. 214, 379; V, p. 384.
10. J., III, p. 286; V, 343; VI, pp. 47—G. 160; 336; p. 537—G. 2087.
11. J., IV, p. 138; V, p. 282; VI, pp. 47; 456-G. 1617; 500-GG, 1796-1801; 534-G. 2065.
12. J., VI, p. 530—G. 2024. Subbarao, *op. cit.*, p. 72.
13. J., I, pp. 202, 203; III, p. 39; V, p. 269-G 120.
14. J., VI, p. 279—G, 1223-5; meaning of *nīliya* as indigo in VI, p. 537-G. 2086, is not quite clear.
15. J., I, pp. 266, 291; II, p. 320; V. p. 37; VI, p. 367.

elālukādini tipusā) were grown.[1] Cultivation of garlic (*nāḍī*) is also known.[2]

HORTICULTURE.

Horticulture was in a very high state of efficiency. The *Jātaka* stories are replete with descriptions of gardens and parks and we have a very large variety of garden-produce—both fruits and flowers.[3] Among the flowers, to mention only a few more important ones, we have *kiṁsuka, pāṭali, kaṇṇikāra, Jayasumana, kadamba, sirisa, bakula, sāla, ketaka* and so on :[4]

"Festoons of flowers garlanded
As when the banners fly,
Blossoms of every hue and tint
Like stars that dot the sky."[5]

"Always the many-coloured flowers,
Blow fragrant on the breeze."[6]

Of the fruits, again, not to go into details, we may mention mango, rose-apple jackfruit, fig, grape, plantain, date and so on :[7]

"A man may stand beneath the trees and pluck them as they grow
The choicest flavour, taste, both ripe and unripe show."[8]

Mango-groves were evidently a common feature.[9]

For vegetables and fruits there were the green-grocers or fruit-sellers (*paṇṇikā*) who specialised in them and bought from the growers to sell to the customers, and it was a very flourishing industry.[10] And so also with the flowers, which were grown and used in sufficiently large quantity to give rise to the specialised occupations of the florist and the garland-makers (*mālākārās*).[11] This fruit and flower culture must have been highly advanced, for forcing flowers and fruits out of season was known.[12]

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1. J., I, p. 312 ; IV, p. 445 ; V, p. 37.
2. J., VI, p. 536—G. 2083.
3. Innumerable are the trees and plants, flowers and fruits mentioned and described with a keen sense of observation mainly in the *gāthās* of the stories. See specially J., II, pp. 105-6; IV, p. 92—G, 1-2 ; V, pp. 37-8, 100-G. 19-21, 405, 420; VI, pp. 269-G. 1166-8; 528—38 GG. 2012-2100. *Cf*, G. P. Majumdar's *Upavana Vinoda*, a *Saṁskṛta* treatise on Arbori-Horticulture, Calcutta, 1935, esp. informative Introduction.
4. J., VI, pp. 530-39-GG. 2024-2115.
5. *Ibid.*, pp. 529-30-G. 2023 ; 2034.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 534-G. 2067.
7. *Ibid.*, pp. 529-GG. 2017 *ff* ; 534 GG. 2060 *ff*. etc.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 529-G. 2021—*vaṇṇagandharasuttame*.'
9. J., I, p. 139. The variety and plenty of flowers and fruits excited the wonder of the Greeks : see *Diodorus*, II, 36.
10. J., I, p. 412 ; II, 179 ; III, p. 21-2 ; IV, pp. 445 ; 448-G. 119 ; 449. The word *parṇaka* occurring in the *Vājasaneyī Saṁhitā*, xxx, 16, has been variously interpreted by Vedic commentators. To our mind the term is quite equivalent to our *paṇṇika* and therefore should mean a green-grocer.." See *Ved. Ind.*, II, p. 501.
11. J., I, p. 120 ; IV, p, 82 ; VI, p. 276-G. 1197.
12. J., II, p. 105 ; IV, pp. 200-1.

Among the miscellaneous crops we may mention lac (*lakkha*), saffron (*kusumbhara*) and camphor (*kappura*)[1] as the more important ones ; honey (*madhu*) seems to have been easily procurable,[2] for wherever flowers are in plenty, bees are sure to be there.

We spoke of the agricultural land and its produce. We shall now proceed to deal with the waste land, pastures and such other grounds, and their usefulness in the economic development in those days.

These waste or non-agricultural lands may be classified into cremation or burial grounds, forests and pastures, mining and river-tracts. The cremation grounds do not seem to have been of much economic importance at that time.

The pasture-grounds, on the other hand, were more useful. On these grounds the cattle and goats were grazed.[3] The people customarily entrusted their flocks to a communal neatherd as even now (*cf. le fromageur* of the Pennine Alps). These *gopālakas* or *gopas* and *ajapālas* led the herds to the pasture grounds, grazed them during the day and returned them to the owners in the evening.[4] Or, as it sometimes happened, specially in the case of wealthy people, they kept the herds with themselves in a shielding by night and brought the produce to the owners from time to time.[5]

REARING OF LIVE-STOCK AND DAIRY FARMING.

This naturally leads us to notice the breeding and rearing of live-stock and dairy farming—both akin to agriculture. Animals are of great use for purposes of cultivation as well as of draught. Cattle were of course a highly esteemed form of wealth,[6] and their tending and rearing was an essential concern to the people for, "upon kine depend men."[7] Cattle were rubbed with oil[8] and supplied with necessary food, usually grass and some kind of fodder.[9] Knowledge of cattle and their habits of eating and drinking were patent to the people.[10] The method of dairy-work may not have been quite scientific and economical, the hygiene of the cattle may have been neglected, but people did try to improve upon their work in this direction.[11] Hence it was that the supply of milk and its four products *viz.* curds, buttermilk, butter and ghee, was abundant[12] and so the people could get the most nutritious kind of food easily.

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1. J., I, pp. 149, 319 ; III, p. 183 ; IV, p. 256 ; VI, p. 55 ; p. 536-G. 2073 , 537-G. 2092.
2. J., I, p. 238 , III, p. 41 ; IV. p. 379 ; V, pp. 20, 384.
3. J., I, pp. 194 . 240 ; 388 ; III, p. 149 ; 401-G. 129 ; IV, pp. 250, 326 ; Buffaloes are mentioned, J., IV, p. 364-G. 252.
4. J., I, p. 194 ; III, pp. 149, 401 ; IV, p. 364—G. 256 ; V, p. 417.
5. J., I, p. 388 "*mahāvibhavo seṭṭhi.... tassa gopālako gāvo gahetvā araññaṁ pavisitvā tattha gopallikaṁ katvā rakkhanto vasati seṭṭhino ca kālena kālaṁ gorasaṁ āharati.*" *Cf.* for the Greek shepherd, Zimmern, *The Greek Commonwealth*, p. 231.
6. J., VI, pp. 1801-G. 789-90,
7. J., IV, p. 253-G. 113 "*pasunāthā ayaṁ pajā*".
8. J., I, p. 195.
9. *Ibid.*, IV, p. 67 (*karoti*); also *Ibid*, 253-G. 113 "*pajuññanāthā pasavo.*"
10. J., VI, p. 335.
11. For instance, the knowledge that if the cows were afraid of anything they were apt to give less milk, made them careful. J., I, p. 388.
12. J., I, pp. 296, 388 ; 457 ; VI, p. 324—(*pañcagorasaphalā*) *Cf. Mahāvagga*, VI, 34, 21.

Together with cattle, flocks of sheep and goats also were usual, as we saw above, and even kings are said to have possessed them.[1] We do not know as to how far these were utilised for wool-production. Here may also be mentioned the breeding of horses for quality,[2] which made considerable traffic and dealing in them possible.[3] Kings, as we saw, were fond of hunting with dogs which led to the breeding of a good strain.[4]

Vast stretches of land, otherwise waste, yielded a large quantity of grass and such other useful herbs. And grass-cutting was a quasi-agricultural industry followed by the poorer strata of workers (*tiṇahārakā*).[5]

ARBORICULTURE.

Let us now turn to forest-lands (*vanapacārā*).[6] India of those days seems to have been richly gifted with forest tracts. Almost the whole of the country was covered over with a large variety of trees. Arboriculture, as a science akin to agriculture, may not have been recognised to its fullest measure, but the beneficial influence of forests does not require any human agency. They were, as they always are, of much economic value. They provided the country with materials (*bhaṇḍaṁ*) for the construction of houses, vehicles, shops and various kinds of implements and the like. Various kinds of timber, bamboo, creepers, fibrous plants like those mentioned before, leaves like those of betel, wild flowers, medicinal herbs and roots were to be found in plenty. And for these the *Vanacarakas*, or the foresters, roamed about[7] and the wood-workers, the basket-makers, workers in bamboos, and the carpenters sallied forth far and wide from their abodes.[8] Above all, the forest-trees were an unfailing source of fuel for the community,[9] and of a living to the wood-gatherers (*kaṭṭhahārakas*).[10] A *Jātaka*,[11] moreover, informs us that self-sown paddy (*sayañjāto sāli*) was to be found in the forest regions of the Himalayas. Similarly honey, of which we read frequently as eaten with rice, was most probably obtained in the forests from the wild beehives.[12]

But, apart from their valuable uses for food, fodder, fibre and timber, trees are highly useful for their influence on the climate and rainfall, as is well-known. Thus, inspite of a failure of agricultural produce due to drought or inundation which sometimes visited the country, people could support themselves on forest trees which yielded starch, oil, sugar, vegetables, fruits and fibres.

In connection with forest lands it would be well, by the way, to speak of a few more aspects connected with them, *viz.*, hunting and its economic value.

1. J., I, p. 240 ; IV, p. 363-G. 247-*posayanti ajelake.*
2. J., I, p. 181-G. 23 ; II, p. 254, 428 ; *etc.*, See *Supra* p. 164
3. J., I, p. 124 ; II, pp. 31, 287.
4. J., I, p. 176 : IV, p. 437.
5. J., I, p. 121 ; III, pp. 129-30 ; V, p. 417.
6. J., IV, p. 359—G. 217.
7. J., V, pp. 12, 417.
8. J., II, pp. 18 ; 302 ; IV, pp. 29, 207-8 ; 251 ; V., pp. 291-2.
9. J., I, p. 317 ; V, p. 103.
10. *Ibid.* pp. 103, 417.
11. J., V, p. 12. See Gupta, *Land System*, p. 248.
12. J., II, p. 308 ; III. p. 200.

Hunting was by no means an unimportant occupation in those days. Flesh-eating was a very common practice as we shall see later on.[1] Venison was highly esteemed. Not to speak of the king going on a hunting merely to experience the delicacies and pleasure of eating venison 'broiled on charcoal;'[2] it is important to note that there were regular hunters—the *luddakas* and the *nisādas*, whose sole occupation was to capture or kill the animals and earn their living by selling them.[3] Not only that, there were special villages of these hunters, as we have already seen.[4]

HUNTING.

Equipped with staffs, bows and snares, they would roam far and wide on and among the mountains and forests in search of prey.[5] They laid a snare of twisted cord of leather-thongs set with a pole, in the deer-drives.[6] They knew the time for deer to come down from the hills and would post themselves 'in ambush by the road.'[7] Some of them would form themselves in a circle with weapons in their hands and then rouse the doomed creatures by their shouts, and capture them.[8] Others used to build platforms on the boughs of the trees at the foot of which "they found the track of deer and watch aloft for their coming to eat the fruits," and when come, "they brought them down with a javelin."[9] Thus they obtained hide, claws, teeth and fat,[10] all economically useful products. From elephants, whether deliberately killed or otherwise, was obtained ivory which was the raw material of a very important industry.[11] Panther's skin was also a useful material.[12]

Similar was the occupation of bird-catching and fowling. Birds were, no doubt, caught and sold for pets,[13] but, as was more usually the case, they were meant for consumption.

POULTRY.

"What fate for one caught in a snare
Except the cruel spit?"

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1. See for instance J. IV, p. 370 ; V, p. 489-G. 424, etc.
2. J., IV, p. 437 *Angārapakkaṁ magamaṁsaṁ.*
3. J., II, p. 184 ; IV, pp. 252, 334, 337, 341 ; V, p. 41.
4. *Cf.* "Their industry was certainly a very important one. The large stretches of forest open to all, separating most of the settlements ; the absence of any custom of breeding cattle for the meat-market ; the large demand for ivory, fur, sinews, creepers and all the other produce of the woods ; and the congeniality of the occupation, all tended to encourage these hunters." Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India,* p. 94. The hunters had already been cut off from the rest of the society, as in Greece : see Zimmern ; "The mighty hunters of old days, once the pride of their small communities, were cut off from the society of the growing city, and became recognized outcastes"—*The Greek Commonwealth,* p. 236.
5. J., IV, pp. 413, 425 ; VI, pp. 170 ; 582
6. J., I, p. 388; II, p. 154 ; III, p. 184 ; IV, p. 414.
7. J., I, p. 154.
8. J., III, p. 325 . IV, p. 258 . VI, p. 582,
9. J., I, p 173 ; also J., I. pp. 160 ; 164 ; IV, p. 49 ; IV, p. 392. Two other artifices consisted in (1) laying *Vālusarighaṭayanta* (*Vṛṣabha Jātaka, Mahāvastu,* for Barhut illustration, see Barua, *Barhut Jātaka Scenes,*) and (2) Setting dogs from two sides (*Kokasunakkhavatthu, Dhammapada. Commentaries,* for illustration see Barua, *Barhut Jātaka Scenes*).
10. J., I, p. 388—"*Camma-nakha-dāṭhā c'eva vasañ ca.*"
11. J., I, p. 321; II, p. 197 ; V, pp. 45, 49 ; VI, p. 61-G. 269.
12. J., VI, p. 61-G. 269—"*ajinamhi haññate dipi.*" For hunting in the Vedic period, *cf. Ved. Ind.,* II, pp. 172-4.
13. J., I, pp. 140, 175 ; II, p. 132 ; III, p. 97, 429 ; IV, pp 279, 418 ; V, pp. 110, 228, 45, 365, 458 ; VI, pp. 419-20.

thus cries out a captured bird.[1] In either case the fowler got his living.[2] These fowlers were sometimes numerous enough to have a village all to themselves as we have seen.[3] They caught the birds with snares and traps. The snare, made usually of stout horse-hair (*vālapāsa*) and fixed to a stick (*yaṭṭhi*) was strewn on the ground. As soon as the birds descended on the ground they were caught fast into it.[4] Sometimes they used a decoy-bird (*dīpakakkara* or *tittira*) which, by its cry, gathered its kinsfolk,[5] or they themselves imitated the note of a bird to gather its kind together, and when the birds were drawn together, they flung the net over them, and whipped the sides of the net together so as to get them all huddled up in a heap. Then they crammed them into their basket and carried them away.[6] Thus they sold them away, sometimes fattening them before sale.[7] Among the birds thus sought after, were parrots and peacocks (for pets) and quails, partridges and ospreys.[8] Beautiful feathers of the mallards were sold and brought a nice sum.[9]

FISHERIES.

Fishing of course formed a very important occupation and fisheries an important addition to the national wealth of those days. Fish was largely consumed. Besides being the usual food of those living near the river and sea-tracts,[10] it was sold and consumed by others.[11] Both the net and the line (*jāla* : *bālisa*) were used to catch fish.[12] Basket-traps (*kuminăni*) were also set in pits and holes of the rivers to capture them.[13] Line and net fisher-men were differentiated.[14] Fish of various kinds were known.[15]

MINING.

Coming now to mining, we feel that it must have been undertaken quite extensively, though on primitive lines. India has always been famous for its mineral wealth. The oft-quoted passage from Megasthenes is no exaggeration: "And while the soil bears on its surface all kinds of fruits which are known to cultivation, it has also underground numerous veins of all sorts of metals, for it contains much gold and silver, and copper and iron in no small quantity, and even tin and other metals which are employed in making articles of use and ornament as well as the implements and accoutrements of war."[16] And the most

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1. J., V, p. 339—"*Kā nu pāsena baddhassa gatiraññā mahānasā*!"
2. J., I, pp. 208, 434, 475; II, p. 132; III, pp. 64, 97; V, p. 337.
3. *Supra*, p. 184.
4. J., III, p. 97; IV, p. 278. V, pp. 337, 346, 358.
5. J., II, p. 161 III, pp. 64, 357-G 64,
6. J., I, p. 208,
7. J., I, p. 434.
8. J., I, p. 434; II, p. 132; IV, p. 392.
9. J., I, p. 475; for bird-catching in *Vedic* Period see *Vedic Index*, II, p. 173.
10. J., II, pp. 178, 230
11. J., I, p. 211; II, pp. 362, 434; III, p. 429. VI, pp. 72, 580,
12. J., I, pp. 210, 482; II, p. 178. III, p. 370; V, p. 389-GG. 202-3.
13. J., I, p. 427; II, p. 238.
14. J., I, p. 482 (*bālisika*): for the Vedic fishing, *cf. Ved. Ind*, II, pp. 173-4.
15. J., V, p. 405—G. 264.
16. *Fragment* 1, McCrindle, *Megasthenes and Arrian*, p. 31 A modern geologist Mr. V. Ball in his introduction to the *Economic Geology of India*, p. xv, quotes this statement and regards it as absolutely true.

elaborate treatment of the subject by Kauṭilya[1] leaves no doubt about the fact that mining had reached a stage far above the rudimentary.

The *Jātakas* mention a large variety of metals such as gold, silver, copper, brass, iron, lead, tin and various kinds of precious metals, crystals (*phalikā*) gems, diamonds, rubies, pearls and corals[2] which, however, might not come under indigenous production. True, we have no information as to the method or extent of digging mines, clearing the ores, smelting, and such other processes connected with mining. Besides metals, were to be found hundreds of mineral substances—*vinaddhā*—such as salt, collyrium, arsenic, yellow orpiment, vermilion, and so on.[3] All these would naturally lead us to the conclusion that mining was undertaken to a very great extent, by methods which might not be very scientific in an age prior to Kauṭilya's or Megasthenes's. There remains no doubt, however, looking to the various metal-industries, that India of the *Jātaka* times was rich in mineral wealth. It may be that some of the rich metals were imported from abroad. But as to the general mineral wealth having been indigenous there seems little doubt.

The existence of mines and miners can be gathered from this metaphoric verse :

"And the brick mound, search as you may, contains,
No veins of iron for the miner's pains."[4]

Before finishing with land-production, we should mention that land also supplied ordinary earth, mud, brick, mortar, cement and such other things—raw materials for stone-working and building-industry.[5]

So far we have dealt with land or the natural resources which are of primary importance among the factors of production. We have seen that there was an abundance of fertile land as well as of mineral resources. The major part of the total population of the country was engaged in agriculture. We saw that the land was split up into a number of small holdings, with well-marked boundaries. The science of economic welfare has taught us that cultivation by fragmentation is a greater evil than fragmentation of land by sub-division of holdings. Small holdings there were, but there is nothing to show in the stories that cultivation by fragmentation was carried to excess. In other words, under the joint-family system—indeed an important institution from economic standpoint at that time—smaller holdings were brought together under joint-cultivation. Moreover, we have instances of estates of 1000 *karisas* and more. And, also, land was with the agricultural class. Yet,

1. *Arthaśāstra*, II, 12.

2. J., II, p. 296-G. 16-7 (*ayo, loham, tipu, sīsam, rajatam, jātarūpam, muttā veluriyā*); I, pp. 331, 351, 479; II, p. 6; IV 60, 85-G. 143, 102, 118, 256; V, pp. 95, 416; VI, pp. 117-20, 151-G. 705, 175, 186, 231, 275-9, 340, 462, 493.

3. J., V, p. 416—"*añjana-manosilā-haritāla-hiṅgulaka.*"

4. J., VI, p. 212—G. 917: *Cf.* J., II, p. 295.

5. J., I, pp. 333 (*iṭṭhaka*), 335 (*udukkhala*), 429 (*mattikā*), 432 (*ulloka*).

with all this, we must say that agriculture was practised on a small scale. Cultivation was almost always extensive, not intensive, though the methods varied slightly according to different nature of the soil-swampy, black, dry, and so on. The peasant toiled on with the help of practice and inherited experience, with little of scientific knowledge. The implements were simple. Still, the peasant does not seem to have been inefficient. But, as in all ages, capital was wanting. Perhaps there was no need of it. The average peasant, excepting a smaller section of *kuṭumbikas* or well-off peasants, corresponding to the Russian *koolaks*, was poor, though not to the extent to which he is fallen to-day. Agriculture is important not only in itself, but on it depend mainly the manufacturing industries. It is clear that the raw materials of every industry must come ultimately from the land. And so also with allied industries of cattle-breeding, arboriculture, pisciculture and mining of which we spoke before. We shall now deal with various manufacturing industries prevalent in the days of the *Jātakas*.

MANUFACTURES.

We shall presently see that India of those days had a great variety of flourishing industries. Industrial production, depending as it does on agriculture and raw materials, was never poor—either in quality or in quantity. Most of the industries were worked by hand-labour. It seems India was far ahead, in comparison with other countries of those times, in dexterity, and skill, swiftness and delicacy of touch of her artisans. The metal industries and textiles had particularly attained eminence. This traditional prosperity of India, in so far as it concerned Industries, began to be vanished only at the dawn of the Industrial Revolution in the West which, with machines and the capitalist *régime* all the world over, sounded the deathknell of handicrafts and small industries. India now needs not the quiet reversion to old and simple crafts, which is only an outcome of despair to reform the present system of production and distribution, but an organised, planned and well-thought-out Industrial development to the mass-benefit. With all the sneering, curses and anti-propaganda, Russia has shown the path by which an exclusively agricultural country can be converted into a full-fledged Industrial country, devoid of the evils and conflicts of a capitalistic system.

But perhaps this was out of place here. Our eyes should again revert to that far-off age when things were comparatively simple.

TEXTILES SPINNING & WEAVING.

India has always been noted for its silks. In the *Jātaka* times, Benares had already acquired great fame for the special excellence of its wares—"Fine *Kāsī* cloth, worth ten thousand pieces" had already become a proverbial phrase.[1] Besides this finer stuff, Gandhāra and Koḍumbara were known to be producing woollen

1. J., II, 443-G. 141 (*Kāsikañ ca muduvatthaṁ*); III, p. 10 (*satasahassaggahanikaṁ*); V, p. 78-G. 230. VI, pp. 49-G. 194, 50-G. 225 (*kāsikuttama*), 144-GG. 647-9; 403; *Cf. Mahāvagga*, VIII, 2 where Buddhagosa explains *Kāsī* as one thousand. *Vinaya Texts* pt. II, p. 196 n. *Cf.* G. P. Majumdar, *I. C.*, I, pp. 191, *ff.*

cloths of great value.[1] The silk cloth (*Koseyya*) was most probably embroidered with gold[2]; kings wore turbans of gold.[3] The state-elephants also had golden cloths.[4] Thus, while silk was a portion of royalty and wealth, the garments of the large majority of the people were made of cotton.[5] Hemp might have been in use, but to a very limited extent. Thus, besides the ordinary dress of the people, costly and dainty fabrics of silk cloth and fur were worked out into rugs, blankets, cushion cloths, coverlets and carpets,[6] sufficiently enough to have a foreign market. Ascetics are said to have worn 'robes of bark' probably made from aloe-fibre.[7]

Thus we see that weaving was the most important industry of the country next to agriculture. It was, of course, hand-loom weaving which reached a perfection in the production of a variety of fine and coarse cloths.

The preliminary processes of ginning, clearing, pressing, carding and spinning were also important industries by themselves. We have unfortunately no reference to *carkhā* or the spinning wheel here. But about its existence there can be no doubt.[8] All these were, and to some extent still are, the domestic industries—the chief occupation of women as the references from the stories show. "*Itthīnaṁ kappāsapotthanadhanukā*"—women's bows for carding cotton—must have been common and familiar household articles.[9] Of weaving we have a graphic scene herein:

"As when the lady at her loom
Sits weaving all the day....
Her task ever goes less and less."[10]

Weavers probably got on nicely with their profession,[11] but the profession itself was considered to be a miserable and low work. At present of course handloom weaving can hardly stand against mill-competition. The cloth merchants are termed as *dussīkas*.[12]

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1. J., VI, pp. 500-GG. 1796, 1801.
2. Subbarao, *op. cit.*, p. 71.
3. J., V, p. 322-G. 119-*Kañcanapaṭṭa*.
4. J., IV, p. 404-G. 60 "*nāye hemakappanavāsase*" also V. p. 258-G. 43.
5. J., III, p. 286; VI, p. 41.
6. J., I, pp. 149, 304; II, pp. 68, 274; p. 138 (*kaṁbala*); 187, 458 (*cittatthara*); VI, pp. 186, 191, 280 (*varapoṭṭhakattharaṇaṁ*)'.
7. I, pp. 149, 221, 319; III, pp. 183, 274, 284; IV, pp. 256 356; V, p. 187; VI, 500.
8. See J., VI, p. 336. Amongst the findings at Mohenjo Dāro were numerous spindle whirls in the houses; and that it (spinning and weaving) was practised by the well-to-do and the poor alike is indicated by the fact that the whirls are made of the more expensive faience as well as of the cheaper pottery and shell." *Mohenjo Dāro and the Indus Civilization*, I, p. 32.
9. J., VI, p. 41.
10. J., VI, p. 26-G. 105—'*Yathāpi tante vitate*
Yaṁ yaṁ devyupavīyati
Apakkaṁ hoti vetabbaṁ.'
Cf. Ṛg Veda, 2, 38, 4 "The weaver rolls her growing web together."
11. J., I, p. 356 (*tantavāya lāmakakamma*); IV, p. 475 (*pesakārā*).
12. J., VI, p. 276—G. 1197.

Allied to weaving is dyeing. Although no direct information can be gathered as to this undoubtedly an important industry, the variety of colours known to the *Jātakas*[1] and the mention of garments, rugs and curtains as dyed scarlet, orange and yellow and red, among others, should be sufficient to establish the fact.[2] Even an umbrella is said to have been red-coloured.[3] Moreover the word "*Caṅgavāra*" occurring in a couple of *gāthās*[4] and meaning dyer's straining cloth[5] should dispel any doubt that may be lurking in our minds as to this fact. The word *rajaka*, ordinarily meaning a washerman and occurring in a *gāthā*,[6] should also include a dyer. One *Jātaka* actually indicates the existence of coloured clothes in the dyers' street—*rajaka-vīthi.*[7]

Together with this we may mention the tailoring industry which must have existed, and that in quite a flourishing state, as the use of clothes is no where scanty ;[8] tailors were called the *tunnakāras*.

We may well believe, then, that for clothing India was self-sufficient and had not to depend on the sweet will of other countries. Not only this, but the production from the weaving industry of the country was probably such as could supply a commodity for the export trade of India in those days.

FOOD AND PASTRY AND BREWING.

The country, being predominantly an agricultural one, as we saw, we may, as a matter of course, expect her to supply her sons with all the necessary food-stuffs.

The production of salt was very important, in as much as it could be produced in any quantity from the water of the sea. And there were salt makers—*loṇakāras*—who also prepared salt by boiling the salt-water.[9]

Fish and meat (*macchamaṁsa*) were obtained in abundance and had a flourishing market[10] as we have already seen. Meat was also dried and preserved.[11] Slaughter-houses (*sūnā*) were common.

The manufacturing industries connected with food-grains are rice-hulling, wheat and millet-milling and bakeries. There were indeed no flour mills, but the flour must have been prepared at home by means of grinding-stones which can be seen even now in almost all the villages.

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1. J., VI, p. 279-GG. 1223-6. The colours named are white (*seta*) dark-blue (*nīla*), brown (*piṅgala*) yellow (*haliddа*), golden (*sovaṇṇa*), silvery, (*rajatamaya*), red (*ratta, indagopa*), black (*kāli*) madder-like (*mañjeṭṭha*) etc.
2. J., I, p, 449 ; IV, p. 258—G. 119. 340 ; V, p. 211.
3. J., VI, p. 218-G. 934—'*Jambonadaṁ chattam.*
4. J., V, p. 186-GG. 219-20.
5. See Rhys Davids, *Questions of King Milinda*, II, p. 278.
6. J., VI, p. 276-G. 1197.
7. J., IV, p. 81.
8. J., IV, pp. 24, 38 ; VI, p. 364.
9. J., VI, p, 206-G. 889.
10. J., I, p. 478 , II, p. 362 ; III, 49 ; V, p. 458 ; VI, pp. 62, 72.
11. J., III, 100, 378 ; VI, p. 62, 111—G. 469 ; 276-G 1196 ; 334.

Refined sugar as such was perhaps little known, but the commonest form of production was from sugar-cane. Both the lump-sugar and powdered sugar were in use.[1] The sugar-cane-pressing instruments were in vogue.[2]

Some methods, though primitive in nature, must have been adopted for the purpose of pressing out oil from the oilseeds, though nothing is given out by the stories as to the form of this industry. Oil was largely consumed in the kitchen.[3]

Besides the cooks employed by the rich and the kings,[4] there were others who had their own quarters in the city where they prepared and sold food.[5]

Corn was also sold[6] and the corn-sellers were not wanting in their tactics of mixing good grain with chaff so as to profit.[7]

Liquor was, no doubt, manufactured and consumed on a large scale.[8] Drinking festivals were a common feature of those days,[9] even though the evil effects of drinking were recognised[10] and abstention from it was preached.[11] Liquor was extracted from rice and fruit mixture,[12] the *soma* plant[13] and from the sugar-cane,[14] and was sold in shops (*surāpaṇa*) open day and night.[15]

In the metal industries many a handi-craft attained to considerable magnitude.

METALS AND METALLURGY PRECIOUS METALS AND JEWELLERY.

Then, as now, Indians and specially women-folk, were fond of ornaments. So gold-smiths had a very flourishing trade. It is significant, as pointed out by Prof. Subbarao,[16] that "shops of gold-smiths-ware (*sabhāni kiraṇāni*) are warned against in the same breath with gossip, drink and lewd company."[17] Among the precious metals and jewellery mention has been made of gold, silver, diamonds, pearls, crystals and jewels,[18] which all however may not be of indigenous

1. J., I, p. 238; III, p. 110; IV, pp. 274, 379; V, p. 384.
2. J., II, p. 240—"*ucchuyante*"
3. J., I, pp. 195; 423. II, p. 301; III, pp. 503, 537.
4. J., II, p. 319; 361; III, p. 225. V, p. 292.
5. J., III, p. 287; V, p. 290; VI, pp. 276-G. 1196 (*odaniyaghara*). 580-G. 2399,
6. J., II, p. 267. III, p 198.
7. J., VI, p. 110-G. 463.
8. J., I, pp. 349, 362; III, p. 40; IV, pp 217-G. 31; 222-G. 46; 367-G. 268; V, pp. 177, 457, 467, VI, p. 328-G. 1445. (*Surā, vāraṇa, majja, āsava* are the different names, perhaps of different kinds of liquor).
9. J., I. pp. 362 (*Surānakkhatto*) 489; II, p. 240; VI, p. 161.
10. J., I, p. 362; IV, p. 494.
11. J., V, pp. 15-8 GG, 36-59.
12. J, V, p. 12; VI, p. 505.
13. J., V, pp. 177, 457.
14. J., IV, p. 161 (*ucchārāpassāvaṁ*).
15. J., I, pp. 121, 252, 269, 350. II, pp. 427, 431; IV, p. 115; 223-G. 53; V, p. 13; VI, pp. 276-G. 1196; 328.
16. *Op. cit.*, p. 70.
17. J., IV, p. 223-G. 53; *Suvaṇṇakāras* mentioned J., V, p. 438-9.
18. J., I, pp. 177, 351, 479. II, p. 6. IV, 60, 85, 296; VI, p. 117-20, 175, 279; 493-G. 1742. *Hiraññasuvaṇṇa* is a compound occurring often, *e.g.*, J., VI, pp. 186, 462, 493-G. 1748, Hoernle, in his translation of the *Uvāsagadasāo*, p. 13, may be correct in explaining this as 'unwrought and wrought gold.'

produce, as has already been pointed out.[1] Washen rubies are known.[2] Cucumbers of gold are said to have been sold.[3] Gold ornaments were set with gems, the art of cutting and polishing of which was known.[4] Bead and gem necklaces are mentioned.[5]

Among a large variety of golden and other precious ornaments prepared and worn were bracelets, (*hatthattharaṇa*), rings (*muddikā*) necklaces (*mālā*), earrings (*Kuṇḍala*), waistbands (*mekhalā*) anklets (*kāyūra*), hair-pins, frontlet pieces, zones (*bandhanaṁ*) crests for the turbans (*cūlāmaṇi*).[6]

Trade in ornaments was extensive enough to permit of specialisation of particular kinds of ornaments. For instance, we read of a man who made ornaments for the head.[7] Ornaments were made not only for men but also for animals, as we often notice kings fond of adoring their elephants and horses with finery, such as gold, trappings, girths and network of gold.[8]

The rich and the kings used golden vessels for eating and drinking "though not so exclusively, perhaps, as the stories suggest."[9]

The art of inlaying must have been known; chairs and bed-steads and thrones used by kings were inlaid with gold, as were also the royal cars.[10]

The description of a celestial car would make the inference tenable that relief-work was also practised.[11] Another interesting feature of gold industry was the preparation of mirrors (*ādāsa*) by giving fine polish to the surface of the metal.[12] Golden plates were used for inscriptions of messages or sayings of importance.[13]

Silver (*rajata*) is also frequently mentioned. Silver dishes were used for eating.[14]

OTHER METALS.

The word *Kammāra*, though it may mean a worker in any metal thus corresponding to the English word "Smith," should properly refer to "Blacksmith," so far as our stories are concerned. For we have distinct mention of *Suvaṇṇakāras* and *Maṇikāras*.[15] These workers in metal supplied agriculture with ploughshares, spades and

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1. On this see *Arthaśāstra*, II, 11.
2. J., I, p. 331.
3. J., I, p. 205.
4. J., IV, pp. 233, 256 (*sumajjitamaṇi*). V, p. 453.
5. J., I, p. 385; VI, p. 340.
6. J., I, p. 134; II, pp. 122, 373. III. pp. 153-G, 1; 377-G.(?); IV, pp. 60-GG. 99; 298; 422: 493; V, pp. 202-G. 29-32; 215-GG. 64, 66, 69; 259-G, 54; 297-G. 14-8; 302-G. 41; 400-G. 241; 438; VI, p. 164; pp. 144 G. 647 217-G. 932. 238-G. 1068; 283-G. 1232; 456-G. 1616; 510-G. 1889; 590-GG. 2443-7. *Cf Acārāṅga Sūtra*, II, 2, 1, 11.
7. J., II, p. 191.
8. J., II, pp. 48, -G 25; 143; IV, pp. 393, 403-4; V, pp. 258-G. 43; VI, pp. 487-8.
9. J., I, pp. 111, 266; II, pp. 90, 371; III, pp. 10, 277; IV, pp. 384; VI p. 39, 510.
10. J., I, p. 486; III, pp. 375, (*suvaṇṇakhacitaṁ*) V, p. 204: IV, p. 422; VI, pp. 231-G. 1020 (*suvaṇṇavikate*) 580-G. 2382.
11. J., V, pp. 204; 408.
12. J., II, p. 297; IV, pp. 7, 270, 335, 448; V, pp. 59, 66.
13. J., V, p. 125; VI, pp. 305, 308, 403.
14. J., IV, pp. 107-8; VI, p. 510-G. 1884.
15. J., VI, p. 276-G 1197.

similar implements.[1] Iron posts and chains are also mentioned.[2] Household materials such as pots, pans, and bowls were prepared of copper and brass (*tamba : kansa*) and bronze[3] so that amalgamation of metals was known and practised. Indeed there is a distinct reference to copper rust washed in some acid (*ambiladhotam viya tamba malam*).[4] Iron was converted into steel and made into tools of various crafts such as axes, spades, hangers, hammers, saws and chisels, pegs, forks, iron-staffs, barber's tongs, and so on.[5] Various weapons of war and coats of mail were also prepared on a large scale.[6] But they also did finer and delicate work, for instance in the shape of fine needles (*sūci*) of great lightness and sharpness[7] and strings of musical instruments (*tanti*).[8] There is a fine description—and a minute one—of an *usukāra* or the maker of arrows who heats a piece of steel in a pan of coals (*aṅgārakapalle*) and wets it with some sour rice-gruel (*Kañjikena*) and then, closing one eye and looking with the other sideways, makes the arrow straight.[9]

The anvil (*adhikaraṇiya*) and the pincers of the smith are mentioned.[10] And thus the furnace of a smith (*ukkā*) is described :

"As the smith's fire burns inwardly

And is not seen inside...."[11]

The smith's trade was quite an extensive one, as we find special villages of smiths (*kammāragāmas*).[12] The *Aṅgārikas* were probably the same as the metal-workers or smiths.[13]

IVORY-WORK.

Ivory-work was, as it still is, a very important industry. There used to be special quarters in a city (*Dantakāravīthi*), where the ivory-workers lived and carried on their industry or rather handicraft.[14] They made a number of small articles of "diverse form and shapes, bangles and all manner of trinkets,"[15] and they also prepared costly carvings and ornaments, handles for mirrors and inlayings in royal chariots.[16] Elephants were slain for their tusks, but a living elephant's tusk was

1. J., I, pp. 247, 312, 464 ; II, pp. 59, 241, 405 ; III, pp. 224, 281, 285.
2. J., IV, p. 83 (*ayanaṅgala : ayasaṅkhalikā*).
3. J., I, pp. 111, 247, 461 ; III, pp. 281, 285 ; IV, p. 107-G. 42; V, pp. 45.
4. J., V, p. 95.
5. J., V, p. 45 : *Vāsipharasu-kuddāla-nikhādana-muṭṭhika-velugumbhachedana-saṇḍasi-tinalāyana-asi-lohadaṇḍa-khānuka-ayasimaghāṭaka.*
6. *Supra*, pp. 171-2.
7. J., I, p. 111 ; III, p. 282, and G, 84-5 :
"Quickly threaded, smooth and straight, Polished with emery sharp of point and delicate...."
8. J., II, p. 249.
9. J., I, p. 63. The scene is represented on a Barhut railing.
10. J., I, p. 223, II, p. 342.
11. J., VI, pp. 189-G. 825; 437-G. 1511; "*kammārāṇaṁ yathā ukkā anto jhāyanti no bahiṁ.*" ....
12. J., III, pp. 281 *ff*. GG. 86-88.
13. J., VI, p. 206-G, 889.
14. J., I, p. 320 ; II, p. 197.
15. *Ibid.*
16. J., V, p. 302-G. 37 ; VI, p. 223, G. 964,

considered worth a great deal more than a dead one's.[1] The ivory-workman prepared things by means of a kind of saw (*kharakakaca*).[2]

POTTERY.

The potters (*Kuṁbhakāras*) made various kinds of bowls, jars and vessels, small and big, used even in palaces.[3] They lived, for the most part outside the city or village,[4] but their wares were sold in the bazar.[5] The potter used to bring cow-dung and clay.[6] The usual way of his work was this: Lumps of clay (*mattikā*) were kneaded with water and then mixed with ashes and dung (*gomaya*), the mixture was placed on a wheel (*cakka*) which was constantly turned (*avijjhi*), and various vessels were moulded by the skilful hands. The wet vessels were then dried and baked (*sukkhāpetvā*: *pacitvā*) and made ready for consumption.[7] Some carried their craft to a higher crafts-manship and skill, for we read of figured pottery (*nānārūpāṇi samutthāpesi*).[8] The potter's art still is a matter of pride for India.[9]

BUILDING INDUSTRIES: MASONRY.

Vaḍḍhaki is a word which is used in these stories both for a wood-worker and a stone-worker. It should, therefore, mean a builder, either in wood or stone. Similarly, the *pāsāṇakottaka* or the stone-cutter,[10] the *iṭṭhakavaḍḍhaki* or the worker in bricks[11] and the *gahapatisippakāra* or the clod-hopper[12] probably refer to one and the same worker, namely the mason.

The workers in stone were probably employed to lay foundations of buildings and parks and to build bathing ghats and flights of steps to rivers and tanks.[13] The ordinary stone-cutter is seen building houses with the ruined material of a former *gāma*, and also hollowing a cavity in a crystal as a cage for a mouse.[14] The master-builders—*mahāvaḍḍhakis*—worked more elaborately. They levelled the ground and cut posts and spread out the measuring line.[15] Here the two works—in stone and in wood—probably combined in one. The more durable buildings were built of bricks and mud (*iṭṭhaka*:

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1. J., I, p. 32. II, p. 197; V, pp. 45, 49; VI, pp. 61-G. 269 (*nāgo dantehi haññate*)I, p. 321.
2. J., I, p 321; VI, p. 261.
3. J, I, pp. 205; II, p. 89; III, pp. 368, 376, 385, 508; V, p. 291; VI, p. 52.
4. J., II, p. 80; III, p 376; *Cf. Uvāsagadasāo*, p. 106
5. J., VI, p. 52.
6. J., II, p. 80, III, pp. 385, 508.
7. J., V. p. 291. See for a similar description *Uvāsagadasāo*, pp. 115 *ff*.
8. J., V, p. 291, perhaps they also made toys of various figures; See J. VI, pp. 6, 12, 550-3.
9. Sir George Birdwood, after an illuminating and a detailed description of the Indian village Potter, says in conclusion: " ...and there, at his daily work, has sat the hereditary village potter amid all these shocks and changes, steadfast and unchangeable for 3000 years, Macedonian, Mongal, Maratha, Portuguese, English, French, and Dane of no more account to him than the broken pot shreds lying round his wheel."—*Industrial Arts of India*, quoted by A. K. Coomaraswamy, *The Indian Craftsman*; p. 100.
10. J., I, p. 478.
11. J., VI, p. 333.
12. J., VI, p. 438.
13. J, I, pp. 343. 478; III, pp. 257; 283, 416. IV, pp. 323, 492; V, pp. 233; 284; VI, pp. 161; 213-G. 921; 332-4; 344-5; 429.
14. J., I, p 470.
15. J., VI, p. 332; "*bhūmiṁ samaṁ kārāpetvā khānuke kottetvā suttaṁ pasāresi; kālasuttaṁ* J., IV, p. 344.

mattikā),[1] and mortar (*udukkhala*)[2] and cement (*ulloka*)[3] are also known. Besides the ordinary work of building, the more skilled workers, quite conceivably, carved pillars and bas-reliefs, whose beautiful examples can still be seen at Barhut, Sāñcī or Amarāvatī; For, of sculpture and engraving we have independent references.

CARPENTRY.

There was, it seems, a heavy demand for workers in wood and carpenters. The superstructure of most of the houses was of wood. And the usual mode of work of the carpenters is graphically described in a story. "They would go up the river in a vessel, and enter the forest, where they would shape beams and planks for householding, and put together the frame-work of one storey or two-storey houses, numbering all the pieces from the mainpost onwards; these then they brought down to the river bank, and put them all aboard; then rowing down stream again, they would build houses to order as it was required of them; after which, when they received their wage, they went back again for more materials for the building and in this way they made their livelihood."[4] This is the most illuminating instance of a co-operative work witnessed in these stories, and this was true perhaps only of those who lived in their special villages, the *vaḍḍhakigāmas*, mentioned so frequently,[5] for there might be individual carpenters also.[6]

The carpenters also made furniture for the houses such as seats, chairs, bed-steads, chests, ladders, *etc.*[7] and also toys. But they were not only cabinet-makers: they also built ships[8] and vehicles of all sorts, carts and chariots of different kinds.[9] They also prepared various machines (*yantāni*);[10] the usual tools of a carpenter were hatchet, adaze, chisel and mallet among others.[11]

LIGHT AND FUEL.

We do get mention of lamps (*dīpā*) which were lighted after sunset,[12] but we have no idea as to the kind and construction of the lamps. Probably they were simple lamps, made of a tin box containing oil—similar to the lamps still to be seen in remote villages. The forest folk and the itinerants, on the other hand, carried torches (*ukkā: alātaṁ*) probably made of grass.[13]

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1. J., VI, p. 429.
2. J., VI, p, 335.
3, J., VI, p. 432.
4. J., II, p 18.
5. J., II, pp. 18, 405 . IV, pp. 159, 207, 344.
6. J., IV, pp. 29, 207.
7. J., III, p. 257 (*āsana*); J , I, p. 413 . III, p. 235 (*apassayapiṭhake*) V, p. 407-G, 273 (*koccha*); I, p. 350 (*mañcaka*); III, p. 264 (*sirisayana*); IV, p. 422; VI, p. 40 (*catussadaṁ*; *pallaṁkaṁ*); I, p. 373 (*samugga*) . III, p. 477 (*nisseṇi*).
8. J., IV, p. 159 . VI, p. 427.
9. J., IV, p. 207.
10. J., V, p. 242-G. 164-5.
11. J., II, p. 405; IV, p. 344; "*Vāsi-pharasu-nikhādana-muggarādīni.*" For various things prepared from wood see *Ācārāṅgasūtra*, II, 4, 2, 11.
12. J., V, p. 373; VI, p. 381.
13. J., I, pp. 296, 297, 485; III, p. 37.

As to fuel, we find that dung, mostly cowdung, and wood gathered from the forests, were used for fuel almost everywhere.[1]

CANE AND LEAF-WORK.

The rush-workers (*Nalakāras : Velakāras*) often went and worked in the forest, where they could find their raw-material, bamboo among others.[2] They cut the bamboos with their knives (*satti*) and made bundles of them.[3] With this branch of industry were also associated lute-making, basket-making, rope-weaving and mat-weaving.[4] Other products of the same industry were palm-leaf-fans (*tālavantaṁ* : *vālavījanaṁ*) and leaf sunshades (*paṇṇachattakaṁ*).[5] Their skill and workmanship are seen in a description of a palm-leaf-fan, on which a white umbrella was depicted and, with a banquet-hall as the subject (*vatthu*), among a variety of other forms, was represented a standing figure of a beautiful queen.[6]

DYES, GUMS, DRUGS AND CHEMICALS.

Among the miscellaneous industries, may be mentioned the dye-producing work. This was probably done from leaves like those of *haritāla* and from vermillion (*hiṅgulaka*).[7] Preparation of lac-juice (*lakkhārasa*) was also an important industry,[8] as it we largely consumed by the ladies in adorning their hands and feet.[9] Various kinds of drugs must also have been prepared, of course from vegetables and such other ingredients, and the science of medicine was highly developed.[10] An instance of a dead body laid in a coffin (*doṇi*) and embalmed with oil and ointment (*telakalale pakkhipāpetvā*) and preserved safely,[11] gives us an idea of the existence of some kind of chemicals.

LEATHER-WORK.

Leather-industry was evidently progressive. The *Rathakāra*[12] or the cobbler manufactured quite a large variety of things. He prepared shoes of various qualities,[11] shields of a hundred layers, leather-bags and sacks, ropes and straps and also parachutes (*chatta*).[13] He could supply royalty with shoes richly wrought with varied thread.[14]

FLOWERS AND PERFUMERY.

Flowers were grown in large quantity, as we saw, and were gathered and brought to the garland-makers (*mālākāras*) who made beautiful garlands and bouquets with them.[15] Perfumes and essential oils were also prepared. Sandal-wood, specially the *kāsikacandana*, was the chief raw material and also a finished product

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1. J., V, p. 246. VI, p. 508.
2. J., II, p. 302.
3. J., IV, p. 251.
4. J., I, pp. 290-1, 338 ; II, p. 302 ; IV, pp. 251, 318 . VI, pp. 341, 370.
5. J., III, pp 79, 283 ; V, p. 291 ; VI, p. 218-G. 935.
6. J., V, pp. 291-2 "*tālavantaṁ katvā tattheva setacchattaṁ āpānabhūmiñ ca vatthuṁ gahetvā thitaṁ Pabhāvatiñ ca, ti nānārūpāṇi dasseti.*"
7. J., V, p. 416.
8. J., I, pp, 179, 319; III, p, 41 ; 183 ; IV, p. 256 . VI, p. 53.
9. J., III, p. 183 ; IV, p. 256; VI, p. 218. G. 941.
10. J., I, pp. 272-G. 53; *Cf. Infra.* Chapter on Arts and Sciences.
11. J., II, p 155.
12. J., VI, p. 142-G. 636; *Cf.* Fick. *op. cit.* pp. 86, n. ; 326.
13. J., I, p. 175 ; II, p. 153. III, pp. 79 116; IV p. 172. V, pp. 45, 47, 106, 375-G. 140 ; VI, pp. 51, 431, 454.
14. J., IV, p. 379 ; VI, pp. 218-G 944—*citrā sukatā citrasibbanā ;* 368.
15. J., I, pp 95, 120 (*pupphārāmas*); II, p. 321, IV, p. 82. VI. p. 276-G. 1197.

in itself.[1] Sandal-wood-powder (*cuṇṇa*) and oil were manufactured.[2] There were several kinds of perfumes,[3] the prominent among them being that prepared from the *piyaṅgu* flowers.[4] There used to be manufactured a rich perfume called the *Sabbasaṁhāraka*, compounded of many different scents.[5] *Agaru* and *tagara* were commonly used for scenting purposes.[6] Perfumes and various other scented articles were sold in the market, and the seller, the *gandhika* as he is called, was an expert in his profession, could make out what perfume a particular thing scented of.[7] India has always been famous for its scents—*attars*.

OTHER OCCUPATIONS.

The foregoing discussion has shown that people used to live by the plough, by herds, and by merchandise,[8] and usury is also added to the list.[9]

The various crafts and manufacturing-works which we have hitherto noticed and discussed, were such in which the utilities produced by labour were fixed and embodied in outward or material objects. A substantial portion of labour was, however, spent in occupations where the utilities were fixed and embodied in human beings (or animals) or consisted in a mere service rendered.[10] These latter, though perhaps out of place here, must be studied, in order to have a complete grasp of the subject.

There were, first of all, the teachers (*ācariyas*) who gave lessons in the three *Vedas* and other sciences (*tayo vedā sippāni ca*).[11] The Physicians (*tikicchakā*) carried sacks upon their backs, root-filled and fastened tight, whose stock-in-trade were healing herbs and magic spells.[12] Surgeons (*vejje*) there were also, who could fit a man, who might need it, with a false tip to his nose, which was cunningly painted for all the world like a real nose[13] or who could, with a masterly skill, take out eyes from the sockets of a person.[14] The *vatthuvijjācariyas* were men 'who were skilled in the lore which tells what are good sites for a building.'[15] The *lakkhaṇapāṭhakas* were those who were well-versed in *aṅgavijjā* or the science of prognostication from marks on the body, chiromantics, palmistry *etc.*;[16] and there were others, the fortune-tellers—*nemittā*—who read future from the study of the constellations and the move-

1. J., I, p. 331; V, p. 302-G. 40.
2. J., I, pp. 129, 238; II, p. 373. IV, p. 82; VI, p. 336.
3. J, VI, pp. 205, 290.
4. J., VI, p. 336.
5. *Ibid.* G. (?).
6. J., VI, pp. 530-G. 2025. 535-G. 2074; 537-G. 2091.
7. J., I, p. 290—*Gandha-dhūpa-Cuṇṇa-kappurādini*; IV, p. 82; VI, p. 336.
8. J., II, p. 347-G-?; V, p. 156-G. 116.
9. J., IV, p. 422-G, 112—'*Kasi vāṇijja iṇadānaṁ uñchācariyā....*' Kauṭilya has also a similar list—'*Kṛṣi paśupālye vāṇijye ca vārttā*. *Arthaśāstra*, I, 4; *Kusīda* or usury is added later on *e.g.*, by *Śukra*, I, 311; *Gautama*, xi, 21; for the fifteen ways of living—*karmādāna*—see *Uvāsagadasāo*, p. 20.
10. *Cf.* Mill, quoted by Subbarao, *op. cit.*, p. 74; Rangaswami, *op. cit.*, 86.
11. J., II, p. 137 *etc.*, See *infra*, chapter on Education.
12. J., IV, p. 361—G. 227.
13. J., I, p. 455; also II, p. 213; III, p. 202.
14. J., IV, p. 407.
15. J., II, p, 297; IV, p. 323.
16. J., I, pp. 272-290; II, pp. 21, 194; 200; 250; III; pp. 122, 158, 215; IV, p. 335; V, 211, 458.

ments of the astral bodies.[1] Some plied their trade of doctoring for the devil-stricken people (*bhūtavejjā*)[2] and others, with the help of *cintāmaṇivijjā*, successfully traced out the foot-steps of the absconders.[3] The *paṇḍitas* and the poets (*kabbakārā*) composed and recited their poetry (*gītaṁ*) and were richly paid for it.[4] The snake-charmers (*ahiguṇṭhikā*), who were clever in catching snakes, specially with the help of a tricky monkey,[5] earned their livelihood by exhibiting their power and command over the snakes.[6] Similar, and equally servile, occupations were those of a mangoose-tamer (*koṇḍadamako*)[7] and others who lived on various charms and incantations.[8]

There were musicians (*gandhabbā*) who lived by practice of their art;[9] so also the drummers (*bherīvādakā*) and the conch-blowers (*saṅkhadhamakā*) earned their living by playing on their respective instruments at public festivities—to the crowds of holiday-makers.[10] Then there were the actors and dancers (*naṭanaṭṭakā*) who, by the performance of their respective arts, somehow, gained their bread.[11] And the itinerant jugglers and acrobats (*māyākārās*) who knew the 'javelin dance'[12] and exhibited a wooden puppet worked by hand,[13] would roll about and play on the ground[14] and, by such other slight performances, catered for the amus ments of the crowd and got their living thereby.[15] All those who were occupied in these, more or less parasitic, arts, formed what Fick would like to call a "multiform and chaotic society which resists more or less every attempt at classification and about which there can be no talk of an organization according to castes in that age."[16]

II

LABOUR

During the foregoing discussion on the production of wealth, we have already dealt with one of its factors, *viz.*, land. Let us now speak something about the remaining ones.

We take up labour. While considering this aspect of production we have to deal with a variety of details, as for instance, the extent, efficiency, and the nature of labour.

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1. J., II, p. 427; IV, pp. 79, 230-1; V, p. 476.
2. J., III, p. 511.
3. J., III, p. 504.
4. J., III, p. 216; VI, pp. 353, 410; 484: 5; III, p. 349-G. 53.
5. J., III, p. 198 and G. 75 "our living to thy tricks we owe." *Cf.* J., IV, p. 310-G. 89.
6. J., I, p. 370; II, p. 429; III, p. 348; IV, p. 457; VI, pp. 184-6.
7. J., IV, p. 389.
8. Besides those mentioned before, we have notice of other charms—*mantras*—which gained livelihood for their possessors; see J., I, pp. 211, 253, 334, 371, 455; II, p. 243.
9. J., I, pp. 384; II, p. 250.
10. J., I, pp. 283-4.
11. J., II, p. 167; III, pp. 62; 507; IV, p. 324. VI, p. 91.
12. J., I, 430.
13. J., V, p. 16.
14. J., II, p. 142.
15. J., I, p. 430; II, p. 431; IV, p. 495.
16. Fick, *op. cit.*, p. 286.

POPULATION.

We have indeed no statistical knowledge as regards the total population of the country at that time. But if we can be allowed to take the figure 60000 as the total number of villages,[1] and 2500 as the population of a single average village of 500 families,[2] (taking a family as consisting of five members) both of which we dare not take as reliable, nor even plausible, then we get, on calculation, 15 crores as the total population of India. Whatever it may have been, it seems clear that there was no dread of a growing population. People on the contrary yearned for children, and there was scope for an unlimited increase in population, owing to the vast areas of virgin soil available for occupation and cultivation.

EFFICIENCY.

We do not know how far the health and strength of the people went to secure productive efficiency. The majority of the people were dependent upon agriculture, as seen above, and the artisans and craftsmen do not seem to have had any effective demand either, as their products were used only by the royalty and the high class people. The large mass of the people, therefore, had very little of a nourishing dietary. They generally lived upon rice (*yāgu*), cakes (*pūva*) and some kind of curry, buttermilk and perhaps fish, while dainty rice-porridge (*pāyāsa*) and meat and other nutritious condiments were the privilege of the rich few.[3] Apart from this, however, the open-air work of the peasants and other labourers did maintain their general health and strength.

MOBILITY OF LABOUR.

The general tendency of the people was, it is true, to follow the same vocation which their fathers had adopted.[4] Not only individuals, but families are often spoken of in terms of their traditional calling. We have, for instance, such expressions as the "family of caravan-drivers" (*satthavāhakulaṁ*),[5] "grain-merchants' family" (*dhaññavāṇijakulaṁ*),[6] "green-grocer's family" (*paṇṇikakulaṁ*),[7] or the "potters' family" (*kuṁbhakārakulaṁ*);[8] and in these instances, the son takes up his father's calling; the *satthavāhaputta* is a *satthavāha* himself and the potter's son is a potter himself.[9] But, inspite of this tendency, nothing prevented a person of one occupation finding his way into another, if he so chose to do. There was complete freedom of initiative. A few instances of this freedom and mobility may be cited. A low class deer-trapper (*migaluddako*) becomes first a protégé and then the inse-

1. J., V, p. 258-G. 41 "*saṭṭhigāmasahassāṇi.*"
2. J., V, p. 71—"*pañcakulasatāni*".
3. For instance, J., IV, p. 379; V, pp. 211, pp. 384-5; 441 "*asaṁbhinnakhīrasappimadhusakkharayutto pāyāso—....taṁ te daliddatāya uppādetuṁ na sakkonti*"
4. See for instance, J., I, pp. 98; 107; 120; 122, 283, 284; II, pp. 64, 236; III, p. 200, IV, p. 62.
5. J., I, pp. 98, 107, 194, 312; II, pp. 79.
6. J., III, p. 198.
7. J., I, p. 312.
8. J., II, p. 79; III, p. 376.
9. *Cf.* also *nesādo—luddaputto—luddo*, III, pp. 330 *ff*; V, pp. 356-8.

parable friend of a rich young *seṭṭhi*.[1] A pious farmer and his son, without much ado, turned to rush-weaving.[2] Similarly a young man of good family, but of reduced circumstances (*duggata kulaputta*), starting on his career by selling a dead mouse for cat's meat at a farthing, then turning his capital and labour to every variety of job, finally bought up a ship's cargo with his signet-ring pledged as security, and won both a profit of 200 per cent and the hand of the *Seṭṭhi's* daughter.[3] We have also an instance of the whole village of wood-workers being removed and located in another place,[4] without even a hint of social barriers. Thus the mobility of labour, both from place to place and occupation to occupation, was rendered largely independent of status.[5] Still we cannot forget that hereditary tendency was a prominent factor in the economic life of those days.

It is questionable whether, in spite of that hereditary skill in the workmanship, the people ever applied themselves to work seriously and with a view to improve their craft. It cannot be said with any certainty that the workman had the incentive, the impetus and enthusiasm for his work. Perhaps the few who were in the service of the ruling princes and the great lords, like the *rājakumbhakāra*,[6] the *rāja-mālākāra*,[7] the *rājupaṭṭhāka nalakāra*,[8] or the tailor in the employ of a merchant, had some incentive to develop their craft.[9] But Fick says: "the designation of these as court-purveyors seems to me to refer to a special position which raises them above their otherwise low or even despised rank."[10] This low appreciation of the dignity of labour, of which we have many instances in the class of *hīnasippas* or the despised arts,[11] must have been a great drawback in the output of a good and efficient work, if it were not for the organizations which some of them were fortunate enough to possess.

PRODUCTIVE OR UNPRODUCTIVE.

It is of course needless for us to dwell on the character of labour as productive or unproductive. The large number of parasitical professions which existed in our *Jātaka*-society, as discussed above, show that a considerable portion of labour was clearly unproductive, though there is no such condemnation of labour in the stories themselves. But still the distinction between "high" (*Ukkaṭṭha*) and "low" (*hīna*) labour was recognized. All these workers,

1. J., III, p. 48, *ff*.
2. J., IV, p. 318.
3. J., I, pp. 120 *ff*.
4. J., IV, p. 150.
5. See J., VI, p. 214-G. 929-30. "As householders (*ibbhā*), to gain livelihood, count all pursuits legitimate and good."
6. J., I, p. 121; V, p. 290.
7. J., V, p. 292.
8. J., V, p. 291.
9. J., IV, p. 24.
10. *op. cit.*, p. 287. Individual craftsmen depending upon rich employers is a feudal trait. *Cf.* Marshall—"In Palermo there is a semi-feudal connection between artisans and their patrons, each carpenter or tailor has one or more large houses to which he looks for employment. And so long as he behaves himself fairly well, he is practically secure from competition." *Principles of Economics*, I, p. 688, note.
11. *Cf.* Fick, *op. cit.*, pp. 315 *ff*.

the hunters and the fishermen, the wood-workers and the potters, the barbers and the Sweepers come under the category of "low" classes. Through their professional work they fell into contempt.[1]

For the most part, it seems, each workman was a separate unit and had to find his own raw material and sell the finished product of his labour, thus combining the labourer and the trader in himself. Thus the workman, as in medieval Europe, "was primarily a trader, his success depended as much on his shrewdness in trade as on his skill in industry."[2] The class of middlemen was therefore not known, except in some towns and cities where inland and foreign trade was carried on an extensive scale.

HIRED LABOURERS.

But this was true only in the case of those ordinary agricultural people with a little piece of land at their disposal and in the petty manufacturers or artisans, who did not require any added labour.

There was still, mostly in towns and cities, the regular serving class, composed of all possible elements of the population differing in point of race and professional work. To this class belonged the hired-labourers and the slaves (*Dāsa-kammakaras*) who laboured for others in return of some payment (*bhataka*), whether in kind or in money.[3] Let us first take up the hirelings or the wage-earners (*kammakaras: bhatakas*).

The nature of the work is not always specified. We read of a poor *gahapati* who supports himself and his mother by working for hire (*bhatiṁ katvā*).[4] In another instance, a young man, similarly, worked as a hired labourer.[5] Not only men, but women also, old and young, used to get their living by working for hire.[6] Of the specified labourer, we have mention of the workers on the farms. Every big land-owner, like the one in the *Sālikedāra Jātaka*,[7] kept a number of day-labourers in his service. These farm-workers laboured from morning till evening.[8] Some other workers used to live by carrying water (*udakabhatiṁ katvā*).[9] Similarly there must have been labourers in the service of every rich tradesman or manufacturer. The *bhatakas* of the *Sālikedāra Jātaka* were held responsible for any damage caused by their neglect.[10]

The majority of the working class plied on their profession of a labourer without ever aspiring to a higher state. This profession of a hired labourer, as that of the slave, was as much hereditary as any other occupation. The

1. *Cf.* Fick, *op. cit.*, pp. 322 *ff.*
2. *Cf.* Seligman, *Economics*, p. 78, quoted by Subbarao, *op cit*, p. 76.
3. J., II, p. 139; III, pp. 129, 257; 326; 444; IV, pp. 50, 320; V, pp. 212; 293; VI, p 360. *Cf. Rock Edict, IX, Dāsa—bhatakasi saṁyapaṭipati;" Arthaśāstra*, III, 13, 14; *Dīgha. Nikāya*, III, 190-1; *Ācārāṅgasūtra*, I, 2 5, 1.
4. J., III, p. 325.
5. J., II, p. 139.
6. J., I, pp. 111, 475 (*paresaṁ bhatiṁ katvā kiccheva jīvanti*); III, p. 446.
7. J., IV, p. 277.
8. J., III, p. 445; IV, p. 114.
9. J., III, p. 446; *takkabhatiṁ*: curd—selling?
10. J., IV, p. 277.

Bodhisatta, reborn in a poor family (*daliddakulaṁ*), works, when he is grown up, for hire at a *Seṭṭhi's*.[1]

What was the position of these hired labourers? It was not at all enviable. The agricultural labourer received the customary wages and many times in kind[2]—an usual phenomenon even to this day. And as to an ordinary labourer, too, he could not earn more than a *māsaka* or even half a *māsaka*, and in almost all instances of a hired-labourer, it is invariably mentioned that the wages he got were hardly sufficient for his maintenance.[3] With such a low wage, it was simply impossible for the ordinary worker to raise himself to a higher position. "Born and bred in poverty, he bore his sad lot as a nature-necessity in order to leave it to his children as a legacy."[4] Perhaps, the cause of this cheapness of labour and low wages is to be found in the proverbial poverty of the people and also, to a certain extent, in the want of efficient organization of labour in ordinary life. The ideal was that "a man should always work for his interest in whose house he is fed."[5]

The day-labourers were, perhaps, taken care of in the house of their master, though they did not live there but returned to their own lodgings in the evening.[6] These houses, like the residencies of the poor (*duggatā*), were, most probably, outside the town or the city. The water-carrier, for instance, of the *Gaṅgamāla Jātaka*,[7] lived with a poor woman who likewise maintained herself by carrying water, at the northern gate of Benares.

Thus the position of the hired workers was anything but happy. But they still enjoyed a certain freedom, if not happy living, in comparison with the slaves (*dāsā*) about whom we now will speak something.

SLAVERY.

Slavery was quite common in those days. "The slave or servant was an adjunct in all households able to command domestic service."[8] Both male and female slaves—*dāsa* and *dāsī*—flitter across the pages of the *Jātaka* stories They were, for the most part, household or domestic servants,[9] who resided in the family of the master and performed all sorts of household duties.

Four kinds of slaves are specifically mentioned: "Some are slaves from their mothers (*āmāyadāsā*), others are slaves driven by fear (*bhayapaṇunnā*); some come of their own will as slaves (*sayaṁ upayānti*), others are slaves bought for money (*dhanena kītā*)."[10] All these and some more types of slaves

1. J., III, pp. 406, 444.
2. *Kālānurūpaṁ*, as Kauṭilya would say—"Wages being previously unsettled, a cultivator shall obtain 1/10th of the crops grown...." *Arthaśāstra*, III, 13.
3. J., I, p. 475; III, pp. 325, 446.
4. Fick, *op. cit.*, p. 304.
5. J., VI, pp. 426-G. 1485—"*Yasseva ghare bhuñjeyya bhogaṁ tasseva atthaṁ puriso careyya.*"
6. J., III, p. 445—"*sabbe attano attano vasanaṭṭhānāni gatā.*"
7. J., III, p. 446.
8. *C. H. I.*, I, p. 205. Kauṭilya has a whole chapter on slavery: *Dāsakalpa: Arthaśāstra*, III, 13.
9. J., I, pp. 200, 225, 350 *etc.*
10. J., VI, p. 285—G. 1238. The Law enumerates 7 kinds of slaves: See *Manu*, VIII, 415, all of which are represented in our stories. *Cf.* also *Vinaya Piṭaka*, I, 2, 1.

are represented in our stories. Children of the slaves generally took, or perhaps had to take, the same profession in life.[1] Bīraṇī of the *Nimi Jātaka* was a home-born slave (*āmāyadāsi*).[2] So was the fraudulent Kaṭāhaka.[3] References to slaves bought for money are numerous.[4] A Brāhmaṇa is sent by his careless and sinful wife, who pretends to be unable to do household work, to beg money wherewith to purchase her a female slave. The Brāhmaṇa begs 700 *Kahāpaṇas*, a sum which he considers sufficient for buying a male or a female slave,[5] while in the *Vessantara Jātaka*, the high-born prince was sold for 1000 *paṇas*.[6] Probably the price varied with the accomplishment of slaves. In the *Khaṇḍahāla Jātaka* we have a suggestive reference to persons becoming slaves voluntarily and out of fear.[7] It also appears that captives and prisoners of war or raids also could be, and were, enslaved. We read, for instance, of some borderers raiding the country-side. It is there said that "having assailed a town, and taken prisoners, laden with spoil they returned to the border. Amongst the prisoners was a beautiful maiden who thought to herself: 'these men, when they have carried us off home, will use us as slaves; I must find some way to escape.'"[8] In another story we hear of fear entertained for some captured kings who might be enslaved or brought to the border country and sold out as slaves.[9] Slaves, especially female, are also mentioned as given away by way of gifts (*dānaṁ*).[10] We have instances of persons being deprived of their freedom as a judicial punishment and reduced to slavery. The village superintendent of the *Kulāvaka Jātaka*, for instance, who has slandered the villagers before the king, is condemned to lose not only his property but also his freedom: the king makes him the slave of the village people.[11] Elsewhere we read of ministers, condemned to death by the king for outright jealousy, being given away as slaves.[12] To the category of slaves belonged also the *paricārakās* and messengers (*pesse*) who were dependent upon their masters.[13] The institution of slavery was so common that not only kings and wealthy people but the Brāhmaṇas and simple villagers and farmers also kept slaves in their families.[14]

The treatment of the slaves was, generally speaking, humane and considerate. It, however, depended on, and differed according to, the temperament and capacity of both the master and the slave. There is complete absence of legal rights of the slaves in the stories. The right of

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1. J., I, pp. 225; 451; III, pp. 409, 444.
2. J., VI, p. 117.
3. J., I, p. 452.
4. J., I, p. 290.
5. J., III, p. 343.
6. J., VI, p. 577; see also *ibid.*, p. 523.
7. J., VI, p. 135-G. 588 Subbarao remarks: "Some became slaves of free will. Among these there were, no doubt, persons who were mortgaged by their relatives in satisfaction of a debt." *op. cit.*, p. 10.
8. J., VI, p. 220—"*Dāsibhogena bhuñjissanti.*"
9. J., V, p. 497.
10. J., VI, pp. 462-G. 1630; 464-G. 1638; 503-G. 1841.
11. J., I, p. 200; also p. 241.
12. J., VI, p. 389—"*dāse katvā adāsi.*"
13. J., IV, pp. 320—G. 110; 362-G. 231.
14. J., II, p. 428; III, pp. 101, 162-3; V, p. 105; VI, p. 117.

the master over his slave seems, according to the prevailing custom, to have been absolute (*ayiro hi dāsassa janinda issaro*).[1]

About the family of a Brāhmaṇa agriculturist, the *Uraga Jātaka* says: "With a female slave they composed a household of six, the Bodhisatta (Brāhmaṇa) and his wife, the son and daughter, the daughter-in-law and the female slave. They lived happily and affectionately together."[2] Thus the female slave was not considered as a different or outside person but one of the members of the household. A similar familiar relationship between the master and his female slave is pointed out in another *Jātaka* also.[3] There the family-priest, whom the king asks to demand a boon, consults, besides the members of his family, also the slave Puṇṇā, what her desire is. And the slave-girl, humble as she is, desires a mortar, a pestle and a sieve.[4] Prince Sutasoma is courteous enough to accept the words of his slave with due honour.[5] Sometimes the slaves were permitted to learn reading and writing and handicrafts along with the sons of their masters.[6] We also find that the slaves often enjoyed their master's confidence, and sometimes were even appointed as store-keepers or guards of the property of their masters.[7]

But all those are instances which reflect the mentality of the master who gives better treatment to his slaves as if only in charity. We may not be justified in our inference from the above-cited examples that the position of the slaves was happy and favourable. Nor can we be fully certain about their real position. For there are other instances which clearly speak of the miserable lot of these classes. The happiness and sufferings of the slave were linked up with those of his master: his weal and woe depended upon him, as the learned *Paṇḍita* Vidhura testifies himself.[8] Kaṭāhaka, who was appointed a store-keeper could not command any confidence in himself. He is constantly in fear of losing his higher status. He reflects: "I shall not always be kept at this work. The slightest fault, and I shall be beaten, imprisoned, branded, and fed on slave's fare."[9] In another place, a female slave is thrown down at the door of the house and beaten with rope-ends by her master and mistress, because she could not bring home her wages.[10] The pretty little girl Kaṇhā laments her unfortunate condition before her father: "As though I were a home-born slave, this Brahmin thrashes me."[11] These similies do indeed reflect the reality. Such is also the simile "like slave before his lord," given to show that repetition of pitiful words is not dignified.[12]

1. J., VI, p. 300-G. 1317.
2. J., III, p. 162.
3. J., II, p. 428.
4. *Ibid.*
5. J., V, pp. 485-6 G. 415.
6. J., I, p. 451.
7. *Ibid.*, I, p. 225.
8. J., VI, p. 285—G. 1238.
9. J., I, p. 451.
10. J., I, p. 402.
11. J., VI, p 554—G. 2199—"*laṭṭhiyā paṭikoteti ghare gataṁ va dāsiyaṁ*".
12. J., V, p. 257—G. 34—*dāso ayirassa santike*; *Dāsiputta* is a word of reproach: J., I, p. 225; IV, p. 41.

Slaves could be rightfully given away to another.[1] We have two instances of run-away slaves who were seeking opportunity to free themselves from the clutches of their masters.[2] We cannot say with any certainty whether the master had any right over the person of a female slave, though it was not impossible in that age.[3] Slaves could regain freedom on payment[4] or through voluntary manumission by the master.[5]

The work which the slaves had to do was of course manifold. The slave was ordinarily engaged in cooking,[6] fetching water,[7] pounding and drying rice,[8] carrying food to, and watching, the field,[9] giving alms[10] ministering to the master when he retired,[11] or handing the plates and dishes, bringing the spitton and fetching the fans during meals,[12] sweeping the yards and stables[13] and such other duties.

III

CAPITAL

Coming to Capital we find that it was practically negligible. The producers, as we saw, had to supply themselves with tools made of metals or wooden implements easily available. The fact that cattle-breeding was carefully attended to in those times, and that cattle were considered as the best form of wealth, shows, that almost every cultivator had a pair of oxen to till his land. Large-scale production was unknown, and there could not exist any idea of what is now called the co-operative movement. And even the ordinary manufacturer got the necessary raw material mostly through barter, there being no need of investing capital for his work. The State took away a pretty heavy share of the national wealth in the form of taxes, rents, fines, cesses, *etc.*, which was squandered away to maintain a great number of parasitical professions at the Court. There is no trace of state-Capital being invested in productive concerns. Then the only other minority of the people who possessed capital was that of the rich tradesmen, the *Seṭṭhis* or the rich *Brāhmaṇas*, who are described as possessing 80 *koṭis*.[14] These people also either spent their surplus over luxuries and unproductive purposes like alms-giving or hoarded the wealth,[15] perhaps through fear of State-extractions or with a wish to save

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1. J., VI, pp. 285-G. 1239; 575—G. 2343.
2. J., I, pp. 452, 458.
3. See N. C. Banerji in *Calcutta Review*, Aug. 1930, pp. 254-5
4. J., VI, p. 547-G. '*Bhujissa*'—a freed slave.
5. J., V, p. 313.
6. J., V, p. 105.
7. J., V, pp. 284, 413.
8. J., I, P. 484; III, p. 356.
9. J., III, p. 163; VI, p. 336.
10. J., IV, p. 67.
11. J., III, p. 101.
12. J., I, p. 453.
13. J., VI, p. 138-G. 606.
14. *Asitikoṭivibhavo*: J. I, pp. 349, 466, 478; III, pp. 128, 300, 444; IV, pp. 1, 7, 28, 237, 255; V, pp. 382;
15. J., I, pp. 225, 277, 323, 375, 423; II, pp. 308, 431; III, pp. 25, 116, 356; IV, pp. 7, 237, 256. *Cf. Uvāsagadasāo* (*Nihānapauttāo*) p. 3.

it for the family, rather than invest in production. Thus there was a great lack of fluid capital for purposes of industrial development. This state of things remained for centuries together without much change.

IV

ORGANIZATION

It is highly remarkable indeed that, in spite of a comparatively lower stage of trading enterprises and lack of fluid Capital for the investment in industrial purposes, the economic life of this period evinces a higher state of co-operative activity and commercial or trading organization. Of course, the associative spirit, lending itself into formation of various associations for mutual assistance, due to a natural growth of civilization, to the instinct of self-preservation, goes back to very early times.[1] Economic groupings of various kinds are already known from *Vedic* times.[2] "The existence of trade associations," says Fick,[3] "which grew partly for economical reasons better employment of capital, facilities of intercourse, partly for protecting the legal interests of their class, is surely to be traced to an early period of Indian Culture." The Law-books[4] and the *Kauṭilīya*[5] present a much more developed stage of this remarkable feature of the economic life of India. The culture-stage of the *Jātakas*, falling as it does midway between the *Vedic* and the strictly—Buddhist periods, embodies in itself the first beginnings, the formation and the process of development of the Merchant and Craft Guilds which, in later times, reached a high water-mark of organization, efficiency and importance, with their own laws, usages and officers.

As far as economic organizations were concerned there was, it seems, a clear-cut and well-marked-out difference between the traders and the merchants on the one hand, and the craftsmen or the artisans on the other. So that it will be better for us to deal with the organisations, in whatever forms they may be, of these two types of workers.

CRAFT-GUILDS

Our texts frequently[6] make mention of the *Seṇiyo* (*skr. Śreṇayaḥ*)—a term which has been generally accepted as standing for Guilds.[7] But unfortunately they do not give us any clear idea as regards their character, their constitution or organization. It will appear, however, from what follows that these *seṇis* or guilds were particularly, if not solely, restricted to the craftsmen or the

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1. *Dictionary of Political Economy*, II, p. 209.
2. See R. K. Mookerji, *Local Government in Ancient India*, (2nd edition); See *Vedic Index*, I, pp. 140, 471 *ff*.
3. *op. cit.*, p. 267.
4. *Cf.* Mazumdar, *Corporate Life in Ancient India*, p. 24 *ff*.
5. *Arthaśāstra*, III, 14.
6. J., I, pp. 267, 314; IV, pp. 43, 411; VI, pp. 22; 427.
7. See Rangaswami, *op. cit.*, pp. 58-9; 183-6

artisans *i.e.*, those who were both the producers and the sellers of their own goods or articles. It is in this sense that we take *seṇi* as denoting particularly the craft-organization leaving out other temporary or semi-organizations of merchants or other groups of workers.

It is to be regretted that only four of the eighteen crafts (*sippāni*), organized in the form of a union,[1] are specifically mentioned: "the wood-workers (and the masons), the smiths, the leather-workers, the painters and the rest expert in various crafts."[2] It is difficult to fill up the fourteen unnamed guilds. Probably the number is only conventional, but it does indicate the wide-spread organization of the various crafts. As a matter of fact, the stories reveal a considerably greater number of crafts and occupations as already noticed.[3] And out of these, however, only the more important and stable ones are likely to have been organized in the form of a union.

Although the *Jātaka* stories do not enable us to fully comprehend the nature of craft-unions or guilds, such as they were in those days, they nevertheless give out certain indications here and there which may help us a little in our study.

There appear certain circumstances which, as Fick observes,[4] "greatly favour a combination and organization of particular unions."

Firstly, the hereditary character of the craftsman's profession was, as already noticed,[5] of essential importance. From his early youth, the son was apprenticed to the craft and art of his father. And the manual skill, the talent for a particular craft, was an inheritance of the family from generation to generation. But the fact of hereditariness alone is not sufficient for inferring anything like a compact union.

Secondly, the remarkable localisation of industries was an important factor which greatly contributed to the organisation of particular branches of industry. These localisations are seen mainly in three features: inside the cities, outside, but in the proximity of, the cities and in the isolated parts of the country.

Within the towns and cities, we see that certain streets, if not quarters, were fixed for certain artisans and tradesmen. For instance, the *dantakāra-vīthi* was the street of the Ivory-workers,[6] the *rajaka-vīthi* that of the dyers,[7] the *tantavitataṭṭhānaṁ* was the weavers' place[8] and *Surāpaṇa* was the place

1. J., VI, pp. 22, 427 (*aṭṭhārasaseṇiyo*).
2. *Ibid.*—"*Vaḍḍhaki. kammāra-cammakāra—citta-kārādinānāsippakusalā aṭṭhārasa seṇiyo*......"
3. See Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, pp. 90-6; Majumdar, *Corporate Life*, pp. 18-9.
4. *Op. cit.*, p. 278.
5. *Supra*, p. 205.
6. J., I, p. 320; II, p. 197.
7. J., IV, p. 81.
8. J., I, p. 356.

of the liquor-shops.[1] So were the florists'[2] and the perfumers' bazars.[3] These instances alone however do not give us anything which may go to justify our inference that the crafts therein mentioned were organized in some form of a union.

Some trades and crafts were followed outside the towns or cities, although mostly in their proximity. Amongst these the potter's craft seems to have been the most important. The *Kuṁbhakāra Jātaka*[4] mentions a suburban village (*dvāragāma*) in the vicinity of Benares, inhabited by the potters. Similarly, "not far from Benares" as the *Alīnacitta Jātaka* says,[5] "lay a carpenter's village (*vaḍḍhakigāma*) which, as we have already noticed, provided a splendid example of co-operative work.[6] Further instances of such settlements, places occupied only with particular branches of industry, are also to be found in the stories.[7] These craftsmen's villages or settlements, in the immediate neighbourhood of a big city, could find an easy market for their products and could also supply themselves with their ordinary needs, such as clothes, foodstuffs, implements and the like, from the city. About one of such villages, that of the carpenters, we learn moreover that it contained a thousand families. These were divided into two parts of five hundred families, each under a head or a leader (*jeṭṭhaka*).[8] This may or may not be taken to show that at times there existed more than one union of the same class of craftsmen in the same locality. Another interesting sidelight thrown by the same story on the organization of such unions is that the carpenters living in that village, failing once to carry out the orders placed before them for which they had received large advances, were harassed and summoned to fulfil their contract. But, instead of doing that, they built a mighty ship secretly, emigrated *en masse*, with their families, "slipping down the Ganges by night and so out to sea, till they reached a fertile island" where they ultimately settled.[9] Such a mobility of guilds is also witnessed in the inscriptions of a later period.[10]

The craft-villages, not to speak of other homogenous villages that lay in the middle of the flat country, were much more remarkable. They formed themselves, naturally, into special markets for the whole country-side. Thus we read in the *Suci Jātaka*[11] that there were two smiths-villages (*Kammāra gāmas*) situated very near to each other, one of which is said to have comprised a thousand huts (*sahassakuṭiko*). From the villages round about, people came there to have razors, axes, ploughshares, spikes, needles and other

1. J., I, pp. 121, 252, 269, 350; II, pp. 427, 431; IV, pp. 115, 223-G. 63; V, p. 13; VI, pp. 276-G. 1196; 328.
2. J., IV, p. 82.
3. *Ibid.*
4. J., III, p. 376.
5. J., II, p. 18.
6. *Supra*, p. 201.
7. J., II, p. 405; IV, pp. 159, 207, 344.
8. J., IV, p. 161.—"*Tasmin paṇa kulasahasse pañcannaṁ pañcannaṁ kulasatānaṁ jeṭṭhakā dve vaḍḍhaki ahesuṁ.*"
9. J., IV, p. 159.
10. For instance, *The Indore Copper-plate Inscription of Skandagupta.* (465. A. D.)—*G. I.*, No. 16.
11. J., III, p. 281 *ff.*

implement made (*vāsipharasu-phalupacanādikārāpanatthaṁ*). Similarly, the hunters villages (*nesādagāmas*) on the Ganges or further afield supplied skins, ivory and the like.[1] "When one reflects," so runs the talented reflection of Fick, "what a difficulty such a local isolation creates in the economical relations, one will see in these manufacturing villages, not a phenomenon of secondary importance, but a highly important factor and one that is characteristic of the physiognomy of the social life of that time. The power of traditional customs, which suit the spirit of the Indian people inclined to schematism, has created and maintained here a new impetus which is stronger than the practical need which obviously points to a variety of professions within the same common life. However much the origin of professional communities may have to be traced, as we have to do in the case of the Russian village communities, to the close relationship of the villagers with one another and to the equal right of all in the common property,[2] on the Indian soil the maintenance of such a remarkable institution seems to have been due principally to the inborn tendency towards organization, classification, schematism in the minds of the Indians. As the Brāhmaṇas worked together in villages in whch foreign, especially lower, elements were not tolerated so, following their example, social groups united by community of profession, separated themselvs from one another and helped to create the manifoldness of modern caste-life."[3] We cannot wholly agree to the learned scholar's view, specially with regard to the 'impetus' for such unions, and the creation of caste-system. We are inclined to believe that it was the practical need, the natural instinct, more than anything else, which went to create such isolated village-unions.

Lastly there was the institution of the presidents (*pāmukhā*) or aldermen (*jeṭṭhakā*), which indicates the presence of a certain form of organization. We have instances of such aldermen in the case of smiths (*kammārajeṭṭhaka*).[4] garlandmakers (*mālākārajeṭṭhaka*)[5] and carpenters (*vaḍḍhakijeṭṭhaka*).[6] We are not told anything about the power or the functions of the aldermen. Their offices were probably hereditary as all others in that period, though not strictly so. These leaders of the guilds are sometimes described as quite important persons, wealthy of course, and favourites at the Court. "The principal smith," says for instance the *Suci Jātaka*,[7] "was a favourite of the king, rich, and of great substance." Nothing is given out as to how these presidents of the guilds were inter-related. One *Jātaka*,[8] however, inentions an officer, the *Bhaṇḍāgārika* to wit, who was the supreme head or the judge of all the guilds, besides being the 'treasurer,' literally the "houser of goods." The institution of such a post must have been the result of some quarrelling

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1. J., II, p. 36; IV, pp. 413; V, p. 337; VI, p. 71.
2. *Cf.* Senart, *Les Castes dans l'Inde*, pp. 197, 229.
3. Fick, *op. cit.*, pp. 282-3.
4. J., III, p. 281; V, .p. 282.
5. J., III, p. 405.
6. J., IV, p. 161; VI, p. 332.
7. J., III, p. 281.
8. J., IV, p. 43—"*Sabbaseṇinaṁ vicāraṇārahaṁ Bhaṇḍāgārikaṭṭhānaṁ.*"

among the guilds, as Mrs. Rhys Davids has suggested.[1] About the office of this *Bhaṇḍāgārika*, also we know very little. "It was not confined to the custody of moneys.... it is possible that it referred to a supervision of the goods made or dealt with by a guild or guilds and not only to the king's exchequer."[2]

The learner or the apprentice (*Antevāsika*) also appears in the stories.[3] But no terms or conditions of pupillage are given.

Thus it would seem that some of the crafts, at least, were organized in some form or other. What were the regulations of work, rules of apprenticeship, control of the craftsmen, we do not know. Fick compares these organizations with the guilds of the Middle Ages in Europe[4]

MERCHANT-LEAGUES.

While the craft-guilds, thus, seem to have enjoyed, more or less, a permanent form of organization, the other unions, those of the merchants and tradesmen (*vāṇijā*) were less so. These latter only seem to have had a temporary character. Although two of the characteristics or factors of an organisation, *viz.* hereditariness[5] and the institution of an elder (*jeṭṭhaka*)[6] are present also in these unions or combines, their permanent character is no where revealed.

"In individual branches of the tradesmen's profession, their small stability may be the reason why we do not read anything of a close organization."[7] The frequently-mentioned petty tradesmen (*vāṇijā*) who cry out their wares in the streets of the city cannot of course be imagined to have belonged to any organization. The pedlar dealing in pots and pans sells his goods with the cry "buy water pots, buy water pots."[8] Similarly another merchant (*vāṇija*) went about hawking his goods, which were carried on a donkey.[9] So also the corn-dealers (*dhaññavāṇijā*)[10] the green grocers (*paṇṇikā*),[11] and such other petty tradesmen who appear in the stories do not seem to have formed any organization of their own. They plied on their trade in their individual capacity, unbounded by conditions of a common union, and fixing their own price.[12]

There are, however, certain indications here and there which would appear to show that there existed some sort of concerted commercial action on the part of the traders who carried on their more extensive trade on land and sea, thus forming something like occasional combines.

1. See *J. R. A. S.*, 1901, p. 865; *C. H. I.*, I, p. 206.
2. *Ibid.*, I, pp. 206-7.
3. J., I, p. 252; V, pp. 290 *ff*. *Cf. Dialogues of the Buddha*, I. pp. 84, 89.
4. *Op. cit.*, p. 284.
5. For instance, J., I, pp. 98, 107, 120, 122; 312; II, pp. 64, 236, 287; III, p. 198; IV, p. 82. *Cf.* "The trade of the trader, dealer or middleman (*vāṇija*) may well have been largely hereditary." *C. H. I.* I, p. 210.
6. J., I, p. 25; II, pp. 295, 335; IV, pp. 137, 351—G. 179.
7. Fick, *op. cit.*, p. 276.
8. J., I, p. 111.
9. J., II, p. 109.
10. J., III, p. 198.
11. J., I, p. 312.
12. *Cf.* J., I, pp. 111-2.

We frequently read of caravans (*sattha*) consisting of 500 carts (the number of the carts is only conventional) laid with goods (*bhaṇḍāni*) travelling across the country.[1] There the rank of the *Satthavāha*, or caravan-leader, seems to imply some sort of federation. Moreover, this position was apparently hereditary as the term *satthavāhakulaṁ* indicates.[2] The insecure condition of the roads in those times necessitated the co-operation of a certain kind among these merchants. Having long and dreary distances to traverse, and being always in fear of an attack by organized bands of robbers who lay in wait for them[3] the travelling tradesmen naturally went united in a body, with one man as their elder (*jeṭṭhaka*). This naturally implies that other merchants with their carts followed the *Satthavāha* and looked to him for directions as to halts, watering, precautions against brigands and dangerous places, and even as to routes, fordings *etc.*[4] But it was not a strict union. Subordination was not always ensured[5] and the evidence at hand does not warrant the inference of any fuller syndicalism among the traders.

Then again the hundred or so of merchants who, in the *Cullaka-Seṭṭhi Jātaka,*[6] come to buy up the cargo of a newly arrived ship, have not formed any union, but are apparently each trying to "score off his own bat," no less than the pushful youth who forestalled them.[7]

In the same way we do not find any indication of syndicate or federation or any agreement existing between the out-going traders on board a common ship. The 500 fellow-traders on board the ill-fated ships in the *Valāhassa*[8] and *Paṇḍara*[9] *Jātakas*, or the 700 who were lucky enough to have Suppāraka as their pilot,[10] or those others who are so often mentioned as sailing away to far-off lands for trading purposes:[11] in all these instances we do not hear anying like a close organisation, "beyond the fact that there was concerted action in chartering one and the same vessel." We cannot say whether these occasional combines were in any way similar to the joint-stock ventures of the chartered trading companies of England in the 16th and 17th centuries. But they were at least the precursors of co-operative enterprises, the *Saṁbhūyasamutthānaṁ* of the *Dharma Sūtras*[12] and *Kauṭilīya,*[13] which lay down definite rules for such organisations.

We have several references to merchants entering into partnerships, either permanent or on specified occasions only. Thus the *Kūṭavāṇija Jātaka*[14]

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1. J., I, pp. 98, 107, 194, 368: II, pp. 294; 335; III, p. 200; IV, p. 351-4; V, p. 22.
2. J., I, pp. 98, 107, 194; II, p. 335. III, p. 200.
3. J., II, p. 388; IV, p. 115; 430.
4. J., I, p. 99 *ff.* 271. *Cf. C. H. I*, I, p. 211.
5. J., I, pp. 108, 368; II, p. 295; III, p. 200.
6. J., I, p. 122.
7. *C. H. I.*, I, p. 211.
8. J., II, p. 128.
9. J., V, p. 75.
10. J., IV, p. 138 *ff.*
11. *Infra.* Chapter on Exchange.
12. *Cf. Nārada*, III, 1-9; See Majumdar, *Corporate Life*, pp. 73 *ff.*
13. *Arthaśāstra*, III, 14—"Guilds of workmen as well as those who carry on any co-operative work shall divide their earnings either equally or as agreed upon among themselves."
14. J., I, p. 404—"*Aññena vāṇijena saddhiṁ ekato hutvā vāṇijjaṁ karoti.*" also II, p. 181,

informs us that two merchants entered into partnership and took five hundred waggons of merchandise from Benares to the country-districts. Similarly we read in the *Mahāvāṇija Jātaka*[1] that a number of merchants went into a temporary partnership. Another, the *Serivāṇija Jātaka*,[2] also relates the story of two merchants trading in partnership. The *Guttila Jātaka*[3] again indicates concerted action, in work and play. Also the horse-dealers, of whom we read so frequently[4] as coming from the North and selling their horses, apparently carried on their business jointly. It is likely that the trading in company may have been undertaken to prevent mutual under-selling or the cornering of any wares.[5]

We do not know as to how the agreements among partners, if any, were drawn up.[6] But there is at least room for inferring that there were some elementary principles for the partners to abide by as the legendary story in the *Kūṭavāṇija Jātaka*,[7] already referred to, shows. It is related that two merchants called respectively the "Wise" and the "Wisest" entered into partnership and took 500 waggons of merchandise from Benares to the country-side, where they disposed off their wares, returning afterwards with the proceeds to the city. When the time for dividing came, the Wisest said, "I must have a double share." "Why so?" asked the Wise. "Because while you are only wise, I am the wisest. And Wise ought to have only one share to the Wisest's two." "But we both had an equal interest in the stock-in-trade and in the oxen and waggons. Why should you have two shares?" "Because I am Wisest." And so they talked away till they fell to quarrelling, until at last they made an equal division. This may be taken to show[8] that, while it was recognised as a general principle that profits should be proportionate to the share one contributes to the stock-in-trade, the idea of awarding special share for greater skill in business was not altogether unknown.

THE *SETTHI*.

What then was the position of the *Seṭṭhi* (mod. *Śeṭh*) who constantly figures in the stories? Certainly, it was very high and respectable both in the Court and outside.[9] The title *seṭṭhi* (*Śreṣṭhin*: Best: Chief) itself, rendered as "Treasurer" without much justification, may possibly imply headship or a representative character over some class of industry or trading.[10] Fick is probably right in alluding to him as a representative of the Commercial Community.[11] The

1. J., IV, p. 350—1—G. 179.
2. J., I, p. 111.
3. J., II, p. 248; *Cf.* also I, p. 122.
4. J., II, p. 31, 287.
5. See J., I, pp. 99, 121, 194, 270, 354, 368, 413; II, pp. 109, 335; III, pp. 200; IV, p. 15 *ff*; V, pp. 22, 164.
6. The Law-giver Nārada says "Loss, expenses and profit of each partner are proportioned to the amount contributed by him towards the joint stock company." III, 1-9; *C. H. I.*, I, p. 286.
7. J., I, p. 404 *ff*.
8. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 75.
9. J., V, p. 382—"*Rājāpūjito nagarajanapadapūjito.*"
10. The well-known *Seṭṭhi* of Rājagaha, Anāthapiṇḍika, the millionaire lay-supporter of the Buddha, had clearly some authority over his fellow-traders—See *Mahāvagga*, VIII 1, 16 *ff*.
11. *op. cit.*, pp. 259 *ff*.

word surely implied an office (*ṭhāna*) held during life: it was hereditary.[1] He appears to have a double role—that of an official and a rich trader. In his official capacity he attends to the king (*rājupaṭṭhāna*) daily.[2] He takes formal permission of the king when he wants to renounce the world[3] or give away his wealth to charity.[4]

But his part as a rich and influential merchant prince is much more pronounced than his part as an official. A *Seṭṭhi* living in Benares engages in trade and drives a caravan of five hundred waggons;[5] also we find mention of *seṭṭhis* living in the provinces and in the country side.[6] There also their wealth and influence are great. Leaving aside the conventional statement of his wealth as eight hundred millions (*asītikoṭivibhavo*)[7] we find that the *seṭṭhis* had, in their possession, nice houses with gorgeous coaches, servants and herdsmen.[8] Sometimes they also possessed rice-fields.[9] It follows from this that "we have to look upon the *seṭṭhis* not only as tradesmen but also as cattle-rearing and land-cultivating owners of the soil"[10] There might be a chief (*mahā*) *seṭṭhi* and an *anuseṭṭhi* or subordinate officer.[11]

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1. J., I, pp. 122, 231, 248, 348; III, p. 475; IV, p. 62, V, p. 382.
2. J., I, pp. 120-; 269, 349; III, pp. 119, 299; 475; IV, p. 63; V, p. 384.
3. J., II, p. 64.
4. J., V, p. 383.
5. J., I, p. 270.
6. J., I, p. 451; IV, pp. 37, 169.
7. J., I, pp. 349; 466; III, pp. 128, 300, 444.
8. J., I, p. 351.
9. J., II, p. 378.
10. Fick, *op. cit.*, p. 263.
11. J., V, p. 384; *Cf. Mahāvagga*, 1, 9.

CHAPTER II

DISTRIBUTION

IT IS THE DISTRIBUTION of produced wealth which has been the main guiding factor in the struggle for existence among the different members of the society, from times immemorial.

The fundamental problems in the economics of Distribution are the division of accumulated wealth between the various members of the community and of the annual income between its different members.

Though the stories often speak of persons of colossal wealth like the *Seṭṭhis* or the rich Brāhmaṇas, we will not be justified in holding, in general, that there existed startling inequalities in private property as they exist today. The extraordinary opulence of the kings, the *Seṭṭhis* or the rich Brāhmaṇas, was, perhaps, an exception, if not an imaginary thing. Big fortunes could not arise owing to the much simpler conditions prevailing in the economic life in those days. Very often all the factors of production were controlled by the same person (or persons) and, in such cases, all the shares of the produce practically went to him. Both in the case of peasant-proprietors and the small-scaled handicraftsmen, they supplied the labour as well as the small capital required, and were themselves the organisers. So, on the whole, the question of distribution does not appear to have been so acute or embarrassing as it did become at a later stage of the evolution of society. Still, however, the study of the various questions involved would reveal something which would not be described as harmonious or satisfactory.

The fundamental principles which govern the distribution of "national dividend" are two, *viz.*, "that each sharer should be remunerated on the principle of productivity, *i.e.*, according to the services rendered or the amount of utility created by its services, and secondly by basing remuneration on the personal and human needs of every member of the community."[1] Let us see how far and in what manner these principles are applicable to the conditions prevailing in the *Jātaka*-period, as regards rent, wages, interest or profit.

RENT.

The question of the ownership of land in Ancient India is very much disputed,[2] of course owing to the apparently contradictory statements and views contained in the literature of Ancient India. Our *Jātakas* do not at all bother about this problem. What they reveal is, as has already been noticed, that the right of individual property in land, implying the powers of use and alienation by way of sale,

1. Rangaswami, *op. cit.*, p. 104.
2. See *I. H. Q.*, II. pp. 193 *ff.*

gift, mortgage *etc.* was well developed.[1] Certain customary rules regarding the prescription, limitation and adverse possession, in regard to the ownership and tenure of land, must have been current, and acted upon.

The general system of tenure under which land was held in those days seems to have been much similar to the present-day permanent *raiyatwārī* system. The ryot or the *kuṭumbika* possessed, according to immemorial custom, a right of possession and hereditary occupation in the land so long as he paid the rent that was due. This is, of course, peasant-proprietorship.[2]

The amount of rent depended mainly on custom. Simple as the conditions of those days were, the share of the produce from land which went to the king must here be treated as rent. The productiveness of land must have been understood to depend upon its fertility, both natural and acquired, and on its accessibility, as determined by its proximity to a market and the cost of transport.[3] Productivity was, no doubt, a factor in the determination of the actual rent of any plot, but not the sole factor. Rent was not due to mere difference between the produce of any particular plot and the plot on the margin of cultivation, as the Ricardian doctrine supposes, but was, more or less, a definite charge. Of course, as already noticed, rent was subject to enhancement or reduction, and in that case custom was set aside in preference to the whim of the king or his officer.

We cannot say for certain whether there was any inter-relation between rent and prices. In fact, we have no indication whatsoever of anything like violent rise and fall in prices.

Rents were, usually, paid in kind.[4] At the time of the reaping of crops, or sometime after, the representative of the king, the tax-collector (*Balisādhaka, Niggāhaka, etc.*) used to be present in the fields, and a division of the produce was made between the king (*raññobhāga*) and the peasant-proprietor, who represented his family. This system seems to have been somewhat advantageous, inasmuch as if and when crops failed, the peasant could secure remission, or at least postponement of the rent.[5]

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1. Thus remarks Prof. Rangaswami: "Whether we accept or not the theory of an original or ultimate State-ownership of all land, individual ownership of a permanent character must be admitted, on the evidence available, as having existed virtually all through Hindu history." *op cit.*, p. 104. After a very minute examination of the problem, Prof. K. M. Gupta, also, comes, more or less, to a similar conclusion: *Land Systems*, pp. 99 *ff.* See also *C. H. I.*, I, p. 200. Hopkins says, "He (the peasant) owned land as against his fellow-subjects, but he owned it as against the king, just as the jackal owns what the tiger wants." *India, Old and New*, pp, 225-6; See also Jayaswal, *Hindu Polity*, II, pp. 174-83; Ghoshal, *History of the Hindu Revenue Systems.*

2. *Cf.* Mill, "The idea of property does not necessarily imply that there should be no rent. It merely implies that the rent should be a fixed charge. What is wanted is security of possession on fixed terms." *Principles of Economics*, quoted, by P. N. Banerjea, *A Study of Indian Economics*, p. 130 n.

3. Rangaswami, *op. cit.*, p. 105.

4. J., II, p. 378.

5. J., II, p. 135.

Thus, excepting the general share of the king, probably one-sixth of the gross produce, and barring occasional extractions by the tax-collectors, the whole of the produce was available for distribution among the toilers of the soil themselves.[1]

WAGES.

We have already become familiar with the two types of labourers, the hirelings or the wage-earners and the slaves (*dāsakammakaras*). The craftsmen were, so to say, self-reliant and independent labourers. The wages of a craftsman were the price for the article sold, which included all elements of expenses of production with which modern economic analysis has made us familiar.[2] Similarly, in the large majority of cases of peasant proprietors where no added labour was required, the wages, as we understand the term today, did not exist. In both the cases, the instruments of labour, as already stated—land, agricultural implements, the workshop, the tools—were the instruments of labour of single individuals, small and circumscribed. The producer was the labourer himself *i.e.*, there was no need to appropriate the product. The worker's property in the product was based upon his own labour. This was no wage—labour. And even where external help was used, it was, as a rule, of little importance and very generally was compensated by something other than wages. The domestic servants, the *dāsas*, of course, boarded and lodged with their employers. The assistants or apprentices to craftsmen worked less for board and wages than for education and training, in order that they might become master-craftsmen themselves.

This was the general rule. But society had far advanced from the pure primitive stage. Wage-labour had come to be recognised.[3] We have seen labourers (*kammakaras : bhatakas*) working for wage, for hire. The labourers were hired on the farm.[4] They were generally paid their wages in kind.[5] The country being mainly agricultural, demand for hired labour on the farm was necessarily little, and consequently wages were low and non-progressive. They were not at all in proportion to the work done.

In the case of those other labourers who worked for hire, we find that the wages they received were hardly sufficient for their bare subsistence. The *māsaka* or one-fourth of a copper *paṇa* that the hired labourer received[6] could

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1. In those days, when competition did not devitalise man's labour, such institutions as peasant-proprietorship had a beneficent effect upon mankind. Remarks Prof. P. N. Banerjea : "The economic and moral value of the system of peasant-proprietorship is immense, and there can be no surer means of improving the condition of the Indian cultivator than to confer on him at least limited rights of property."—*op. cit.*, p. 131. The best way, however, seems in collectivising the land, as Russia shows.

2. J., II, p. 18. Subbarao, *op. cit.*, p. 77.

3. *Cf.* these remarks of Frederick Engels, one of the foremost twin-propounders of Scientific Socialism: "....Wage-labour, which contains the whole capitalistic mode of production in embryo, is very ancient ; in a sporadic, scattered form it existed for centuries alongside of slave-labour. But the embryo could duly develop into the capitalistic mode of production only when the necessary historical pre-conditions had been furnished."—*Socialism : Scientific and Utopian*, p. 53 n.

4. J., III, p. 445 ; IV, pp. 144, 277.

5. J., III, p. 446 ; V, p. 212.

6. J., I, p. 475 ; III, pp. 325, 446.

not have been sufficient for his happy living, even if the purchasing power of a copper *paṇa* was high, as is sometimes suggested.[1] At the most, it could supply the worker with a good meal, or a little garland or some drink. It is expressly and often mentioned with regard to the day-labourers: "he (or she) lived a hard life on workman's wages—(*bhatiṁ katvā kiccena jīvati*)"[2]

There was of course no question of any connection between prices and wages. Wages were, more or less, fixed by custom.

INTEREST.

Loans and usury are as old as the *Vedic* times and perhaps much older. *Ṛṇaṁ* or debt is repeatedly mentioned, from the *Ṛgveda* onwards, having apparently been a normal condition among the *Vedic* Indians;[3] the Law-Books[4] and the *Kauṭilīya*[5] are of course much more elaborate on the subject.

The *Jātakas* also show that loans were common.[6] In one story,[7] there is a tolerant tone concerning the money-lender (*iṇāyika*): "a patron, in enabling a huntsman to better himself, names money-lending (*iṇadānaṁ*), together with tillage, trade and harvesting as four honest callings." But the character of the money-lender, as profit-mongering, evading any legal or customary rate of interest, is also recognised, in as much as hypocritical ascetics are accused of practising this profession.[8]

But this is all general. We do not know as to how and under what circumstances money was lent and what the interest on that money was.[9] The term which appears in the Law Books as usury—*vṛddhi, vaḍḍhi*—is found,[10] meaning profit or interest. The practice of borrowing money (*iṇaṁādāya: iṇaṁ gahetvā*) seems to have been almost universal. That the rates of interest were high or that the creditor (*iṇāyika*) was intent on profit-mongering may be inferred from this unmistakable fact that the familiar figure of the embarrassed, even desperate debtor (*dhāraṇako*) flits across the pages of the *Jātakas*.[11] A bankrupt invites his creditors to bring their debt sheets (*iṇapaṇṇāni*: mod. *khuts*) for settlement, only to drown himself before their very eyes.[12] Another flies away to a forest,[13] Anxieties of a debtor were indeed many. Freedom

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1. Pran Nath, *op. cit.*, pp. 148-9.
2. J., I, pp. 421, 475; II, p. 139; III, pp. 180; 325; 406, 444, 446. Even to-day, the wage-worker's plight is anything but satisfactory: the average wage cannot be more than 3 annas *per diem* for the able-bodied 'unskilled' labourer, leaving aside some large Industrial towns and cities.
3. *Vedic Index*, I, pp. 109-110.
4. See *C. H. I.*, I, pp. 287 *ff*; *J. B. O. R. S.*, VI, pp. 117 *ff.*
5. *Arthaśāstra*, III. 11; Rangaswami, *op. cit.*, pp. 108 *ff.*
6. J., I, p. 321; IV, pp. 45, 184-G. 53; 256; 280-G. 7-8; V, p. 116-G. 18. VI, pp. 178; 193-G. 840.
7. J., IV, p. 432 *ff.* G-112. *Cf. Gautama*, X. 6; XI, 21.
8. J., IV, p. 184-G. 53.
9. See for the rates of interest in the Law Books, *J. B. O, R, S*, VI. pp. 117 *ff*; Rangaswami *op. cit.*, pp. 107 *ff*; *Arthaśāstra*, III, 11. The rate may have ranged from 15 to 60 per cent. N. N. Law, *Ancient Hindu Polity* pp. 170 *ff.* This would point to a relative scarcity of loan capital.
10. J., VI, p. 18.
11. J., IV, pp. 45, 256; VI, pp. 178, 245-G. 1097.
12. J., IV, p. 256; *Cf. Milindapañho*, p. 131; *C. H. I.*, I., p. 218.
13. J., VI, p. 178.

from debts (*iṇamokkho*) was not easy, though desired.[1] Only a debts-freed man was considered fit for renunciation,[2] and that was the reason why it was felt necessary to debar any candidate who was a debtor from admission to the Buddhist *Saṅgha*.[3] Sometimes the poor borrower, perhaps the cultivator or the small artisan, becomes heavily indebted, and the debt often runs through the life of the borrower and is inherited by his heirs (*pettikaṁ iṇaṁ*[4]) much in the same way as today.

PROFITS.

There is very little to be said on this part in the shares of the dividend. Agriculture, as a money-making process, has never been a profitable business. And as to the manufactures also, we have seen that they were on a very small scale and therefore could not possibly secure anything like a good profit. It is very difficult to trace out exactly from the stories that class of middlemen whom the economists call the *entrepreneur*. These men stand between the producer and the trader. They purchase wholesale the surplus produce from the producers and sell it to the petty businessmen. Perhaps the only men from the *Jātakas* who can correspond to these middle-men were the rich *Seṭṭhis* and the rich traders who travelled from place to place, both on land and sea. The daring youth of the *Cullaka-Seṭṭhi Jātaka*[5] buying off the whole of the ship's cargo and selling it off to different merchants of the city might be regarded as a typical *entrepreneur*. He snatched a heavy profit, indeed; the *Seṭṭhis*, and the *Vāṇijas* should also belong to this class of middle-men.

We can well see that the problem of Distribution was not at all an intricate one as it is today. The industries of the country, including agriculture, were small-scaled. And the factors of production, being very often controlled by the same person, all the shares would naturally go to him.[6]

1. J., IV, p. 280-GG. 7-8.
2. J., VI, p. 18—G. 44 "*Ananassa hi pabbajjā evaṁ vihi vaṇṇitaṁ* "
3. *Mahāvagga*, 1, 46; See *C H I*, I, p 218.
4. J., VI, p. 193-G. 840.
5. J., I, pp. 120 *ff*.
6. The present-day inequitable distribution of wealth and its effects are thus generalised: "The unduly large share of the national dividend, possessed by the rich, produces in them grave faults of character and purpose which make them indifferent administrators of the capital without which labour is powerless. The unduly small share of the national dividend possessed by the poor is the source of a stream of moral and physical evils which mingling with the waters of death which descend from the high levels of luxury produce effects whose causation is only obscure as long as we neglect the study of the *Error of Distribution*!" Money, *Riches and Poverty*. p. 152.

CHAPTER III

EXCHANGE

"Merchants through hope seek treasure far and wide,
And taking ship on ocean's billows ride;
There sometimes do they sink to rise no more
Or else escaping, their lost wealth deplore"

—*Sudhābhojana Jātaka.*[1]

"The ocean ever ebbs away
And fills again the self-same day."

—*Samudda Jātaka.*[2]

TRADE WAS CARRIED ON briskly by land as well as by sea. The inland and overland trade seems to have been extensive. It was important in itself and also served as a feeder to the sea-trade. Benares was indeed the chief industrial and commercial centre in those early days. From it passed the great trade-routes to and from all directions on land and water.

INLAND TRADE.

From east to west (*pubbantā aparantaṁ*)[3] is of course a general term for the great trade-route that passed through different stages. Taking Benares as the centre of this route we can trace out the different stages through which the traffic was carried on. Leaving out Tāmalitti on the extreme east coast which was undoubtedly a great port,[4] but which does not appear in the stories, we see that Campā was the next great trading Centre from the east. We know that traders from there sailed to Suvaṇṇabhūmi,[5] probably passing through Tāmalitti. On land Campā was joined with Mithilā, the Videhan Capital.[6] But further west, along the river Ganges, came the great centre Benares.[7] On land Benares had busy trade relations with Ujjenī.[8] The route, probably, passed through Kosambī and the Ceti country, as we

1. J., V, p. 401-G. 244. The oversea trade between India and the neighbouring countries existed from very early times, even before the time of the *Vedas* which contain numerous references to it. See *Vedic Index*. I, p. 462; II, pp. 431-3. See also P. T. Srinivas Aiyangar, *Trade in India. I. H. Q.*, I, pp. 693 *ff*; II, pp. 38 *ff*.
2. J., II, p. 442—G. 138.
3. J., I, pp. 98, 368; III, p. 502; V, p. 471.
4. *Cf.* Law, *G. E. B.*, p. 69. The branch of the celebrated Bodhi tree was taken from this port to Ceylon.
5. J., VI, pp. 34 *ff*.
6. J., VI, p. 32. The distance between the two is said to have been 60 leagues (*yojanas*).
7. The defaulting wood-wrights of the *Samuddavāṇija Jātaka*, J., IV, p. 159, reach an ocean-island from Benares. From here also Saṅkha, the Brāhmaṇa goes to Suvaṇṇabhūmi: IV, p. 15. Pāṭaliputta (Patna), coming between Campā and Benares, is not mentioned in the stories. It was perhaps a very small village at that time as testified by the Buddha himself. See *Dīgha Nikāya* II, 86. The celebrated Viśākhā journeyed from Campā to Śrāvastī by boat. *Tibetan Tales*, pp. 115-6.
8. J., II, p. 248.

have mention at least of a high way from Benares to Ceti.[1] On this side, the route branched off to Rājagaha.[2] From Videha to Gandhāra was a very brisk traffic.[3] It was largely by river, and must have passed through Benares. To reach Kaṁpilla or further still to Indapatta from Mithilā,[4] one must have had to follow up this route upto Payāga, and then sail up the river Ganges, while the Yamunā might carry him up to Madhurā. Further westward the journey would again be overland to Sindha, whence came large imports in horses and asses[5] and to Sovīra and its ports. Northward (*uttarāpatha*) lay the great trade-route connecting India with central and western Asia, by way of Taxila (Takkasilā) in Gandhāra near Rawalpindi and presumably also of Sāgala in the Panjāb.[6] Now this was the route which passed through the great desert (*marukantāra*)—60 leagues wide[7]—probably the sandy desert of Rājputānā—of which we read so often. Caravans crossed this desert day in and day out. "The tradesman," says Fick,[8] "who goes about the country with his caravan is in fact a typical figure in our narratives and, according to the statements in these, caravan traffic cannot have been small, either with regard to the distance traversed or with regard to wares carried." Thus we see that big trade-routes, through rivers and deserts, crossed the land in all directions and carried on an exchange of goods (*bhaṇḍaṁ*) between the several and widely different parts of India.

So much for the inland and overland trade.

As regards reverine traffic and sea-trade also, we have some notices. "The plentifulness of great navigable waterways in Northern India allows us to assume an early development of internal maritime trade."[9] Well-known sea-ports like Bharukaccha (Broach)[10] and the sea-board of Sovīra,[11] on the west and Kāvīrapaṭṭaṇa,[12] and the less-known ones like Karaṁbiya,[13] Gaṁbhīra[14] and Seriva[15] on the south and east are mentioned. Suppāraka might

1. J., I, pp. 253-4. Probably this route from Benares to Ujjenī met at Kosaṁbī the great 'North to South-West Road' from Sāvatthī to Patiṭṭhāna, given in the *Sutta Nipāta* verses 1011-3—Sāvatthī, Sāketa, Kosaṁbī Vedisā, Gonaddha, Ujjenī, Māhissatī and Patiṭṭhāna. See *Buddhist India*, p. 103. From Ujjenī to Rājagaha the way lay though Kosaṁbī—*Mahāvagga*, VIII, 1, 27. From Māhissatī to Bharukaccha was an easy way along the Narmadā.
2. J., I, p. 466.
3. J., III, p. 365.
4. J., VI, p. 447.
5. J., I, pp. 124, 178, 181; II, pp. 31, 287; V, pp. 259-60; VI, p. 265.
6. *C. H. I.* I., p, 214. We cannot say by which route the 100 league distance between Sāgala and Kusāvatī, if this be true, was traversed by Kusa, J., V, p. 290.
7. J., I, pp. 99, 108. (*Saṭṭhiyojanakaṁ marukantāraṁ.*)
8. *op. cit.*, p. 272. According to the *Tibetan Tales*, p. 99, Jīvaka's journey from Takkasilā to Rājagaha lay through Bhadraṁkara city, Uduṁbara city, Rohitaka land, Mathurā city, Yamunā river and Vaiśālī city, corresponding more or less to the outline drawn above.
9. Fick, *op. cit.*., p. 270.
10. J., III, pp. 126-7, 188, 190-G. 57; IV, pp. 137-42.
11. J., III, p. 470.
12. J., IV, p. 238. See Kanakasabhai, *The Tamils* 1800 *years ago* quoted by Subbarao *op. cit.*, p. 81, *ff.*
13. J., V, p. 75.
14. J., I, p. 239.
15. J., I, p. 111. It is presumed that this *Seriva* is identical with the Seriyāputa mentioned in a votive lable on the Barhut Stūpa, See Barua, *Barhut Inscriptions*, pp. 32, 130.

also be added to the list.[1] The great rivers served as commercial routes and royal roads connected the important cities. Thus it was practicable to reach any of these ports, from inland towns like Campā and even Benares, as we have seen. A brisk coastal trade must also have been maintained between the sea-port towns themselves.[2]

SEA-BORNE TRADE.

And as to the sea-faring activities of the people of that age there cannot be a shadow of doubt.[3] We have ample references, however meagre the details may be, to show that brisk trade was carried on between India and the neighbouring countries, on the west and the east.

In the *Valāhassa-Jātaka*,[4] which reminds us of the sirens and other akin creatures, we are told the fate of five hundred ship-wrecked traders, who fall in the hands of she-goblins (*yakkhiṇīs*) in Tambapaṇṇi or Ceylon. Again in the *Saṅkha Jātaka*[5] we have a figure of a ship-wrecked man on a voyage from Benares to Suvaṇṇabhūmi or Lower Burma in search of wealth. In the *Silanisaṁsa Jātaka*[6] we see a sea-faring nymph as helmsman bringing ship-wrecked people from off the sea to Benares by river.

Similarly we hear, in the *Mahājanaka Jātaka*,[7] of merchants who sailed from Campā bound for Suvaṇṇabhūmi, the great trading centre, to which traders even from Bharukaccha[8] went, doubtless putting in at a Ceylon (Tambapaṇṇi) port: for Ceylon was another boume of oversea commerce, and one associated with ports around which Odyssean legends had grown up.[9] The now well-known *Baveru-Jātaka*[10] undoubtedly points out to the existence of commercial intercourse between India and Babylon through the Persian Gulf. But the most important of all these is the *Suppāraka Jātaka*[11] which records, though in the usual mystic manner, the perilous adventures on the high seas undergone by a company of traders who sailed from the seaport town of Bharukaccha, in a vessel under the pilotage of a blind but accomplished mariner. The story gives the names of some of the sea-points through which the traders passed. They were in succession as follows:

1. J., IV, pp, 138-42. Other references to unnamed *Paṭṭanagāmas* or sea-port towns are J., II, p. 103; IV, p. 16.

2. *Cf.* "The whole of the sea-board from Broach to Cape Comorin was studded with marts and emporia that served as warehouses for the products of the whole of India and poured from their ample stores commodities of various kinds into the markets of the west." P. V. Kane, in *Proceedings 1st Oriental Conference*, Poona, II, p. 365. The *Periplus* bears ample testimnoy to this.

3. See Kennedy, *The Early Commerce of India with Babylon*, (700-300 B.C.) *J. R. A. S.*, 1898, pp. 241-88: Sooff, The *Periplus*, pp. 228 *ff*. Fick, also, doubts trading on the high seas, *op. cit.*, p. 269.

4. J., II, pp. 127 *ff*.

5. J., IV, pp. 15-7.

6. J., II, pp. 112-4.

7. J., VI, p. 34.

8. J., III, p. 188.

9. *C. H. I.*, I, p. 213.

10. J., III, p. 126 *ff*. On this *Jātaka*, see Bühler, *Origin of The Indian Alphabet*, p. 84.

11. J., IV, pp. 138-42. GG. 105-115.

(*a*) Khuramāla (*b*) Aggimāla (*c*) Dadhimāla (*d*) Nīlakusamāla (*e*) Nalamāla and (*f*) Valabhāmukha. Now from the names and the description given in the *gāthās*, these are clearly identifiable respectively with (*a*) some portion of the Persian Gulf, perhaps touching the south-eastern end of Arabia (*b*) the Arabian coast near Aden or some portion of the Somali-land, (*c*) the Red Sea, (*d*) Nubia on the N. E. corner of Africa, (*e*) the canal joining the Red Sea with the Mediterranean and (*f*) the volcano-sea *i.e.*, some portion of the Mediterranean Sea where volcanoes are still to be seen.[1] Thus it shows the whole sea-route from Broach up to the Mediterranean passing through the Persian, Arabian, and the Red Seas. The trade-relations of India with Babylon, Arabia, Egypt, Greece and South European countries on the Mediterranean are, thus, undeniable.[2]

EXPORTS-IMPORTS

What commodities were exported and imported[3] or what exchanged inland we do not clearly know. Of the inland trade we are mostly told of five hundred waggons laden with valuable goods. Probably these loads (*bhaṇḍaṁ*) contained cloths for which Benares was so famous. Once[4] we read of rice, beams and other grains dropped by passing waggons. But, as pointed out by Subbarao,[5] food-stuffs could hardly have entered in those days into the trade between distant places. The silken robes of Kāsī[6] the woollen rugs of Gandhāra[7] and the linen cloths of Koḍuṁbara (in the Punjab)[8] must have been some of the exchangeable commodities. The needle-work and steelwork of Dasaṇṇa or the later Vidiśā (Bhilsa region in C. P.) was sufficiently famous to be distributed.[9] Peacocks and birds must have been included.[10] In general, "silks, muslins, the finer sorts of cloth and cutlery and armour, brocades, embroideries and rugs, perfumes and drugs, ivory and ivory-work, jewellery and gold" were no doubt "the main articles which the merchants dealt in."[11]

TRANSPORT.

It is essential, for the growth of trade and commerce especially, that there should be fairly developed means of rapid and cheap communication or transport. Of course, in those early days we cannot expect much more than carts drawn by animals on land, simple boats on rivers and well-constructed ships on the sea.

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1. See Jayaswal, *J. B. O. R. S.*, VI, p. 195; *Infra. Geographical Index* under corresponding Names.
2. See Mookerji, *Indian Shipping*, pp. 82 *ff.*
3. On this and generally on the whole chapter, it would be worth while comparing Prof. Lassen's valuable treatise on the *History of Indian Commerce*: trasnlated in *J. B. O. R. S.*, X, pp. 229-316.
4. J., I, p. 429.
5. *op. cit.*, p. 80.
6. J., II, p. 443-G. 141; III, p. 10; V, p. 78-G. 230; VI, pp. 49-G. 194. 50-G, 225.
7. J., V, p. 500-G. 1796.
8. *Ibid* G. 1801.
9. J., III, p. 282 *ff*; p. 337 *ff*. G. 39.
10. J., III, p. 126 *ff*. *Cf. The Bible, Kings*, X, 22.
11. *Cf.* Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India* pp. 98 *ff*; *cf.* Mookerji, *Indian shipping*, p. 82 *ff*. Lassen's *History*, *loc. cit.*

We find numerous references to roads,[1] but it is not clear what sort of roads they were. Prof. Rhys Davids says, "There were no made roads, and no bridges. The carts struggled along, slowly, through the forests, along the tracks from village to village kept open by the peasants. The pace never exceeded two miles an hour, smaller streams were crossed by gullies leading down to fords, the larger ones by cart ferries."[2] Probably, things were not quite so primitive. Mention of "highways" and "royal roads" (*mahāmagga: mahāpatha: rājamagga*) as distinguished from "bye-lanes" and "bye-road' (*upa-patha*)[3] might suggest the existence of well-constructed roads. Still however the conditions do not appear to have been satisfactory. Roads were not smooth.[4] They lay through forests and deserts and beset with many dangers: dangers from draught, famine, wild beasts, robbers, demons, poisonous trees and so on.[5] The travellers, often, experienced want of water,[6] though wells were dug by the road-side.[7] The journey of a caravan through desert or forest country is indeed a typical feature of our stories. The *Apaṇṇaka*[8] and *Vaṇṇupatha*[9] *Jātakas* throw a flood of light on the difficult way in which trade was carried on by these caravans. We are told of five kinds of wildernesses (*kantāras*); those infested with robbers, those in which wild beasts abounded, those others visited by drought, demons and famine. These were in reality, probably,[10] the five successive portions of the route over the deserts of Rājaputānā.

Whenever the wind blew in their teeth, they rode on in front in their carriage with their attendants round them, in order to escape the dust, but when the wind blew from behind them, then they rode in like fashion in the rear of the column. If it was a forest or a shaded or cool tract, the travellers kept on their march all the day long, and at sunset they unyoked their carts and made a laager, tethering the oxen to the wheels. The oxen were made to lie down in the middle with the men round them. The leader of the caravan with the leading men of his band had to guard at night. On the day-break, again, the caravan started on its march.[11] If the portion of the route was an empty desert, they had to travel by night. The sand of the desert grew as hot as a bed of charcoal embers at day time, and nobody could walk upon it. So they used to take firewood, water, oil, rice and so forth on their carts, and only travelled by night.[12] At dawn they used to range their carts in a circle

1. J., I, pp. 98. 99, 100, 128, 225; II, pp. 3, 70, 82, 118; III, pp. 200, 526; V, pp. 22, 46, 266-G. 81; 313; VI, pp. 137, 341, 348, 380.
2. *Buddhist India*, p. 98.
3. J., I, p. 351; II, p. 3, 70, 303; III, p. 49; V, p. 106, 266-G. 81; VI, pp. 51, 179.
4. J., I, p. 194.
5. J., I, pp. 98, 271, 274, 283; II, p. 335; IV, p. 185; V, pp. 22, 471, the *Chaddanta Jātaka*, J., V, p. 46, gives a graphic description of roads that lay through jungles and other kinds of tracts.
6. J., I, pp. 99, 109.
7. J., II, p. 70.
8. J., I, p. 99 *ff*.
9. *Ibid.* p. 107 *ff*.
10. Barua, *Proceedings 4th Oriental Conference*, II, p. 213.
11. J., I, p. 101 *ff*.
12. *Cf.* Pliny's account of the journey on desert on the Red Sea border: (VI, 26): Schoff, *Periplus*, p. 232-3.

to form a laager, with an awning spread overhead, and after an early meal used to sit in the shade all the day along. When the sun went down, they had their evening meal; and so soon as the ground became cool, they used to yoke their carts and move forward. Travelling on this desert was like voyageing over the sea: a desert-pilot (*thalaniyāmaka*) had to convey them over by knowledge of the stars.[1]

And the way was often insecure. Organised bands of robbers, with shields on their shoulders and swords in hands, lay in wait for these tradesmen,[2] especially in the forest. And there were forest-people (*aṭavīmukhavāsī*) at the entrance who led the caravans through the dangerous places and were paid for.[3]

Indeed, the way was wearisome and the process slow. The carts were drawn by oxen and the broad rims of their wheels were protected by iron bands.[4] These carts or waggons were the ordinary *Sakaṭas*.[5] But there were cars of richer style, no doubt. The *ratha* or the *sukhayānaka* was drawn by horses. It had comfortable seats.[6] Litters or *Sivikās* were used by the royalty and the wealthy.[7]

The great rivers did, no doubt, furnish means of communication and some facilities of transport. Of bridges we have no mention.[8] There were fording places[9] and the streams and water courses were crossed by means of boats.[10] There were canoes (*ekadoṇikanāvā*) also.[11] People made a living by conveying people and goods across the rivers.[12]

The maritime transport appears to have been greatly developed, though not devoid of its own dangers. As already noticed, sea-navigation was common. Voyages were mostly undertaken for purposes of trade by companies of merchants,[13] though passengers were also taken up.[14] The ships were built of wooden-planks (*dāruphalakāni*)[15] and were dependent on wind (*erakavātayuttā*) for their onward journey.[16] Shipbuilding was fairly advanced, as we have seen.[17] As to the construction of the ships, we are told that besides the outer frame work, there used to be 3 masts (*kūpā*, mod. *Kuvāthaṁbha*), cordage (*yottaṁ*), sails (*sitaṁ*), planks (*padarāṇi*) the oars and the rudders

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1. J., I, pp. 107 *ff*.
2. J., IV, p. 185-G. 58, *Cf.* I, p. 283: II, p. 335, V, pp. 22, 422
3. J., V, pp. 22, 471.
4. J., IV, p. 210.
5. J., IV, pp. 207-8, 458.
6. J., I, pp. 175, 202; II, p. 339; III, p. 527; IV, pp. 207-8; 458; V, p. 164.
7. J., IV, p. 378; VI, pp. 500-G, 1797, 514-G. 1913.
8. But there was something like a causeway (*setu*) or raised dyke built over shoal water: *C H. I.*, I, p. 214.
9. J., III, p. 230.
10. J, II, p. 423; III, p. 230; IV, pp. 234; 478.
11. J., IV, p. 456; V, p. 163; VI, p. 305; *Cf. Dhoṇi.*
12. J., I, p. 112; III, p. 230.
13. J., II, p. 129; IV, p. 142; V, p. 75.
14. J., II, p. 111; III, p. 188.
15. J., II, p. 111; IV, pp. 20-G. 32; VI, pp. 34, 427.
16. J., I, p. 239; II, p. 112; IV, p, 20-G. 32.
17. J., IV; p. 159; VI, p. 427.

(*phiyāritāni*) and anchors (*laṅkhāro*).[1] The pilot on board (*niyāmaka*) had the charge of the rudder and guided the ship.[2]

But there were serious dangers on the high seas. Does not the poor mother in one of our *Jātakas* say to her son, who is bent upon sailing to a far-off country, that "the sea has many dangers ?"[3] Our stories are full of shipwrecks, indeed. Sometimes the ship may be swallowed away by whirlpools (*vohara*).[4] But often the timber could not withstand the terrible force of their surging waves. There was a leakage. The men on board tried to bale the water clear.[5] And still, when the planks gave way, water rose and the ship began to sink, the crew invoked the gods.[6] The prayers unawailing, they had to catch hold of the planks to be carried wherever their fate liked, to unknown and dangerous places.[7]

It is interesting to notice, *en passant*, that the Indian mariners like the sea-faring Phoenicians and Babylonians of Ancient times, employed the shore-sighting birds (*disākāka*) for finding the direction of land during navigation.[8]

The conclusion is that transport, on the whole, was very slow, thus obstructing the easy exchange of goods.

SYSTEMS OF TRANSACTION.

The act of exchange between producer and consumer, or between either and a middleman was done in different ways. Every village had its own resident traders. Here, for the most part buying and selling were done directly, *i.e.*, between the producer and the consumer, probably in individual shops, or open market-place. A portion of the village produce was sold in the village market for local consumption, and the surplus, if any, was handed over to the agents in the towns and thence despatched to trade-centres in other parts of the country, or exported out of it. Imported merchandise was distributed by the same machinery working in the opposite direction. In this process, trade passed through the hands of middlemen (*vāṇijā*), whose existence cannot be doubted.

Within the town as we have seen, there were special streets apportioned to different products.[9] Food-stuffs,[10] green groceries,[11] and flowers for the

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1. J., II, p. 112 ; III, p. 126; IV, pp, 17, 21. *Cf. Ācārāṅga Sūtra*, II, 3, 1, 13-21. See the sculptured figures reproduced in R. K. Mookerji, *Indian Shipping*.
2. J., II, p. 112 ; IV, p. 137 ; V, p. 326 ; VI, pp. 326, 443.
3. J., VI, p. 34—"*samuddo nāma appasiddhiko, bahu antarāyiko.*"
4. J., V, p. 259.
5. J., IV, p. 16.
6. J., VI, p.. 34 "*phalakāni bhinnāni, tato tato udakaṁ uggataṁ, nāvāmajjhe samudde nimuggā mahājano rodati paridevati nānādevatā namassati:*"—the sea is still a god with the sailors in India.
7. J., I, p. 110 ; II, pp. 111, 128 ; III, p. 289; IV, pp. 2, 142 ; V, p. 75; VI, p. 34. An interesting thing to be noticed in this connection is the precautions taken just before the ship-wreck ; once when the ship was about to sink, the man on board ate sugar and ghee and then smeared his garments with oil (*mattasāṭaka telena makkhitvā*) and put them tightly round him and stood leaning against the mast. J., VI, p. 34. The oil-soaked robe could resist the slow freezing of the body : "The competitors in swimming even today do not act otherwise :" S. Levi, *I. H. Q.*, VI, p. 606.
8. J., III, p. 126-7, 267. *Cf. Ṛgveda*, VI, 62-6.
9. *Supra*, pp. 213-4
10. See, for instance, J., I, p. 361.
11. J., I, p. 442 ; II, p. 179; III, pp. 21-2; IV, pp. 445, 448-G. 119; 449.

towns[1] were apparently brought only to the gates. Probably near the gates or outside them were also the slaughter-houses (*sūnā*) and near them the poor man and the king's chef bought their meat.[2] And there were the taverns (*pānāgāra : surāpaṇa*) for the sale of strong liquors.[3] "The workshop in the street was open to view, so that the *bhikkhu* coming into town or village for alms, could see fletcher and carriage-builder at work, no less than he could watch the peasant on the field."[4] In all these shops (*āpaṇa*) forming the bazaar, articles of various kinds were displayed for sale[5] or stored within (*antarāpaṇa*).[6] In most of these cases buying and selling were direct (*i.e.*, between the producer and the consumer) : the two notable exceptions being those of the green-grocers and the corn-factors.

It is, indeed, curious that we do not find any mention or clear reference either to a market-place in the town or to seasonal market days, as the *Hāṭ* of the modern days, or fairs (*melās*)—the *samājas*[7] or fetes do not appear to have included any kind of market.[8]

Another way in which the exchange of goods was carried out was by hawking, *i.e.*, the sellers going about looking out for the buyers. Hawkers roamed about in the streets with their wares just as at present[9] and travelled from place to place[10] with their goods on a donkey[11] or on a barrow.[12] Horses were taken for sale to kings by the sellers.[13]

It is also interesting to note in this connection that there grew up some market-towns (*nigamagāmas*)[14] "which served as centres of trade in a locality as the name implies and were the natural corrolary of the specialized industries of the villages" noticed before.[15] They sometimes grew up at the entrances of great cities like Mithiā.[16]

Trade with the border was another feature in the business transaction of the day.[17] "The border merchant served as a sort of entrepot. Merchants in the capital cities established relations with the merchants on the border.[18] They would load their carts with local produce and give orders to men in charge to go to their correspondents on the border and exchange it for the wares in

1. J., I, p. 120; IV, p. 82; VI, p. 276-G. 1197.
2. J., III, pp. 100, 378; V, p. 458; VI, pp. 62, 276-G. 1196 ; 334.
3. J., I, pp. 121, 252, 269, 350; II, pp. 427, 431; IV, pp. 115, 223; V, p. 13; VI, p. 328.
4. *C. H. I*, I, 215.
5. J., II, p. 267; III, pp. 198, 199-G. 77; IV, p. 488; VI, p. 29.
6. J., I, p. 350; III, p. 406.
7. See for instance J., I, p. 423; III, p. 442.
8. *C. H. I.*, I, p. 215.
9. J., I, pp. 111, 205; II, p. 424; III, pp. 21, 283.
10. J., III, p. 54.
11. J., II, pp. 109-110.
12. J., IV, p. 333.
13. J., I, p. 121; II, pp. 31, 287.
14. J., I, p. 205 ; II, pp. 225, 232; III, pp. 21, 283. *Cf. Arthaśāstra*, II, 1. (*Paṇyapattana*)
15. Supra, p. 214.
16. J., VI, p. 330, Subbarao, *op. cit.*, p. 79.
17. J., I, pp. 121, 344-5; pp. 31, 287.
18. J., I, p. 451.

their shops,"[1] or for money.[2] The wares obtained at the border were probably forest produce and also possibly goods of other countries.[3]

PRICES.

As already said, the exchange between producers and consumers or between either and a middleman was a "free" bargain. There were no fixed prices.[4] Owing to slow transport, individualistic and small production and primitive machinery, supply was hampered. But nothing prevented the producer or the dealer from prevailing by competition[5] and also by adulteration, and knavery (*kūṭakāri*),[6] and thus bringing about an equation with a demand "which was largely compact of customary usage and relatively unaffected by the swifter fluctuations termed fashion."[7] Merchants were well-known for bragging (*vikatthanī*).[8]

We may also note some practices of a more developed competition known to-day as "dealing in futures" or "cornering." We have already noticed the instance of the daring youth of Benares. Receiving the earliest intimation of the arrival of a ship in port, he proceeded to buy it up whole-sale on credit and thus established a "corner" in foreign produce which sent up prices to his immense profits.[9] The same youth had, sometime before, sent up the price of grass by a "limitation of output" in agreement with other "producers."[10] In another instance two dealers in pots and pans apportioned the streets between themselves, each to hawk in his own district, and they also agreed that "one might try the streets which the other had already been into."[11]

Haggling over prices seems to have been not an uncommon feature of the times.[12] We however hear of a dealer who regards this haggling as a "killing work."[13]

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1. J., I, pp. 376, 378.
2. J., I, p. 404.
3. Subbarao, *op. cit.*, p. 80.
4. J., I, p. 98.
5. J., III, pp. 282 *ff*; GG. 84 *ff*.
6. J., VI, pp. 110-G. 463; 113-GG. 479-80; 235; *Cf. Brahmajāla suttanta. Dialogues of the Buddha*, I, p. 6 n.; *Uvāsagadasāo*, p. 18. *Kudatullakuḍamāna : tappadiruvaga.*
7. *C. H. I.*, I p. 216. The principle by which the margin is pushed lower in response to increased demand is sought to be recognized in the following *gāthā*.

   "A wild and savage cow that we
   Had never milked before:
   We milked to-day; demand
   For more milk grows ever more and more." J., V, p. 105-G. 334.
   Subbarao, *op. cit.*, p. 61 n.
8. J., V, p. 425-G. 290.
9. J., I, pp. 121-2. Mrs. Rhys Davids remarks: "The outlay in this case for a carriage, a pavilion at the Benares docks, men (*purisā*), and ushers (*paṭihārā*) must have cut deep into his last profit of 1000 coins, but he was 20,000 per cent to the good as the result of it! After this the profit of 200 and 400 per cent reaped by the traders (J. I. p. 109) falls a little flat." *C. H. I.* I, p. 216. Such economic thrills are indeed rare in Ancient Indian literature and in life.
10. J., I, p. 121; *Cf.* Subbarao, *op. cit.*, p. 81 and *n. Cf.* Kauṭilya, *Arthaśāstra*, IV, 2.
11. J., I, pp. 111-2. "Dividing the streets," is well known among the coster-mongers of London: Subbarao, *op. cit.*, p. 81 n.
12. J., I, pp. 111 *ff*; 195; II, pp. 222, 289, 424 *ff*; VI, p. 113-G. 479. (*aggahena aggaṁ kayaṁ hāpayanti*).
13. J., I, p. 99. *Cf. Ṛg Veda*. IV, 24, 9. The king made his purchases under special conditions. He had a valer (*agghāpaka*) "who used to value horses, elephants and like and jewels and gold." His price was final, J., I, p. 124; II, p. 31.

But it is not improbable that custom and fair-play-sense may have settled price to a great extent. Prices were fixed in terms of money, though references to goods exchanged between parties are not unknown.[1] Generally however barter was replaced by the use of a metal currency to which we are now coming.

CURRENCY.

Money, as a medium of exchange, was in use in India from very early times.[2] The *Jātakas* leave no doubt whatever as to the use of coins as currency in exchange. Mrs. Rhys Davids rightly observes: "The Buddhist literature reveals a society having the full use and enjoyment of plentiful coinage. The worth of every marketable commodity, from a dead mouse and a day at the festival, up to all kinds of fees, pensions, fixed loans, stored treasure and income, is stated in figures of a certain coin and its fraction and that is either explicitly stated or implied to be *Kahāpaṇa*."[3]

Several *Jātakas*[4] mention a specific class of coins, *viz.*, the *nikkhas* which were surely golden coins, as expressly stated in some of the *gāthās*;[5] *nikkhas* were not the only class of gold coins known to the *Jātakas*. We frequently meet with an expression in which the words *hiraññ a* and *suvaṇṇa* are associated together.[6] Dr. Bhandarkar rightly infers that *suvarṇa* in this, as in other places where it is associated with *hiraṇya*, must stand not for "gold" but a "type of gold coins."[7] We also read, in the stories, of gold coins of a still smaller denomination, *viz.*, the *Suvaṇṇa-māsakas*.[8] As we shall see, *māsa* was a unit in the weight system of Indian coinage which differed in weight according as the coin was of gold, silver or copper. A *suvaṇṇa-māsaka* was therefore a gold coin equal to one *māsa* in weight according to the standard of gold coinage.[9] Thus we see that in the days of the *Jātakas*, no less than three types of gold coins were current. Of the lowest value was the *māsaka*, of a higher denomination was the *Suvaṇṇa*, and of a still higher denomination, the *nikkha*.

The most frequent mention, however, is that of a class of coins called *kahāpaṇas* (*skt. Kārṣāpaṇas*).[10] This *kahāpana* appears to have been of three varieties, according as it was of gold, silver and copper,[11] though gold *kahā-*

1. J., I, pp. 103, 109, 377-8; II, p. 247; VI, p. 519.
2. See Bhandarkar, *Ancient Indian Numismatics*, pp. 167 *ff*.
3. *J. R. E. S.*, 1901, p. 318; also *J. R. A. S.*, 1901, p. 876.
4. J., I, pp. 375, 376-G. 88; IV, pp. 224, 227-GG. 63, 66; 460; G. 228. 461-G. 229-230; VI, pp. 462-G. 1630;464—G. 1638; 546, 547.
5. J., IV, p. 227-G. 63, 66. Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, pp. 47-50. On the *niṣkas* of the *ṚgVeda*, as being golden coins, see Rai Sahib Manoranjan Ghosh, in *Proceedings, 4th Oriental Conference* p,p. 711-22,
6. J., VI, pp. 69, 186; 462, 493-G. 1742.
7 *Op. cit.*, p. 51, *Cf. Manu*, VIII, 137.
8. J., IV, pp. 106, 107; V, p. 164.
9. *Cf.* the remarks of Dr. Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 53; *Arthaśāstra*, II, 19; 5 seeds of *Guñjā*=1 *Suvaṇṇamāsa*.
10. J., I, pp. 112, 195, 478, 483; II, pp. 20, 247, 305, 424; III pp. 448; IV, pp. 138. 378; 449; VI, pp. 343, 404.
11. *Cf. Sāmanta-pāsādikā* quoted by Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*,p. 81.

paṇa is very seldom referred to. Thus in the *Gāmaṇi-caṇḍa Jātaka*[1] where the pair of oxen and the horse are priced at 24 and 1000 *kahāpaṇas* respectively, they must be silver *kahāpaṇas* "as copper or gold *kahāpaṇas* would be too low or too high a price to pay for those animals."[2]

On the *Kahāpaṇa*, Prof. Rapson's remarks make everything clear: "To both of the standard coins in question, the silver *purāṇa* of 32 *ratis* and the copper *paṇa* of 80 *ratis*, the same name *kārṣāpaṇa* was sometimes applied. This double use of the term was probably in ancient times only confusing whenever the currency of one district had to be compared with that of another. We may gather both directly from the statements of the Law Books, and more generally from the study of the coins, that in Ancient India silver and copper coinages were often independent of each other and circulated in different districts. A copper currency was not necessarily regarded as merely auxiliary to the silver currency; but a copper standard prevailed in some districts just as a silver standard prevailed in others. The word *kārṣāpaṇa*, therefore, may in any particular district be supposed to mean the standard coin whether of silver or copper."[3]

The *Jātaka* stories also give us the various token coins of this standard. We have *kahāpaṇa*, *addha-kahāpaṇa*, *pāda-kahāpaṇa*, *māsaka*, *addha-māsaka*[4] and *kākaṇikā*[5]—almost the lowest money-piece of the day.[6] The *kahāpaṇa* (whether of silver or copper) and its smaller tokens mentioned above, were quite intimately connected not only with the commercial life but also with the daily intercourse of the period. Whether these instruments of exchange, constituting of course a currency of standard and token coins, were issued and regulated by any Central Authority or by private guilds we have no means to ascertain.

PURCHASING POWER.

We must here note the purchasing power of money or in other words prices of ordinary commodities. A pair of oxen was worth 24 *kahāpaṇas*,[7] a nice plump dog is bought for one *kahāpaṇa*;[8] a decent ass is had for eight *kahāpaṇas*;[9] a fish

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1. J., II, pp. 305-6.
2. *Cf.* Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 78; *Cf.* Pran Nath, *op. cit.*, p. 109. The silver *kahāpaṇas* were later called *Purāṇas* and *dharaṇas*: *op. cit.*, pp. 82, 92.
3. *Catalogue of Indian coins: Āndhras and Kṣtrapas*: *Intro.* pp. clxxix-x. *Kārṣāpaṇa* appears to have been so called, because in weight it conformed to one *Karṣa*, or 80 *ratis* or 146.4 grains as computed by Cunningham. The *Kahāpaṇas* are also identified with the punch—marked coins found all over India in great abundance: Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 96. For example see *Buddhist India*, p. 106.
4. J., III, p. 448; *Cf.* also I, p. 340.
5. J., I, p. 120; VI, p. 346; *Cf. Uttarādhyayana Sūtra*, VII, 11. Cowryshells (*sippikāni*) are also mentioned once in a *gāthā*: J., I, p. 425-G. 109, but perhaps not as anything still having currency.
6. Kauṭilya has half-*kākini* as the lowest copper coin: *Arthaśāstra*, II, 12. From the *Gaṅgamāla Jātaka*, J., III, p. 448, it appears that a *Pāda-kahāpaṇa* equalled something more than 4 *māsakas*; and curiously enough the commentary on the *Vinaya Piṭaka*, as pointed out by Dr. Bhandarkar, tells us that in the time of Bimbisāra, five *māsakas* equalled one *Pāda*: *op. cit.*, pp. 111-2, *Cf.* also *C. H. I.*, I, p. 218.
7. J., II, pp. 305-6.
8. J., II, p. 247.
9. J., VI, p. 343.

is worth 7 *māsakas* only;[1] a bundle of grass, again, fetches one *māsaka*[2] and for the same small coin can be had a jar of liquor;[3] two poor lovers buy a garland, perfume and strong drink with one *māsaka*;[4] a piece of meat can be had for an *addhamāsaka* or even a *kākaṇikā*[5] and dead mouse is also purchashed for a *kākaṇikā*.[6] Similarly a *māsaka* or an *addhamāsaka* is the daily wage of a day-labourer,[7] as noticed before. To hire a carriage in Benares by the hour cost 8 *kahāpaṇas*.[8] For the services of a young bull to pull 500 carts through a rough ford, a merchant pays 2 *kahāpaṇas* per cart[9]; a ferry's fare across the river is 8 *kahāpaṇas*[10] and the same sum seems to have been the cost of a visit to a barber.[11] All these instances give a realistic picture of the various transactions of the day. Naturally, the ordinary people could not go beyond such little sums of *māsakas* and *kahāpaṇas*. The nobility and the rich people are almost always spoken of in terms of high expenditures. Horses were highly priced—the prices ranging from 1000 to 6000 *kahāpaṇas*.[12] The Kāsī cloth was worth 100000 *kahāpaṇas*—[13] a sum undreamt of by the poor class. All these figures mentioned before are not, and cannot, however be taken as quite exact. For the references are only legendary and not in the way of statistical figures like those given in Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*.

CREDIT.

Credit must have been an almost indispensable factor in business even in those days. There was, of course, no bank-system. The rich people had their own strong boxes or rooms.[14] A great deal of wealth was hoarded in the form of gold and jewellery or even money and these were stowed away in a pillow,[15] or hidden (*nidahitvā*) in other convenient places.[16] The nature and amount of the wealth thus hoarded was sometimes registered on gold or copper plates.[17]

People could also deposit money (*nidhi*) with their friends. But this course was not always safe, for the friend might spend away and then may offer his daughter in marriage instead.[18]

1. J., II, pp. 424 and 425-G. 112.
2. J., III, p. 130; *Cf.* IV, p. 449.
3. J., I, p. 350.
4. J., III, p. 446.
5. J., VI, p. 346.
6. J., I, p. 120.
7. J., I, p. 475; III, p. 326; 446.
8. J., I, p. 121.
9. J., I, p. 195.
10. J., I, p. 112.
11. J., IV, p. 138.
12. J., II, pp. 289, 305-6.
13. *Supra*, p. 194.
14. J., I, pp. 351, 466. III, pp. 129; IV, pp. 7, 237.
15. J., II, p. 443-G. 141 "*Nikkhaṁ ussīsake kataṁ.*"
16. J., I, pp. 225, 277, 323, 375, 424; II, pp. 308, 431; III, pp. 25, 116, 350; IV, p. 256 *Cf. Uvāsagadasāo*, p. 3, "*nihānapauttāo.*"
17. J., IV, pp. 237, 488; VI, p. 29; *Cf. Śukra*, III, 370-9.
18. J., III, p. 342; V, pp. 116-G. 18; 521—Cf. *Therī gāthā*, 444.

Of loans and debts we have already spoken before.[1] We do not know much on this point. Perhaps the things were much simpler, as in every other sphere of activity in those days.

It is interesting to note, however, that some forms of instruments of credit did prevail. A merchant, for instance, makes a purchase on credit, by depositing his ring, probably bearing his initials or other marks of identification, as security.[2]

WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

Lastly, we may also note some of the notable weights and measures. Among weights we have references to *ammaṇa*, a measure of about four bushels,[3] *nāli*[4] and *paṭṭha* (*prastha*)[5] for weighing grains etc., and *catubhāga*[6] and *accharaṁ*[7] for liquids. And among measures of distance, we have *aṅguli*,[8] *vidaṭṭhi*,[9] *yaṭṭhi*;[10] *kukku*,[11] *usabha*[12] *gāvuta*[13] and *yojana*,[14] though the exact measurements of these are difficult to ascertain now.

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1. *Supra*, pp. 223-24.
2. J., I, p. 121.
3. J., V, p. 297 ; *Cf. Milinda Pañho*, IV, 1, 19.
4. J., IV, p. 67 ; VI, pp. 360-G. 366 (*addhanālika*) *Cf.* "The commonest name for one of the smaller measures is *nāli*, which means simply a joint of bamboo. The metal vessels are usually shaped something like hour-glasses, being narrower in the middle than at the top and bottom." Cunningham quoted by Thomas, *Ancient Indian Weights*, p. 25 n.
5. J., V, p. 297.
6. J., V, p. 385.
7. *Ibid.*
8. J., VI, p. 341 ; an *aṅgula*—¾ inch.
9. J., VI, pp. 339, 341 ; a *vidaṭṭhi* or *vitasti* is 12 *aṅgulas* or 9 inches.
10. J., IV, p. 21 ; a *yaṭṭhi*=2 *Vitasti*=18 inches.
11. J., III, p. 318;—G. 1 ; a *Kukku*=26/11 *vidaṭṭhi*=21 3/11 inches.
12. J., IV, p. 21 ; VI, p. 580 ; an *Usabha*=20 *yaṭṭhis*=30 feet.
13. J., V, p. 356 ; *gāvuta-gavyūti* or *goruta* (*krośa* ?)=about 1 1/8 m.
14. References are many : a *yojana*, or for the matter of that all other measures, varied from place and time. *Cf. Arthaśāstra*, II, 19-20; Pran Nath. *op. cit.*, p. 80.

CHAPTER IV

CONSUMPTION

CONSUMPTION deals with the destination of wealth. It is, and must be, the aim and object of production. And, speaking in another way, production is made possible only by consumption. Therefore, also, the quality and quantity of production are only reflection of consumption.

Consumption of the produced wealth is determined by the standard of life which a particular person or society fixes for himself or itself at any given period of time. The standard, naturally, differs among individuals as well as from class to class. At the same time, this standard of life differs in kind. For the consumption of some commodities may give physical comforts, but may be detrimental to moral well-being. And the standard of life cannot of course be confined within the limits of physical needs. Marshall says rightly; "Let us take the term 'the Standard of Life' to mean the standard of Activities and Wants. Thus an increase in the standard of life implies an increase of intelligence, energy and self-respect, leading to more care and judgment in expenditure, and an avoidance of food and drink that gratify the appetite, but effect no strength, and of ways of living that are unwholesome physically and morally."[1] Thus a higher standard does not necessarily mean a high expenditure. The best consumption of wealth is, therefore, that which results in the greatest benefits to individual and to society.

The customs, the social institutions and the religious and moral ideas of the people of India, no doubt, have favoured a standard of living which is comparatively low. In the *Jātaka* days we find that the standard of living was much better than it is to-day. The social customs and circumstances like the family-system, marriage, and groupings, might have checked the astounding inequalities—on one side the multimillionaires, the poor and the starving on the other—and the people at large were more concerned with wealth than with the other-world. The religious and wise moral precepts there were in plenty, but material prosperity was, as it has always been, the primary concern of the masses. The "Question of Poor and Rich" (*Sirimañḍapañho*), discussed so minutely in the *gāthās* of the *Mahāummagga-Jātaka*[2] reveals the same thing. The Wise Mahosadha's high-sounding praises of Wisdom (*paññā*) as against Wealth (*sirimā*) have no connection with the Reality. It is Senaka who rightly reflects the mind and the life of the people: Elephants, kind, horses, jewelled earrings, women are found in rich families; wise and fools, educated and uneducated—all do service to the wealthy, although they may be high-born or low-born; (*bahujano bhajati atthahetu*); the world is devoted to wealth (*iddhiparo hi loko*) and even the Wise has to admit:

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1. Marshall, quoted by Prof. Banerji, *op. cit.*, p. 201.
2. J., VI, pp. 356-363-GG (?). *Cf.* Also III, p. 326: *jivitāsāto dhanāsā balavattarā; Ācārāṅgasūtra*, 1, 2, 3-5.

wealth is beloved because men are devoted to enjoyment (*Kantā sirī boga-rata manussā*). Thus, it appears that there was no disposition among the *Jātaka*-people to stint themselves of moderate wants and even luxuries.

Articles of consumption are divided into necessaries and luxuries. Necessaries are, again, sub-divided into necessaries for existence and those for efficiency. This of course is no hard and fast distinction.

It is naturally difficult for us to get a first-hand, or even a cursory knowledge of the average consumption by the *Jātaka* people. We have no statistics, no figures whatsoever. We may, however, get a glimpse of the average standard of life by reading between the lines of the stories.

FOOD.

The primary wants, the first necessaries of life, are those of food, clothing and shelter. We have seen that there was ample supply of food. The country was largely agricultural. The peasant-proprietor and his family could not, possibly, suffer from want of good nutritious food in face of a large and fertile land and cattle in their possession. For there were no big landlords who could squeeze them out of thier food. And the average hand-craftsman, also, was a well-to-do man, getting sufficient food in exchange of his craft. Of course, the food that the average man could have was not very rich, as already stated. Rice-gruel (*yāgu*), cakes (*pūva*), vegetables and milk and its products were common. While rice-porridge prepared with powdered sugar, milk and honey and cooked with fresh ghee was the food of the rich few.[1] Food was both hard and soft (*khādana-bhojana*).[2] People took meals only twice in a day—one in the morning and another in the evening (*prātarāso : sāyamāso*).[3]

CLOTHING.

As for clothing, we may repeat that cotton clothes were commonly worn. Suit of clothes (*sāṭakyugaṁ*) was the ordinary dress.[4] Turbans were commonly worn.[5] *Vatthālaṅkāra* is the phrase which reveals a common taste for good clothing and ornaments.[6] Remarking on the dress of the Mallas of Kusīnārā, Prof. Rhys Davids says : "It consisted probably of mere lengths of muslin or cotton cloth; and a suit of apparel of two or, at the outside, of 3 of these—one to wrap around the loins, one to throw over the shoulders and one to use as a turban."[7] One *Jātaka* informs us that people wore undergarments in the pockets of which they put money or such valuable things.[8] The richer class could afford to indulge in little luxuries in the matter of dress. The *Kāsi-Kuṭṭama* was famous.

1. *Supra*, p. 205.
2. J., III, p. 439.
3. J., IV, p. 252 ; V, p. 230 ; VI, p. 366.
4. J., I, p. 373.
5. J., VI, pp. 369-70.
6. J., IV, p. 323.
7. *Dialogues of the Buddha*, II, p. 180 n. *Cf.* G. P. Majumdar, *I. C.*, 1, 3, article on food.
8. J., III, p. 416.

HOUSING.

In the matter of housing, there is not much to be said. Ordinarily, houses were built of bricks with superstructure of wood.[1] There were windows, looking out into the streets.[2] The houses had generally two doors—one on the front and the other on the back side (*aggadvāra : culladvāra*).[3] The doors had bolts from inside and outside.[4] A corner-house, abutting on two streets was highly prized.[5] And there were big and stately houses also, well-constructed and covered both internally and externally with fine plaster-work (*sudhālepana*) and brilliantly painted.[6]

These primary wants are necessaries for existence. An insufficient supply of these may be detrimental to physical and even moral welfare of a person. We, probably, never hear of such a want in those days.

LUXURIES.

But the people of the *Jātaka* times were also fond of luxuries, as a number of references will show. Physical necessaries are not all in all. There must be higher wants also, like education, sanitation, leisure and recreation.

The people in those days kept themselves well-attired. Trimming of hair and beard was common in the case of men.[7] Ladies were fond of ornaments, as they always are.[8] Flowers and perfumes were largely consumed as we saw before. Apart from daily recreation, there were frequent festivals in which the poor and the rich alike took part.[9]

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1. J., IV, p. 154 ; VI, p. 429.
2. J., V, p. 64.
3. J., V, pp. 132 ; 263 ; 298 ; VI, p. 366.
4. J., V, p. 294.
5. J., V, p. 350.
6. *Cf.* especially VI, p. 430 *ff.*
7. J., III, p. 11 ; V, pp. 131, 309, 510.
8. J., III, pp. 377, 416, 447 ; IV, pp. 60, 422 ; V, pp. 400, 438 ; VI, p. 64.
9. J., III, p. 446; IV, p. 255.

SECTION IV
SOCIOLOGICAL CONDITIONS

INTRODUCTORY

SO FAR WE HAVE, more or less, easily discussed the various aspects of our study: political, administrative and economic. It is now, when we come to the Social side of the picture, that we are confronted with innumerable obstacles. It is here that we are faced with problems that are not so easy to solve. Theories abound here, and from that angle, the subject has been probed into by Fick in his valuable work and by many other scholars. Therefore we shall not go here into deep theoretical discussion but briefly notice some of the outstanding features of the social life of the *Jātaka* people, with a view to grasp the ordinary life and activities, and also the mind and thoughts prevailing in those days.

CHAPTER I

THE SOCIAL STRUCTURE

THE SOCIAL STRUCTURE of Ancient India was mainly based on caste-system. It was, in fact, the backbone of Ancient Indian society. Of course, we cannot expect as highly developed a system of caste from our stories as that in the Brāhmaṇical Law Books. There are two phases of the matter. In the ordinary circumstances we find no mention whatsoever of caste and everything that it implies. But when morality gains ground, and the story has to deal with Brāhmaṇa characters, caste-distinctions and allied matters do appear.

Let us first take the theoretical side of the picture. The theory had established itself, or at least was beginning to do so, that the Great Brahmā created the world.

THEORETICAL VIEW.

And as regards the origin of the caste-system it is said:

Ajjenaṁ Ariyā paṭhaviṁ janindā
Vessā kasiṁ pāricariyañ ca Suddā
Upāgu paccekaṁ yathā padesaṁ
Katāhu ete Vasinā ti āhu.[1]

"Brahmins he made for study, for command
He made the Khattiyas: Vessa's plough the land;
Suddas he servants made to obey the rest;
Thus from the first went forth his high behest;"
and then, "We see these rules enforced before our eyes"

No doubt the law of society evolved for the most part out of such conceptions of religion. The *Uddālaka-Jātaka*[2] is, of course, the most important on this point. The penetrating *gāthās*, there, first declare that 'right conduct is the only way to bliss': (*sasaṁyamaṁ caraṇaṁ yeva saccaṁ*): a thousand *Vedas* will not safety bring (*sahassavedo pi na taṁ paṭicca*): and then, who is a true Brāhmaṇa? When Uddālaka puts forth the character of a Brāhmaṇa as he apparently sees in real life, *i.e.*, as one who rejects all worldly thoughts, takes the fire with him, sprinkles water, offers sacrifices and sets up the sacrificial post,[3] the *purohita*, his father, finds fault with this conception and replies in his own way, giving out the list of virtues that a Brāhmaṇa should possess,[4] and then says:

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1. J., VI, p. 207-G. 896.
2. J., IV, pp. 297-304-GG. 62-76.
3. J., IV, p. 302-G. 68.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 303-G. 71.

> "*Khattiyā, Brāhmaṇā, Vessā, Suddā* and *Caṇḍāla Pukkusā,*
> All these can be compassionate, can win *Nirvāṇa's* bliss:
> None among all the saints is found who worse or better is."[1]

Does this not show that there were in existence the above-mentioned classes, at least ?

Look at the *Sīlavimaṁsa Jātaka*[2] also. The *gāthās* say, that birth and caste (*jāti ca vaṇṇo ca*) cause conceit : virtue (*sīlaṁ*) is the highest : Khattiya, Brāhmaṇa, Vessa, Sudda, Caṇḍāla and Pukusa—all become equal in the world of the gods, if they have acted virtuously here.

The same enumeration of classes of the people, and the same ideal of their equality, obviously viewed from ethical standpoint, are given again in the *Aṁba Jātaka* ;[3] and other instances are not wanting,[4] above all the most wonderful verses of the *Bhūridatta Jātaka*[5] with their scathing remarks on the social conditions of the day.

This is quite sufficient to show that, however much the reformist section of the society of the times might try, as in the present day, to belittle the importance of birth, caste, the *Vedas* and the Brāhmaṇas and exalt the importance of virtue as the means to salvation, the division of society into classes named above, was a *fait accompli.*[6]

But did this class-distinction amount to caste-system as we understand it to-day or even that presented in the Brāhmaṇical Law Books ? The question is indeed too big and complicated for us to answer at present. We may only take a general notice of the data presented in the *Jātakas* on this point, and need not bother ourselves with any technical aspect of the much-spoken-of caste-system.

Class-struggles and conflicting influences belong to all epochs, and are grafted on the most diverse of social constitutions. And the present day caste-system is the outcome of various incidents and currents mingled in one another through the ages.[7]

Let us first take the Brāhmaṇas and see in what position they stood in the social structure of the times.

THE BRĀHMAṆAS.

The *Brāhmaṇas*, of all the classes, seem to have formed a homogenous class, bound together by the consciousness of being the premier caste[8] the only one enjoying the privilege of acting as priest at a sacrifice[9] and by the observance of certain customs, relating especially to *connubium* and *commensality* with a

1. *Ibid.*, p. 303-G. 72.
2. J., III, pp. 104-5-GG. 65-9.
3. J., IV, p. 205-GG. 7-9.
4. *Cf. ibid.*, p. 304—G. 76 (*na tesaṁ jātiṁ pucchanti*) ; VI, p. 100-G. 427.
5. J., VI, pp. 199-214-GG. 866 *ff.*
6. *Cf.* Hopkins, *C. H. I.*, I, p. 260.
7. *Cf.* Senart, *Caste in India*, p. 214.
8. J., III, p. 232 (*jātiṁ nissāya mahanto māno*) ; IV, p. 328.
9. For instance, J., VI, p. 199-G. 866—*ajjhāyako yācayogo āhutaggi ca brāhmaṇa.*

view to preserve the purity of blood and ceremonial cleanliness.[1] But this kind of exclusiveness of the Brāhmaṇa class existed only in idea. We see frequent departures from the fixed standard of life. Whether this was a degeneration set in among the descendants of the older Brāhmaṇa colonists of the east from the west and accelerated and completed by the mixture with non-Aryan Brāhmaṇas, we are not here to ascertain.[2] As Fick says, the great mass of Brāhmaṇas, spread over the whole of Northern India, does not constitute a well-organised body with a chief and a council.[3] The Brāhmaṇa of the *Jātakas* is not very materially different from a member of any other class. He is to be found in all walks of life : "we see him now as a teacher asking the new scholar about the honorarium he has brought, now he meets us behind the plough, now in the court of the king interpreting signs and dreams or predicting from the constellation of the stars the future of the newly-born prince, now as a rich merchant in the midst of his accumulated treasures, now at the head of a big caravan."[4]

It may be that some of the stories do commit the mistake of much overdrawing the picture, in as much as they give a prejudiced and contemptuous view of the Brāhmaṇas. In many cases, for instance, the Brāhmaṇas are represented as greedy, shameless and immoral and serve as a foil to the Khattiyas who play the part of the virtuous and noble humanity.[5] The whole of the *Junha Jātaka*[6] narrates the shameful behaviour of a Brāhmaṇa who pours out his wisdom only to fetch a handsome reward from the King. The greediness of the Brāhmaṇas is frequently brought out,[7] even if we disallow the bitter remarks of the Bodhisatta of the *Bhūri datta Jātaka.*[8] The sarcastic name *Odariyā* (fond of eating) given to them is interesting.[9] The *purohita's* greedy nature we have already seen. But, on the whole, it seems to us that the instances, though they are exaggerated no doubt, reflect perhaps one side of the actual conditions. For we can also see the figures of 'true,' *i.e.*, noble Brāhmaṇas, in the Brāhmaṇical sense.

TWO KINDS.

Fick[10] distinguishes, and rightly, between two kinds of Brāhmaṇas: one the "proper," *i.e.*, those who corresponded closely to the ideal sketched in the older scriptures and the other "worldly" *i.e.*, those who did not much conform to the strict rules of their class, followed all sorts of occupations and represented the major

1. See *e.g.*, J., IV, pp. 391-2.
2. *Cf.* Dutt, *Origin and Growth of Caste in India*, I, p. 259.
3. *Op. cit.*, p. 181.
4. Fick, *op. cit.*, pp. 182-3.
5. Fick, op. cit., p. 183.
6. J., IV, pp. 96 *ff*.
7. J., I, pp. 343, 425 (*brāhmaṇā dhanalolā honti*); 455; II, p. 46. IV, pp. 373-GG. 287-8; VI, . 211-2; *Cf. Digha Nikāya*, II, 245.
8. J., VI, pp. 206 *ff*. GG. 883-930.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 208-G. 898.
10. *Op. cit.*, pp. 192 *ff*.

portion of their class. Let us notice a little further, with regard to these two types of Brāhmaṇas.

THE 'TRUE' BRĀHMAṆAS.

The Brāhmaṇa of the first kind ordinarily passed through these stages in his life: when grown up, he goes to a teacher, studies the *Vedas*, then sets up a household, later renounces the worldly life and goes to the forest where he lives either as a hermit or surrounded by a host of pupils and ascetics and which he quits in course of time to take up the life of the ascetic and live by begging.[1]

This seems to be the normal course of life of the Brāhmaṇa of the first type. Still there may be some differences and the different stages may overlap one another as we often notice.[2] This is but natural, for we cannot think of all the Brāhmaṇas as strictly observing the rules of the four *āśramas* of old.[3]

STUDY.

Our stories are quite explicit on the first stage of the Brāhmaṇas, *viz*, that of student—life (*ajjhenaṁ*). But we shall better reserve this subject for a separate chapter on Education as a whole.

SACRIFICE.

Regarding Sacrifice (*āhutaggi*), the stories do not enlighten us much. "They only mention it, in order to exhibit its worthlessness and illustrate the swindling ways of the greedy Brāhmaṇas in filling their pockets." The *Bhūridatta Jātaka*, for instance, in so many piercing *gāthās*, hurls a scathing indictment upon the Brāhmaṇas of the times who caused the slaughter of dumb and harmless creatures "struggling to the last breath" and who "wore long frauds to beguile the simple and strip him bare at last."[4] One of the interesting references given out here in an off-hand manner is this:

"The priests a shoot of Butea (*palāsayaṭṭhi*) must hold,
As part o' the rite sacred from days of old;
Indra's right arm 'tis called, but were it so,
Would Indra triumph o'er his demon foe?"[5]

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1. *Cf.* J., II, p. 85—"*Bodhisatto Kāsiraṭṭhe brāhmaṇakule nibbattitvā vayappatto Takkasilaṁ gantvā sabbasippāni uggaṇhitvā gharāvāsaṁ pahāya isipabajjaṁ pabbajitvā gaṇasatthā hutvā Himavantapadese ciraṁ vasitvā loṇambilasevanatthāya janapadacārikaṁ caramāno Bārāṇasiṁ patvā rājuyyāne vasitvā punadivase dvāragāme sapariso bhikkhācāraṁ cari*", also II, pp. 394, 411; III, pp. 147, 352.

2. For instance in J., I, pp. 333, 361, 373, 450; II, pp. 131, 232, 262, we may see the Brāhmaṇa renouncing the world immediately after he is grown up, apparently without fulfilling the duties of a scholar and a householder; again in J., II, pp. 41, 145, 269, 437; III, p. 45, we may see him as an ascetic without any previous stage as scholar; becoming ascetic immediately after the completion of the studies: J., II, p. 72; III, pp. 64, 79, 110, 119, 228, 248, 308; V, pp. 152, 193.

3. *Cf.* Senart, *op. cit.*, p. 105.

4. J., VI, pp. 206-214-GG. 883 *ff*; *cf.* J., III, pp. 215, 238; IV, p. 373– G. 288; V, pp. 221-G. 93; 247; VI, p. 183.

5. J., VI, p. 212-G. 914:

"*Indassa bāhā-asi dakkhiṇā ti*
Yaññesu chindanti palāsayaṭṭhiṁ
tañ ce pi saccaṁ Maghavā Chinnabāhu
Ken'assa Indo asure jināti."

THEIR PRIVILEGES.

But the 'true' Brāhmaṇas, honestly performing their duties, did undoubtedly enjoy certain privileges.[1] Respect (*arcā*) they generally received from the people. Though the stories seem to make their position inferior to that of the Khattiyas, we cannot forget that they ordinarily were held in respect and honour by the people. Brahmins are men of upright life-*dhammikā honti Brāhmaṇā*[2]—may be taken as an utterance of these respectful people. And the privilege of *dāna i.e.*, of receiving presents, the Brāhmaṇas of the *Jātakas* enjoy in a much greater measure. In this connection we may recall, what we have already noticed, the liberality of the kings which probably laid the foundation for the wealth of individual Brāhmaṇas[3] as Fick suggests,[4] and which was, if not a duty, at least a recognized virtue.[5] Not only kings, the people in general used also to give gifts to the Brāhmaṇas whose services they required on various occasions. On certain occasions, for instance, they invited the Brāhmaṇas to meals (*Bāhmaṇa-vācanakaṁ*);[6] they came, bathed and washed their face; in the meantime the rice was taken from the fire and set to cool down: then the guest-water (*dakkhiṇodakaṁ*) was given and the dishes placed before them. After finishing the meals they took the 'gifts' (*vācanakaṁ*), uttered benidiction (*maṅgalaṁ*) and went away.

Whether the Brāhmaṇas also enjoyed immolestability (*ajyeyatā*) and immunity from execution (*avadhyatā*) cannot be determined with precision from our stories. Most probably they were free from taxes, for whenever the question is of taxes, the *gahapati* or the *kuṭumbika* is mentioned as the person who is taxed.[7] And though immunity from execution (*avajjho bhavati brāhmaṇo*)[8] was recognized, it was, for all practical purposes, a theoretical dictum, as in the eyes of the law we do not find anything like a favourable attitude shown towards them.[9]

But a large majority of the Brāhmaṇas was represented by those others whom Fick has liked to call 'proper' or 'worldly.'

THE 'WORDLY' BRĀHMAṆAS.

The *Jātakas* seem to attach a certain superiority to the Brāhmaṇas belonging to the North (presumably, the older Kuru-Pañcāla land) *i.e.*, the *Udicca Brāhmaṇas.*[10] These *Udicca-Brāhmaṇas*, probably conscious of their high descent, tried to observe the rules and prescriptions of their class. In the *Satadhamma*

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1. In the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, xi, 5, 7, 1 *ff.*, the prerogatives of the Brāhmaṇa are summed up as: *arcā*—honour; *dāna*—gifts, *ajyeyatā*—unmolestability and *avadhyatā*—freedom from being killed: See *Vedic Index*, II, p. 82 *ff.*
2. J., VI, pp. 554-G. 2200; 576-G. 2348.
3. J., I, pp. 303, 447; II, p. 272; III, p. 39; IV, pp. 15, 22, 28, 59, 237; V, p. 312.
4. *op. cit.*, p. 210.
5. *Cf. Brahmadeyaṁ*, J., II, p. 166; VI, p. 486.
6. J., I, p. 318; III, p. 238; IV, p. 391; V, p. 247.
7. Fick, *op. cit.*, p. 212.
8. J., VI, p. 199-G. 866.
9. See *e.g.*, J., I, pp. 371, 429.
10. J., I, pp. 140, 324, 343, 356, 361, 373, 406, 431, 436, 450, 474, 494, 505; II, p. 83; III p. 232; V, pp. 193, 227; VI, p. 32. The present day *Audicya Brāhmaṇas* are, probably, descended from these.

Jātaka[1] we notice the pride with which the Brāhmaṇa, in reply to the Caṇḍāla's question, says: "I am a Brāhmaṇa from the north." In the *Maṅgala Jātaka*[2] such an *Udicca Brāhmaṇa* is pitted against a wordly native Brāhmaṇa. In the *Mahāsupina Jātaka*,[3] again, it is an *Udicca Brāhmaṇa* who exposes the frauds practised upon the king by the Brāhmaṇas in his service.

Thus we clearly see a marked distinction being made between the Brāhmaṇas settled from the north (-west) *i.e.*, those whom we have called the 'true' or 'proper' Brāhmaṇas and others of the eastern land who had deviated from the rules and prescriptions of their class and whom we may call 'worldly.'

VARIED OCCUPATIONS:

These worldly Brāhmaṇas followed, as we said before, all sorts of vocations which might be unworthy from the stricter Brāhmaṇical view-point. The *Dasa-Brāhmaṇa, Jātaka*[4] gives a list of ten classes of Brāhmaṇas as follows :—

1. "Some carry sacks upon their backs, root-filled and fastened tight;
They gather healing herbs, they bathe and magic spells recite.
These are physician-like (*Tikicchakasamā*).

2. Some carry bells and go before, and as they go they ring,
A chariot they can drive with skill, and messages can bring:
These are like servants (*Paricārakasamā*)....

3. With waterpot and crooked staff some run to meet the king,
Through all the towns and villages, and as they follow, sing—
'In wood or town we never budge, until a gift you bring.'
Like tax-men (*Niggāhakasamā*) these importunate......

4. Some with long nails and hairy limbs, foul teeth, and matted hair,
Covered with dust and dirt-begrimed as beggar-men they fare:
Hewers of wood (*Khānughātasamā*)....

5. Myrobolan and *bilva* fruit, rose-apple, mangoes ripe,
The labuj-fruit and planks of wood, tooth-brush and smoking-pipe,
Sugar-cane baskets, honey sweet, and ointment too,
All these they make their traffic in, and many other things
These are like merchants (*Vāṇijakasamā*)....

6. Some follow trade, and husbandry, keep flocks of goats in fold.
They give and take in marriage, and their daughters sell for gold:
Like Vessa and Aṁbaṭṭha these (*Samā Aṁbaṭṭhavessehi*)....

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1. J., II, p. 83.
2. J., I, p. 371 *ff*.
3. J., I, p. 343 *ff*.
4. J., IV, pp. 361-65 GG. 225-266.

7. Some chaplains fortunes tell, or gold and mark a beast for pay.
With proffered food the village-folk invite them oft to stay.
There kine and bullocks swine and goats are slaughtered many a day:
Like butchers (*Goghātakasamā*) base are these......

8. Some Brahmins, armed with sword and shield, with battle-axe in hand,
Ready to guide a caravan before the merchants stand:
Like herdsmen these or bandits bold (*Samāgopanisādehi*)......

9. Some build them huts and lay them traps in any woodland place,
Catch fish and tortoises, the hare, wild-cat and lizard chase:
Hunters are these......(*Luddakā*)

10. Others for love of gold lie down beneath the royal bed,
At Soma-sacrifice: the kings bathing above their head.[1]
These are like barbers (*Malamajjanasamā*)....

All these, in Vidhura's eyes, though Brāhmaṇas by birth, are not worthy of being called Brāhmaṇas: "*apetā te Brāhmaṇā*—strayed have they." And even if the picture given by Vidhura be a prejudiced and an exaggerated one, we cannot fail to see from other passages also "where a subjective colouring on the part of the narrator is out of the question," that the Brāhmaṇas did follow such professions and that they did form an extremely parti-coloured society, not a body solely confined to the study of the Vedas and the performance of sacrifices.

SACRIFICE:

In the first place, the Brāhmaṇas were employed by the kings for sacrifice; in the *Mahāsupina Jātaka*,[2] the King is frightened with evil dreams. He asks the Brāhmaṇas at once who readily advise him to preform a complete fourfold sacrifice (*sabbacatukkena*). In another story,[3] also, the Brāhmaṇas are called upon by the king to avert the impending misfortune, and the Brāhmaṇas, here also, advise him to perform the fourfold sacrifice. The king orders a great crowd of victims which is brought and fastened to the stakes (*mahājano thūṇūpanīto*). When however the king later learns the true cause of the moan, he causes the sacrificial pit (*yaññāvāṭaṁ*) to be destroyed.

These and such other instances,[4] no doubt, suggest the conclusion that the practice of sacrifice was still adhered to, though it seems to have begun to decline during the period of our narratives.

But the most prominent of the Brāhmaṇical professions presented in the *Jātakas* are those of dream-reading (*supinapāṭhakā*) and fortune-telling (*nemittā*), which enabled them to practice fraud and deception on a large scale.[5]

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1. For this rite, *cf.* Oldenberg, *Religion des Veda*, p. 407*ff.*
2. J., I, pp. 343 *ff.*
3. J., III, p. 45 *ff.*
4. J., I, p. 272; IV, p 79, 230, 335; V, p. 211.
5. On the modern astrologer see Nesfield, *Caste System*. 58 *ff.*

FORTUNE-TELLING.

On the birth of a king's child, it seems to have been a standing custom to have been the future of the child predicted by the Brāhmaṇas, as we saw before. The Brāhmaṇas used to predict the future from the signs (*lakkhaṇa*) on the body of the newborn babe. Also as versed in the power of Divination (*Aṅga-vijjāpāṭhakas*) they were in a position to judge from the signs on a man's body, not only his past and future but also his worth and character.[1] The *Ummadantī Jātaka*[2] describes, in the most charming manner, the behaviour of these Brāhmaṇas who have come to examine the extremely beautiful girl Ummadantī. After an honourable reception, they sit to partake some rice-porridge, when Ummadantī appears, magnificently attired. At her sight the Brāhmaṇas lose all self-control. Seized with passion, they forget that they have not yet finished their meal. Some put their food on their head, instead of into their mouth, others let it fall on their hips, others again throw it against the wall. Every one is beside himself. When the girl sees their conduct, she says: 'These should examine me for my signs! Sieze them by the throat and drive them out.' Sorely annoyed, the Brāhmaṇas report to the king: 'O king, the woman is a witch, she is not suitable for you.'

Here the *Jātaka* is at its best in ridiculing and reading the psychology of the Brāhmaṇas of the day.[3]

MAGIC & DEMON WORSHIP.

Alongside with these, there was the kindred profession of magic and demon-worship. Once we find a Brāhmaṇa who, by fixed characteristics (for example, by scent) knows the goodness of a sword and says, "The sword has a lucky sign, it is luck-bringing."[4] At another time we come in touch with a Brāhmaṇa who sees an unlucky omen in a cloth eaten by rats.[5] Even the art of interpreting the stars (*nakkhattayoga*)[6] was practised by the Brāhmaṇas in such a manner that it deserved the name of "a swindling trade" (*micchā-jīvā*).

Regarding magic and demon-worship we may, first, note the following verse of the *Junha Jātaka*, wherein king Junha questions the Brāhmaṇa who has come to ask for a reward:

> "Hast thou a penance (*tapo*), Brahmin, dread to tell,
> Or has thou many a charm (*mantā*) and many a spell,
> Or goblins (*yakkhā*) ready your behests to do,
> Or any claim for having served me well?"[7]

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1. J., I, p. 290: II, pp. 21, 200, 250; III, pp. 122, 158, 215; V, pp. 211, 458.
2. J., V, pp. 211 *ff.*
3. Fick observes: "To see in such things, as fortune-telling interpretations of dreams, *etc.*, only lying and deception, shows that these stories are a product of their age and their land. Originating in the circles of the common people in whose religious thought superstition occupied a large place, they retain traces of their origin notwithstanding the complete rejection and deprecation of superstitious ideas." *op. cit.*, pp. 229-30.
4. J., I, p. 455 (*asilakkhaṇapāṭhako Brāhmaṇo.*)
5. J., I, p. 373 (*Sāṭakalakkhaṇa Brāhmaṇo.*)
6. J., I, p. 257; II, p. 427; IV, p. 231; V, p. 476.
7. J., IV, p. 98—G. 16.

Here we see that asceticism, magic and demon-worship are taken for granted as belonging to the Brāhmaṇas. Of some of these *mantas* or magic incantations and their employment we read in the stories. *Vedabbhamanta*[1] could bring about a rain of precious stones at a certain position of the stars. It was very valuable (*agghomahāraho*). *Paṭhavijayamanta*[2] was a charm with the help of which one conquered the earth. *Cintāmaṇivijjā*[3] was a charm which enabled one to follow after the lapse of 12 years in the steps of those that have gone away.

Magic and demon-worship go together. As Fick says, "the ancient belief in an innumerable number of small superterrestrial beings, who as tree or snake gods endanger the life of man, frighten him as man-eating or child-robbing demons or torture him as disease-bringing spirits, occupies naturally, in our narratives which reflect the conceptual world of the lower people, an important place."[4] And the art of making these beings harmless or useful through magic practices is known. This is called *Bhūtavijjā*.[5] This art of exorcism was mainly employed in freeing the "possessed" of the evil spirit dwelling in them (*amanussaviddhassa*).[6]

Besides all these[7] which were no doubt "crafts" which could bring livelihood,[8] there were many other civil professions in which the Brāhmaṇas were to be seen engaged.

MEDICAL PROFESSION.

The medical profession (*Vejjakamma*) in general 'which among most people separated itself from the beginning from the spiritual,' seems to have been principally a matter for the *Brāhmaṇas*, as many a reference will show.[9]

AGRICULTURE.

The land-cultivating and cattle rearing Brāhmaṇa, *i.e.*, one engaged in agricultural pursuits (*kassaka-Brāhmaṇa*) is, in our stories, a more permanently recurring figure, indeed. In the *Uraga Jātaka*,[10] for instance, we read of a Brāhmaṇa who goes along with his son to the field and ploughs it, whilst the boy collects the weeds and burns them. In another story,[11] we see a poor Brāhmaṇa farmer complaining, as one of his oxen is dead, that he cannot any more drive the plough. Elsewhere a Brāhmaṇa peasant (*Kassaka Brāhmaṇo*) is seen unyoking his oxen after ploughing and beginning to work upon his land with a spade.[12] Sometimes these farmers were much more wealthy, possessing

1. J., I, p. 253.
2. J., II, p. 243.
3. J., III, p. 504.
4. *op. cit.*, p. 235.
5. J., III, p. 511.
6. J., II, p. 215-G 155.
7. The *Brahmajāla-Suttanta* of the *Dīgha Nikāya* (See *Dialogues of the Buddha*, I, pp. 15-9) and also the Jaina *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra*, xv, 7, and the *Sūtrakṛtāṅga*, I, 12, contain a long list of such professions.
8. J., III, p. 504: "*manussaloke sippaṁ ajānantā jīvituṁ na sakkonti.*"
9. For instance, J., II, p. 213 (*Vejja Brāhmaṇo*); VI, p. 181-G. 793 (*Vejjo maṁ Brāhmaṇaṁ vidu*).
10. J., III, p. 163.
11. J., II, p. 165 (*kasikammaṁ napavattati*) G.?
12. J., V, p. 68 (*khettaṁ kasitvā goṇe vissajjetvā kuddāla kammaṁ kātuṁ ārabhi*).

as many as 1000 *karisas* of land.[1] The *Mahāsāla Brāhmaṇas* are frequently referred to in our stories.[2] How such great wealth arose and how it was employed we cannot now ascertain.

TRADE.

Trade they also carried on, both as an ordinary hawker[3] and as a big merchant prince.[4] Other callings adopted by the Brāhmaṇas are those of a hunter,[5] a carpenter,[6] a shepherd[7] an archer[8] and so on.

Thus we see that the vast majority of the Brāhmaṇas, like the rest of the people, followed whatever profession they liked and which could give them their livelihood, unmindful of the Vedic studies or sacrificial rites. The poor Brāhmaṇa farmer of the *Somadatta-Jātaka*, of whom we spoke a while ago, is able to commit to memory a single verse with great difficulty and at the decisive moment says before the king exactly the opposite of what he wants to say.[9]

In the words of Fick, "with the Brāhmaṇa agriculturists, merchants, hunters and carpenters, we leave the solitary height upon which is enthroned the Brāhmaṇa, who is raised according to his own theory above all other members of society, and descend to the motely groups of people where the care for material existence drives out all spiritual interests and throws into the shade the question relating to birth and caste."[10]

THE KHATTIYAS.

In the *Jātakas*, as in the general Buddhist Literature, the premier position in society is generally assigned to the Khattiyas instead of the Brāhmaṇas.

CONSCIOUSNESS OF SUPERIORITY.

A Khattiya has always an air of superiority about his person. We probably never hear him addressed by his name or in the second person by any person belonging to the lower classes. In the *Gaṅgamāla Jātaka*[11] we see the mother of King Udaya whom the barber Gaṅgamāla has called by his family name (*kulanāmena*), crying out angrily: "This lowcaste shampooing son of a barber (*hīnajacco malamajjano nahāpitaputto*) does not know his place: he calls my kingly high-descended (*puttaṁ paṭhavissaraṁ Jātikhattiyaṁ*) son Brahmadatta." Even with regard to a Brāhmaṇa, the Khattiya seems to be conscious of his superiority, so much so that king Arindama, for instance, calls Sonaka, the *purohita's* son, a man of low birth (*Brāhmaṇo hīnajacco*)[12] and himself he calls *asaṁbhinnakhattiyavaṁse jāto*, born of an unbroken line of

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1. J., III, p. 293; IV, p. 276.
2. J., I, p. 140; II, p. 272; IV, pp. 237, 325; V, pp. 193, 227; VI, p. 32.
3. J., II, p. 15.
4. J., IV, p. 15; V, pp. 22, 471.
5. J., II, p. 200; VI, p. 170 *ff.* (*luddaka-kamma*).
6. J., IV, p. 207 *ff* (*Brāhmaṇa-vaḍḍhaki*)
7. J., III, p. 401 (*ajapāla-Brāhmaṇo*).
8. J., III, p. 219; V, p. 127.
9. J., II, p. 165-6 GG (?)
10. *op. cit.*, p. 247; *Cf.* VI, p. 214-G. 929, where the theorist, like the theoretical Brāhmaṇa, condemns the wordly Brāhmaṇa for following varied occupations for the sake of bread.
11. J., III, p. 452.
12. J., V, p. 257.

nobles, *i.e.*, "in a family the members of which both on their father's and their mother's side were recognized as Khattiyas." From this it more over appears clear that the Khattiyas too attached great importance to purity of blood and would not regard even the son of a Khattiya by a Brāhmaṇa wife as a true-born Khattiya.[1]

And in the enumeration of the castes the Khattiyas are almost always mentioned first: *Khattiyā Brāhmaṇā Vessā Suddā Caṇḍāla-Pukkusā.*[2] This may be due partly to the fact, that the Buddhist writers were ill-disposed towards Brāhmaṇism, and partly, perhaps to a greater extent, to the actual superiority of the ruling class in general and the degraded condition of the Brāhmaṇas in the east.[3]

EVEN IN SPIRITUAL LIFE.

Also, the Khattiyas of the time seem to show as much zeal as the Brāhmaṇas in the study of the *Vedas* and other *Śāstras* and, as we have seen, many of them went to stay at the famous University of Takkasilā Hence the superiority of their class appears not only in the social and political domain which was assured to them through their material power itself, but even in spiritual field they were not inferior to the Brāhmaṇas.

Now, what constituted this Khattiya class? As in the Epic,[4] and probably in a somewhat narrower sense, the *Jātakas* understand by a Khattiya a member of the ruling class which includes the king, his great lords and vassals, along with the higher portions of the army.[5] As such the term *Khattiya* may well correspond to the Vedic *Rājanya.*[6]

The Khattiyas had perhaps the sole or main duty of defending the honour of their country and so far they could be looked upon as "warriors *par excellence*."[7] But like the Brāhmaṇas, the Khattiya also could and did employ himself in any occupation he liked without any restriction of class-consciousness.[8]

NOT A HOMOGENOUS BODY.

The Khattiyas did not form a compact whole. They only represented the political power. As Fick[9] says, "certain customs especially those relating to connubium and the prohibition of impurity may be noticed in certain ruling families which led to separation from the rest of the population, but these customs did not seem to have the authority of laws as in the Brāhmaṇical theory."

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1. *Cf. Dīgha Nikāya*, III, 1, 24.
2. J., I, p. 326; III, p. 194; IV, pp. 205, 303.
3. *Cf.* Chalmers, *J. R. A. S.*, 1894, p. 342.
4. Hopkins, *J. A. O. S.* 13, p. 73.
5. Fick, *op. cit.*, p. 79.
6. *Cf. Vedic Index*, II, p. 216. The expression *Kṣatriya* later normally takes the place of *rājanya* as a designation for the ruling class.
7. *Khattiya* is used as a synonym for *Rājan* at J., II, p. 166: III, pp. 106, 154; V, pp. 99, 112; for warriors in general *balakāye* (III, p. 319) and *yodhe* (I, p. 363; II, p. 401) are used. *Cf.* also J., IV, pp. 309-80.
8. See for instance J., II, p. 87; IV, pp. 84, 169; V, pp. 390-3.
9. *op. cit.*, p. 81.

THE *GAHAPATIS* AND THE *KUṬUMBIKAS*.

VESSA RARELY MENTIONED.

Very seldom does the word *Vessa* (*Vaiśya*) occur in the *Jātakas*, and when it occurs it is used only in connection with theoretical discussions, and not to mean any existing social unit or group. "A caste, in the sense of the Brāhmaṇical theory, the Vaiśyas never became even in the western Brāhmaṇical lands," says Fick.[1] "Originally, in the oldest Vedic age, a name for the class of cattle-breeding, and land-cultivating Āryan settlers, it served later the purpose of the theorizing Brāhmanas to bind together the unlimited number of social groups."[2]

GAHAPATI AN IMPORTANT FIGURE.

If any social division of our period corresponds to the traditional *Vaiśya* order, and has a similar meaning, it is that of the *Gahapati* (*Gṛhapati*) or the householder. The *Jātakas* make us quite familiar with these *Gahapatis*. In these *Gahapatis*, we can see the land-owning and mercantile class ranking just below the Khattiyas and the Brāhmaṇas. The *Gahapatis* had their own importance and played a significant part even in the court of the king. They appear permanently in the retinue of the king, along with the ministers and the Brāhmaṇas; (*Amaccā ca Brāhmaṇa-gahapatikādayo.*[3])

A DISTINCT CLASS.

Like the Khattiyas and the Brāhmaṇas, these *Gahapatis* also seem to have distinguished themselves from the great mass of the people by a certain conciousness of position and perhaps also by pride in their higher descent. There was also this custom, not a rigid rule, that the *Gahapati* parents should bring for their grown-up son a girl of good family, of their own class, as we shall notice hereafter.[4] We shall also see that the *Gahapatis*, at least the richer section represented by the *Seṭṭhis*, devoted a part of their life to study, and sometimes in old age became homeless ascetics in common with the other classes of the people. Moreover, the *Jāti* or caste of a *Gahapati* seems to have been hereditary, for though ruined through the loss of fortune and compelled to maintain himself on ignoble professions, a *Gahapati* still remains a *Gahapati*. We have the instance of one such *Gahapati* who deals in vegetables and fruits (*paṇṇikagahapati*).[5] Another poor *Gahapati* maintains himself and his mother with difficulty by working as a hired labourer.[6] Equally with the two higher classes, the *Gahapatis*, and the *Seṭṭhis*, had deep contempt for the low-caste people as will appear.[7]

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1. *op. cit.*, p. 252.
2. *Ibid.*; *Cf. Vedic Index*, II, pp. 333-5.
3. J., I, pp. 152, 470 ; II, pp. 124, 241 ; IV, pp. 227-G. 63 ; 317, 499, *Cf. Mahāvagga, I*, 22-3. The *Gahavai* of the Jaina *Uvāsagadasāo* is also a rich land-owner. pp. 45-6 ; *Cf.* J., VI, p. 297-G. 1301.
4. See for instance, J., II, p. 121 (*Bodhisatto Bārāṇasito avidūre gāmake gahapatikule nibbatti. Athāssa vayappattassa Bārāṇasito kuladhītaraṁ ānesuṁ*).
5. J., III, pp. 21 ; also IV, p. 446.
6. J., II, p. 139 ; also III, p. 325.
7. *e.g.*, J., IV, p. 378.

The *Gahapati* engages himself in whatever occupation he likes. And even as the term denotes, the *Gahapati* class embraces in its fold all those traders and businessmen, the craftsmen and the artisans whom we noticed in the course of our investigation of the Economic life of the day,[1] in fact the large mass, a conglomeration of differing groups of people following different professions and different rules of life. Though not forming anything like a closed rank, with a social exclusiveness about them or with rigid caste rules binding them all, the *Gahapatis* can be differentiated from the Khattiyas and the Brāhmaṇas on the one hand and the Suddas and other lower strata of the people on the other. A distinctive atmosphere does, no doubt, surround this class of the *Gahapatis*.

THE *IBBHAS*.

It is interesting to note in this connection that these *Gahapatis* are also known as *Ibbhas* (*Ibhyas*) in our *Jātakas*. This term, *Ibbha*, meaning wealthy, occurs also in one of the *Upaniṣads*[2] and in one of the *Rock Edicts* of Aśoka;[3] by it is, no doubt, designated the rich upper and middle class of the society of the times.

Of these *Ibbhas*, one of the *gāthās* in the *Bhūridatta Jātaka*[4] says,

> "*Yathāpi Ibbhā dhanandhaññahetu*
>
> *Kammāṇi kārenti puthū paṭhavyā* ..."

The most important and aristocratic representative of the *Gahapati* class is, of course, the *Seṭṭhi* whom we have already known before and therefore we need not repeat here what we have already said about his position, status and functions.

THE *KUTUṀBIKA*.

Almost synonymous with the word *Gahapati* is the word *Kuṭuṁbika* in the *Jātakas*.[5] It also denotes members of the citizen class, as a rule like the *Gahapatis*, wealthy citizens at the head of a household. The *Kuṭuṁbikas* lived in towns and villages, but mostly in villages: a leading citizen (*nagaravāsi kulaputta*) seeks for his son the daughter of a *Kuṭuṁbika* living in a village. The *Kuṭuṁbikas* lving in the town, engage in some business or the other, like that of a cornselling (*dhaññavikkaya*).[5] Sometimes they are very rich carrying on extensive trade.[6] The *Kuṭuṁbikas* in the village are well-to-do peasant-proprietors.

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1. *Cf.* Senart's remarks: The Vaiśyas are, in Brāhmaṇic tradition, chiefly regarded as cultivators and merchants, but Buddhist literature in calling them generally Gahapatis or 'householders' brings them strictly into line with the interpretation of the Iranian category (*Vastrya-Fshuyants*), *op. cit.*, pp. 117-8.
2. See *Vedic Index*, I, p. 80.
3. *R. E.*, V, See Bhandarkar, *Aśoka*, p. 183.
4. J., VI, p. 214-G. 929: "As householders to gain a livelihood Count all pursuits legitimate and good."
5. J., II, p. 267.
6. J., IV, p. 370 (*asitikoṭivibhavo*).

GUILD CASTES.

During the course of our study of the Economic life of the times, we noticed the two main trade-associations, *viz.*, the merchant unions and the craft-guilds.[1] We saw that merchants often formed into a union having the characteristics of the hereditariness of membership and the institution of the elder (*Jeṭṭhaka*). With the gradual development of trade relations and the growing complexities of society, the significance and the inner compactness of, and the sense of solidarity among, those unions deepened. Being similar to the castes on account of the traditional organization, they gradually got, in course of time, certain rules and customs of their own and tended to appear a distinct order in the social structure.

MERCHANT CLASS.

ARTISAN CLASS.

The distinctive appearance of a class by itself is much more pronounced in the case of the manufacturers and the handicraftsmen. Here, as already noted, we see three circumstances: local division of different kinds of work, hereditary character of branches of profession and the existence of an elder. These indicate clearly a compact organization of handicrafts into guilds. Such were the organizations of potters, of smiths, carpenters, ivory-carvers and so on. With regard to these, Fick rightly observes: "....the more in the course of centuries the caste theory obtained currency, the greater the exclusiveness of, and respect for, the leading castes, the more did the manufacturers' corporations become incorporated in the caste order. After the example set by the nobility and the Brāhmaṇical caste, they surrounded themselves with limitations by which a common bed and a common table were forbidden with members of castes who on account of the lowness of their race occupied a lower stage of human society than they themselves."[2]

THE UNORGANIZED MASSES.

Between the guilds of tradesmen and most of the manufactures mentioned before and the despised classes consisting of the Caṇḍālas and others, there lie, in the social structure of the day, a 'multiform and chaotic' mass of the people which resists, more or less, every attempt at classification. In this are included the great number of manufacturers standing outside their corporations, the wandering dancers and musicians who roam from village to village, eking out their livelihood by showing their skill, the tramps who consider every means good which helps them to earn their bread and then, the herdsmen, the hunters and the fishermen living in the country, in the forest and in the mountains.

THE TRAMP.

Apart from those artists who are exclusively in the service of the king or the rich tradesmen, we see a large mass of these people earning their daily bread with difficulty by catering for the amusement of people at festivities. We read of a dancer (*naṭa*) who lives in a village, not far from Benares, and goes with his wife into

1. *Supra*, pp. 212-18 *ff.*
2. *Op. cit.*, pp. 284-5.

the town, where he gets money through dancing and singing.[1] Elsewhere[2] a dancing family (*naṭakakulaṁ*) maintains itself by begging. Other acrobats, showing the javeline dance[3] and exhibiting a wooden puppet worked by hand,[4] the tumblers rolling about and playing on the ground[5] and the jugglers (*māyākārā*) deceiving the people's sight with their sleight performing on the stage[6] are some of the representatives of this class of 'tramps.'

In the same category of wandering jugglers, are to be placed the snake-charmers (*ahiguṇṭhikā*). They are seen roaming about from village to village exhibiting their charms and powers over the snakes.[7] One such snake-charmer trains a monkey (*makkaṭo*), gives him an antidote (*osadhaṁ gāhāpetvā*) and then allows to play with a snake and in this way earns his livelihood.[8] Another also has trained an ape; when a festival is announced (*ussave ghuṭṭhe*), he keeps it with a grain merchant, travels seven days and then lets his snake play (*ahiṁ kilāpento*).[9] These snake-charmers were clever in their business of catching the snakes. The *Bhūridatta Jātaka*[10] describes in minute details how the snake-charmer Ālambāyana first anoints his body with some drug, eats a little of it, seizes the snake by the tail, and holding him fast, opens his mouth and spits into it the drug that he himself has eaten, then presses him like a pillow and then at last throws him into a basket of creepers (*Vallīpelaṁ*). The story also describes the various appearances the snake has to make at the order of his master. The snake charmer was of course a pastmaster in curing snake-bites.[11]

We have also mention of a mongoose-tamer (*koṇḍadamako*) of whom it is said that his was a servile occupation (*paratantiyuttabhāva*).[12]

Then there were the musicians (*Gandhabbā*) and their co-artists. Occasions were not rare in those days when festivities (*samajjā*) were held and people enjoyed music and dance. The above-mentioned dancers themselves very often made singing and playing on musical instruments accompany their dances. And there were professional musicians also who came to the festivals and earned their livelihood by their music. A drummer (*bherivādaka*) living in a village, goes with his son to the city when a festival is announced, plays on the drum in the midst of the gathering of the people and gets a good deal of money.[13] Elsewhere we meet with a conch-blower (*saṅkhadhamaka*) who in

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1. J., III, p. 507.
2. J., II, p. 167; also III, p. 61.
3. J., I, p. 430.
4. J., V, p. 16-G. 40.
5. J., II, p. 142.
6. J., IV, p. 495-G. 337 "*Māyākārā raṅgamajjhe karontā Mohenti Cakkhūni janassa tāvade.*"
7. J., I, p. 370; II, p. 429.
8. J., II, p. 267.
9. J., III, p. 198.
10. J., VI, pp. 181-5, *Cf.* III, p. 348.
11. "The snake charmers chew some narcotic like tobacco and stupefy the snake with their breath. The docile snake then dances to the tune of music." *Q. J. M. S.*, XXII, p. 429.
12. J., IV, p. 389.
13. J., I, p. 283.

the same way earns money by blowing on his conch.[1] And there were master-musicians also like Guṭṭila[2] and Sagga[3] employed in courts and by private persons.

All these artists, as described before, were a disorganized mass. Yet by reason of a common profession they tended, gradually, to form a sort of combination, which eventually marked them off as a separate class by itself. We even notice some of the characteristics of an organization. Some of these professions were hereditary.[4] To this may be added the fact that these professions were very little respectable and that, consequently, these men were forced to live in isolation. Still, however, the *Jātakas* do not make us feel that they in anyway formed a strict caste ; nor was there in them the feeling of race-community, a factor which, according to Fick,[5] is of great importance in the formation of the despised castes.

In the concluding *gāthās* of the *Tittira Jātaka*[6] we witness an admirable picture of the life of one of such itinerant people and of the sphere in which their destiny unfolded itself :

"As pedlar thro' Kaliṅga land
Rough roads he travelled, staff in hand ;
With acrobats he has been found,
And harmless beast in toils has bound ;
With dicers too has often played,
And snares for little birds he laid ;
In crowds with cudgel-sticks has fought,
And gain by measuring corn has sought ;
False to his vows in midnight fray
Wounded, he washed the blood away ;
His hands he burned thro' being bold
To snatch at food too hot to hold."

More settled than these wandering and restless people were the herdsmen, the huntsmen, the fishermen and the foresters. On account of their work, they inclined more to lead a solitary life away from towns, cities and even villages. We observe such people in the *Kuṇāla Jātaka* :[7] cowherds (*gopālakā*), netherds (*pasupālakā*), grass-cutters (*tiṇahārakā*), stick-gatherers (*kaṭṭhahārakā*) and the foresters (*vanakammikā*). These people no doubt had to visit now and then villages and towns nearby to sell the forest-produce and get their livelihood. But in general they led an isolated life. Sometimes

1. *Ibid.*, p. 284.
2. J., II, p. 249 *ff.*
3. J., III, pp. 188, 189—G. 56.
4. J., I, pp. 283 (*bherivādakakula*) ; 284 (*saṅkhadhamakakula*) ; II, pp. 167 (*naṭakakula*) ; 249 (*gandhabhakula*).
5. *op. cit.* p. 299.
6. J., III, pp .541-2-GG. 110-4.
7. J., V, p. 417.

however they were in a sufficiently great number to unite into a village community and then they might have formed an organization similar, for example, to that of the artisans.[1]

It is interesting to find that among fishermen there were different designations which appear to coincide with the names of modern fishermen castes. Thus the fishermen with nets and baskets (*jālakuminānī*) were called *Kevaṭṭas*[2] and *Kewāṭ* is to-day a name of a class of fishermen.[3] The fishermen with the poles were called *bālisikā*.[4]

THE SERVING CLASSES.

Turning our eyes again to the busy society of the villages and towns, we cast a glance over another class of people, that of the serving men. We see them 'composed of all possible elements of the population differing in point of race and professional work.' And though we meet with men of higher and aristocratic castes engaged as day-labourers (*bhatakā*) in times of distress as is the fate of the poor *gahapati* of the *Sutano Jātaka*[5] and of the three Brāhmaṇa girls of the *Suvaṇṇahaṁsa Jātaka*,[6] they formed a small fragment of the serving classes: the majority of these serving people came from families in which the profession was hereditary, as we find in the *Kummāsapiṇḍa Jātaka*.[7] However ill-paid and ill-treated the day-labourers might have been, their lot was better than that of the slaves, as we have already seen. And as regards slaves (*dāsā*), with whom we have already become familiar, we may repeat here only this, that they were drawn from all classes under various circumstances; their lot was miserable: their status low; but in spite of their low status, they occupied in society a position in some respects different from that of the despised classes to be noticed shortly. They could not be regarded as impure, like the latter, for they had to work for their masters in manifold household duties like helping their masters in dressing and undressing, assisting in the care of their bodies, preparing and serving their food, and cleansing the house. Moreover, as they lived together in their masters' family, they lacked the local isolation and external combination of the despised castes; consequently, they were not bound up into a caste.[8]

THE DESPISED AND THE UNTOUCHABLES.

We now come to the lowest strata of the social structure of the day. Speaking of the *Vaiśya* caste in the Epics Hopkins says, "It is probable that at all times the third caste was an elastic term for every Āryan not priest or warrior; but it connoted pure blood and hence excluded those 'mixed castes' which were sometimes higher, but more often lower, than the houseslave. A great mass of these people were the hill-tribes reduced to servitude or to low pursuits,

1. See, for instance, J., IV, pp. 137 *ff*.
2. J., II, p. 178.
3. *Cf.* Nesfield, *Caste System*, p. 9; Fick, *op. cit.*, p. 302 n.
4. J., I, p. 482; III, p. 52.
5. J., III, p. 325.
6. J., I, p. 475.
7. J., III, p. 406; also III, p. 444.
8. Fick, *op. cit.*, p. 313.

such as leather-workers, fowlers, etc., all those useful but dirty and disagreeable people whom the Brāhmaṇa despised and the Buddhist affected to love and honour."[1] The distinction between the bright-coloured Āryans and the dark-coloured aborigines is to be seen as old as in the *Vedas*, at a period just following the Āryan immigration into India.[2] The Āryans as they spread throughout the country, could not but assimilate in themselves the natives. Mixture of races there could not but occur. But the progress of it was very slow and was even retarded. While preserving the tradition of hereditary customs, the fragments (of Āryan tribes) were reconstituted under the action of necessity and new interests, topographical or otherwise. The exclusive rigour of the genealogical bond must have been somewhat impaired by this. The way was open to diversified principles of groupings.[3]

But the conquerors were evidently at a higher culture-stage than the native castes. And in course of time, as the Āryans began to settle in enclosed villages, they, dominated more or less by an idea of real or supposed relationship, formed a corporate body. Then religious considerations intervened. Scruples of purity did not allow the Āryan settlers to follow certain professions, nor even to receive into their fold compatriots who followed them. Not only this. Even among those thus excludsed, the same fastidiousness tended to multiply barriers by establishing a scale of impurity among various trades.

CANḌĀLAS.

We meet a number of these low races in our stories. The lowest of these, and so frequently to be met with, are the *Caṇḍālas.* They are not allowed to live within the walls of a town or a village. They live outside (*bahinagare*),[4] in a village, by themselves (*Caṇḍālagāmake*).[5] Two Caṇḍāla brothers who know how to blow a Caṇḍāla flute (*Caṇḍāla vaṁsadhopana*),[6] show their art outside the city gates.[7] Even the touch or the sight of a Caṇḍāla caused impurity. In the *Setaketu Jātaka*[8] we meet with a Brāhmaṇa youth, proud of his caste. On the way he meets a Caṇḍāla. "Who are you," he asks, and the latter replies, "I am a Caṇḍāla." And then the anxiety of atmospheric purification arises in his mind. He tries to run away from him for fear lest the wind after touching the Caṇḍāla's body might touch his own. He cries out loudly: "Curse you, you ill-omened Caṇḍāla, get out of the wind," and goes away quickly to windward.[9] In the *Mātaṅga Jātaka,*[10] it is narrated

1. *C. H. I.*, I, p. 260.
2. *Cf.* K. T. Shah, "The Vedic Aryans, very probably, made the first distinction—the first ancestor of the modern caste—which created a wide gulf between the aborigin—the *Dasyu*-and themselves, the proud conquerors swelling with arrogance of their lighter complexion."—*The Splendour that was Ind.*, p. 195.
3. Senart, *Caste in India*. p. 193.
4. J., IV, p. 376: *Cf. Manu,* X, 51.
5. *Ibid.*, pp. 200, 376, 390.
6. Fick, *op. cit.*, p. 318, is probably more correct here in rendering the term than the Cambridge Translator who gives the meaning as 'art of sweeping'; but see Coomaraswamy, *J. A. O. S.*, 48, p. 281.
7. J., IV, p. 390.
8. J., III, p. 233.
9. J., III, *l.c.*, (*nassa caṇḍāla, Kālakaṇṇi, adhovātaṁ yāhiti vatvā vegena tassa uparivātaṁ agamāsi*).
10. J., IV, p. 388.

how sixteen thousand Brāhmaṇas lost their caste (*abrāhmaṇe kārimsu*) because they, unknowingly though, took food which had been polluted by contact with the leavings of a Caṇḍāla's meal (*Caṇḍālucchiṭṭhabhatta*). And in the *Satadhamma Jātaka*,[1] a Brāhmaṇa commits suicide because he has eaten the leavings from a Caṇḍāla's dish. The fear of pollution is not confined to the Brāhmaṇas alone. A Caṇḍāla is on his way to the gate of the town, but encounters the daughter of the Seṭṭhi and, attracted by her beauty, stands gazing. The girl, peeping through the curtain of her palanquin, sees him and asks: "Who is that?" and as the answer comes: "A Caṇḍāla, my lady," she cries out: "Bah! I have seen something which brings bad luck!" and washing her eyes with scented water she turns back. Her escorts strike the Caṇḍāla and make him senseless, and go away.[2] Similarly do we find in the *Citta-Saṁbhūta Jātaka*[3] the two girls polluted by the sight of a Caṇḍāla. Both the girls—one a Seṭṭhi's daughter and the other a *purohita's* daughter—come to the city gates and see the two Caṇḍāla boys: "This is an evil omen to see" (*apassitabbayuttakaṁ*), they cry out and wash their eyes with perfumed water and return home. The multitude crying, "O vile outcastes, you have made us lose food and strong drink, which would have cost us nothing," belabour the two Caṇḍāla boys so much that they become senseless. When they recover their sense, one says to the other: "all the misery has come upon us because of our birth. We cannot do this Caṇḍāla-work."[4] They conceal their birth and go away to Takkasilā. "Contemptuous as a Caṇḍāla" has become a proverbial expression, as it is even to-day. In the *Sigāla Jātaka*,[5] a young lioness, to whom a jackal has made a proposal of marriage, says, "This jackal is considreed low and wretched amongst the beasts, and like a man of low caste (*Caṇḍālasadiso*)." Elsewhere also we hear this contempt: A Brāhmaṇa designates his adulterous wife as '*Pāpacaṇḍālī.*'[6]

THEIR DRESS.

The Caṇḍālas were not only despised and kept isolated from the rest of the society but were distinguished by their outward appearance also. Their dress is thus described: clad in a bad red under-garment (*rattadupaṭṭaṁ*) having a belt around him (*kāyabandhanaṁ*), above this a dirty upper-garment (*paṁsukūlasaṁghāṭiṁ*), and an earthen pot in hand.[7]

CAṆḌĀLA-DIALECT.

The Caṇḍālas had probably their own dialect, and by this also they were distinguished from the rest of the population, and preserved their racial individuality. The two Caṇḍāla boys Citta and Saṁbhūta mentioned before, go to Takkasilā, dressed as Brāhmaṇas, and study there. Once, on the occasion of a *Brāhmaṇavācanakaṁ*

1. J., II, p. 82 *ff.*
2. J., IV, p. 376.
3. *Ibid.*, pp. 390-1.
4. *Ibid.*, "*Imam amhākaṁ jātiṁ nissāya dukkhaṁ uppannaṁ, caṇḍālakammaṁ kātuṁ na sakkhissāmā.*" The idea of a pollution by touch seems to be present even in the *Upaniṣads* *Cf. Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, 6, 4, 113.
5. J., II, p. 6.
6. J., IV, p. 246.
7. J., IV, p. 379, 380-G.1: *cf.* VI, p. 156—"wore a yellow dress (*kāsāvaṁ*) and put a yellow cloth on his head (*haliddapi lotikāya sīsaṁ veṭhetvā*).

(invitation to the Brāhmaṇas), the students are having a feast at a villager's house. One of the two brothers takes up a ball of hot rice and burns his mouth and asks the other in the Caṇḍāla dialect (*Caṇḍālabhāsā*): "Hot, is'nt it? The other too replies in the same dialect and both are thus detected and driven out from the University.[1]

OCCUPATION.

As regards the professional work of the Caṇḍālas, the stories tell us very little. Excepting the mention of the two flute-players,[2] of the mender of the old rubbish *jiṇṇapaṭisaṁkhārako*[3] and of one who burns corpses,[4] they do not say anything on the point. It should be doubtful, indeed, that their sphere of activity was so circumscribed, though their low stage of culture prevented them from taking to higher professions, even that of an artisan. Their low position is thus summed up:

"The lowest race that go upon two feet
Are the Caṇḍālas, meanest men on earth."[5]

PUKKUSAS.

Almost equally despised, and mentioned along with the Caṇḍālas, are the *Pukkusas,*[6] the Brāhmaṇical *Paulkasas.*[7] These *Pukkusas* were also most probably a non-Āryan race occupying a very low position in society. The *Jātakas* give us very little account of these people. Probably one occupation of theirs was that of removing dead flowers from the temples (*pupphachaddakā.*)[8]

NISĀDAS.

Another non-Āryan race standing at a low stage of culture was that of the *Nisādas,* the hunters in general, whom we saw in the beginning of our survey of the Economic life in those days. These Nisādas are, of course, the Naiśādas of the Brāhamaṇical Caste theory, which regards them as descendants of a Brāhmaṇa by a Sūdra woman[9] and assigns them the work of killing fish and the like.[10] The *Jātakas,* as we know, also give them the work of hunting and fowling.[11] "Though this was their professional work," says Fick, "they fell into contempt, for the occcupation of a fisherman or hunter which represents in itself the earliest and lowest stage of evolution of human culture, could not in India come to be held in respect, for this reason, that it necessarily presupposed the killing of a living being."[12]

Their low and despised position in society is indicated in various ways in our stories. In the *Culla-Nandiya Jātaka*[13] it is said that a Brāhmaṇa

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1. J., IV, pp. 391-2.
2. J., IV, p. 388.
3. J., V, p. 429: *Cf. Manu,* X, 52.
4. J., V, p. 449-G. 335—*chavadāhakaṁ* : *cf. Manu, l.c.*
5. J., IV, p. 397-G. 39: *Jāti narānaṁ adhamā janinda, Caṇḍālayonī dipadākaniṭṭhā...*
6. J., III, pp. 194-5 —GG. 65-9; IV, pp. 205-G 7-9; 303-G. 72; VI, p. 142-G. 636.
7. *Cf. Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad,* 6, 4. 13. According to the Law Books, a *Pukkusa* is a son begotten by a Niśāda by a Śūdra woman: *Manu,* X, 18.
8. J., V, p. 449 G. 335: *Cf. Theragāthā,* V, p. 620, where Thera Sunīta sings: "Of low family am I, I was poor and needy. Low was the work which I did, namely, that of removing faded flowers (from temples and palaces). I was despised by men, held in low esteem and reproved." *Cf.* Oldenberg, *Buddha,* p. 159.
9. *Cf. Manu,* X. 8.
10. *Ibid.,* X, 48.
11. See, for instance, J., II, p.132; III, p. 97; IV, pp. 364, 413; V, pp. 110, 337.
12. *op. cit.,* p. 322: *Cf.* for Greek hunters, Zimmern, *Greek Commonwealth,* p. 236 *ff.*
13. J., II, p. 200.

youth, coming straight from Takkasila, takes to the occupation of a hunter as he cannot earn his livelihood by any other art. Similarly, the words of the king in the *Rohantamiga Jātaka*[1] asking the hunter to give up his sinful occupation (*pāpaṁ*) and advising other means of livelihood, such as agriculture, trade, lending money, indicate the low estimate in which this profession was held at that time. Elsewhere the son of a Seṭṭhi makes his friend-hunter to give up his profession.[2] The Nisādas also, like their fellow-men the Caṇḍālas, live outside villages and towns, in a village by themselves (*nagarato avidūre ekasmin nesādagāmake*).[3]

SAPĀKAS.

In the same category of despised classes come the *Sapākas*, the *Śvapākas* of the Brāhmanical theory whom Manu[4] calls as the descendants of a Kṣatriya by an Ugra woman. A verse in the *Mātaṅga Jātaka*[5] says:

> "You know we live on what we chance to get
> Rise! let the low-caste churl enjoy a bit."

LOW-PROFESSIONAL CASTES.

Besides these despised people whom Fick likes to call "ethnical castes"[6] as they were held together by a common race, we meet with other groups of people who, by their mean word, were also despised and isolated from the 'civilized' castes of the people. These are characterized by Fick as 'low professional castes.' These also were non-Āryan races carrying on manual work and, therefore, low and then despised in the eyes of the more refined and leisure-seeking Āryan conquerors. Senart says: "Nowhere in antiquity have the Indo-Europeans shown any great taste for manual professions. The Greeks and Romans left them to slaves or intermediate classes, freed men and members of the household. The Āryans settled in villages and at first completely pastoral in occupation, had even less need to follow them in India than elsewhere. Manual labour was destined in general to remain the lot of either the aborigines or of the peoples whose hybrid or doubtful origin relegated them to the same level....the fear of defilement closed a number of professions to the Āryans; ... the aborigines, too numerous to sink individuality to the condition of domestic slaves, and driven by circumstances into the blind alley of manual trade, were led both by their own traditions and by the influence the Āryans to form themselves into new groups in which the profession seemed to be the connecting link."[7]

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1. J., IV, p. 422-G. 112.
2. J., III, p. 51.
3. J., II, p. 36; IV, p. 422.
4. X. 19, 38; 51.
5. J., IV, .p. 380-G.2: *Jānāsi tvaṁ paradattūpajīviṁ uttittha piṇḍaṁ labhataṁ sapāko.*
6. *Op. cit.*, p. 324. The Brāhmaṇical Caste theory considered all these into mixed castes. See *Manu*, X, I, 45. Among these are also the *Ambaṭṭhas* in J., IV, p. 363-G. 248, and the *Uggas* in J., VI, pp. 353-G.(?) and 490-G. 1714, who are called by Manu as descendants of a Brāhmaṇa by a Vaiśya woman and of a Kṣatriya by a Śūdra woman respectively. *Manu*, X, 8-9: Senart remarks: "the explanation of 'mixed castes' can never have deceived anyone; flagrant impossibilities condemn it at sight." *op. cit.*, p. 101.
7. *op. cit.*, pp. 202-3; *Cf.* Fick, *op. cit.*, p. 325 and n.

VENAS, RATHAKARAS AND OTHERS:

In the *Rathakāras* and the *Venas*, we have to see such low and despised professional castes. The prince of the *Khaṇḍahāla Jātaka*[1] tired of kingly life longs to be born in such low-classes:

> "O had I but been born from courts aloof,
> Under some cobbler's, sweeper's, outcast's roof,
> I should have lived my days to the end in peace,
> Nor died a victim to a king's caprice."

Similarly do we find in the *Kusa Jātaka*[2] the term *Vena* used in contempt.

Here we can see the low estimation of these castes. As the words themselves indicate, the *Venas* are bamboo-workers and the *Rathakāras* the carriage-builders: professions bounded them, later, into castes. Other such classes are those of the basket-makers (*nalakārā*), the flute-makers (*Velukārā* or *Veṇukārā*)[3] also the weavers (*pesakārā* : *tantavāyā*)[4] and the barbers (*nahāpitā*).[5]

Such then were the social groups in the days of the stories under consideration. We have deliberately left out one important class of people which may not for practical purposes be included in the social structure, for it had renounced almost all its relations with the mundane world. This is the class of *Samaṇas*, the recluses of whom we intend to speak later on while discussing the Religious conditions of the times. Here we only mention them in order not to lose sight of them, for they influenced a great deal in the social workings of the time.

We hope, it will have been sufficiently understood from the foregoing discussions that, even though the social structure of the day was, theoretically, based on caste-groupings, caste was seldom an index of avocation or social relationship. On the other hand, love of society and fellow-ship in feeling in which all consideration of caste was completely sunk, were the predominant characteristics of the social working of those days. Economically—and economic considerations are always in the forefront—the people were divided into three main classes: upper, middle and lower—*Hīnamukkaṭṭhamajjhimā*.[6] These were the proper classes known to the ordinary people, who did not care to see to what caste a particular individual belonged.

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1. J., VI, p. 142—G. 636: "*Yan nūnāhaṁ jāyeyya Rathakārakulesu va Pukkusakulesu va Venesu va jāyeyyaṁ.*"
2. J., V, p. 306-G. 57: "*Venī tvaṁ asi caṇḍālī...*"
3. J., IV, p. 251.
4. J., I, p. 356—"*lāmakakamma*"
5. J., III, pp. 451-2. "*Hīnajacco malamajjano nahāpitaputto.*"
6. J., III, p. 248-G, 25; IV, pp. 225, 495, G. 335. *Cf. Uvāsagadasāo*, p. 36: "*Uccanīyamajjhimā*"; the same work, p. 8, gives detailed groupings as: *rāyissaratalavaramāḍaṁbiya koḍuṁbiyaseṭṭhi satthavāha*; kings, princes, nobles, governors, mayors, bankers and merchants.

CHAPTER II

KUṬUṀBA OR THE FAMILY

KUṬUṀBA. The unit of society was, as it has been till the present day, the *Kuṭuṁba* or the family which comprised a patriarch, his wife (or wives), his unmarried daughters, and his sons with their wives and children. Marriage in this period was usually monogamic, though polygamy was not unknown but limited mainly to the richer class and the nobility. In the household, the patriarch was the head and master with absolute authority; the wife was the mistress but dependent on, and obedient to, the master. Of the position of women *per se* we shall shortly try to get a clear idea.

CHILDREN. Children were naturally the happy corner of the household. Prayers for getting children were not uncommon.[1] On the birth of a child, neighbours and relatives came with offerings (*khiramūlaṁ*) to the parents of the new-born child.[2] There was a day fixed for naming the child (*nāmagahanadivasa.*)[3] Names were usually formed after those of the ancestors or from the mother's or the father's side.[4] Probably in the case of a girl a sacrifice called the *navamiya* was performed nine days after the birth.[5] It seems that a feeling of difference was maintained between a girl and a boy as the following utterances of the king in the *Katthahāri Jātaka*[6] and of the *purohita* in the *Uddālaka Jātaka*[7] suggest: "If it be a girl, spend this ring on her nurture; but if it be a boy, bring ring and child to me." Children were carried on hips (*aṅkenādāya*),[8] as is well-known. As play, mirth, merry-making and enjoyment have been the very life-breath of children in all countries and in all ages (*Ānando ca pamādo ca sadā hasitakīlitaṁ*),[9] we see them here in our stories, making hills from the dustheaps,[10] the girls shaking sand in a small winnowing basket (nice training for their later life),[11] the urchins playing at the foot of the banyan tree at the entrance of the village[12] or having a ride on young bulls of the village[13] or else harassing the poor mother by refusing to go to the field.[14] Ideal children were recognized as "noblybred, quick-witted and easy men to please whatever thing be sped."[15]

1. J., II, p. 328; V, p. 312.
2. J., V, p. 127.
3. J., I, p. 404; VI, p. 332.
4. J., IV, p. 298; VI, pp. 332 (*ayyakādīnaṁ*); 485-G. 1700—"*na mahyaṁ mattikaṁ nāmaṁ, na pi pettikasambhavam.*"
5. J., VI, p. 522-G. 1958.
6. J., I, p. 134.
7. J., IV, p. 298.
8. J., II, p. 127; VI, p. 513.
9. J., V, p. 330-GG. 177-8.
10. J., VI, p. 559-G. 2235.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 64.
12. J., III, p. 202.
13. J., I, p. 194.
14. J., VI, p. 377.
15. J., IV, p. 428-G. 132 "*puttā sujātā ... paññājavena sampannā sammodanti tato tato.*"

DOMESTIC LOVE.

Of domestic affection and happiness we have a rare representation in our stories. Folklore, portraying, as it does, the real domestic life, has always been highly prized. The joint-family system was, in those times, it seems, free from the vices that attend it at the present time.[1]

The relation of child and parent was clearly one of affection, as a rule; for the father is regarded as the type of all that is good and kind. Parents are recognized as god-like.[2] *'Brahmā hi mātā pitaro pubbācariyā ti vuccare.'*[3] so we are told in the *Soṅa-Nanda Jātaka,* which deals beautifully with the relations of parent and child. Supporting parents in their old age was considered an imperative duty, enjoined by religion and, more so, by tradition.[4] We have, in the *Vessantara Jātaka,*[5] a noble and sublime representation of that parental love, that precious bond between parent and child which is self-evident. We observe Vessantara and Maddī respectfully making obeisance to his father who with his hand strokes them pleasantly.[6] Elsewhere[7] we have a vivid picture of a beautiful girl "like a nymph of heaven" fanning her father with a palm-leaf as he lies on a little bed to allay discomfort after his early meal. Children sitting down to meals with their parents, instead of waiting upon them, was considered as a sign of lamentable decay of respect towards parents.[8] The relation between brothers and sisters was also, as a rule, happy. "The name of a brother a strong link is found, to join those akin to each other": So we hear in the *Maṁsa Jātaka*[9] and in another we hear that sisters surely are loving towards their brothers.[10] And if the ideal prevailed among the folk that:

"A father's, or a mother's pain or sister's to relieve

A man should never hesitate his very life to give,"[11] the utterance that:

"A parent's fond heart to pity is moved,

the cry of 'Dear Father' to hear"[12]

is as true and sincere as it is natural, since this human bondage is eternal and all-pervading.

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1. *Cf.* "But India aimed at the sublimation of the institution of the family with a deliberately conceived social and political purpose." S. V. Venkateswara, *Indian Culture through the Ages*, II, p. 280.
2. J., VI, p. 364 "*Pubbadevatā nāma mātāpitaro.*"
3. J., V, p. 331-G. 182.
4. J., III, pp. 137, 270, 325; IV, pp. 45, 90, 280-G, 10; 417. V, p. 492-GG. 433-4.
5. J., VI, pp. 479-594.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 584-G. 2407-8.
7. J., III, p. 283.
8. J., I, p. 453.
9. J., III, p. 50-G. 58. *'Aṅgaṁ etaṁ manussānaṁ bhātā loke pavuccati.'*
10. J., III, p. 165 *'Bhaginiyo nāma bhātusu sasnehā.'*
11. J., VI, p. 587-G. 2432: *mātula*—maternal uncle-was a term of affection used between men and men: J., II, p. 301. For the importance of this mother's brother in the Epics and the *Purāṇas* See Siddhanta, *op. cit.*, pp. 125-6.
12. J., III, p. 50-G. 59—"*Tātā ti putto vandamāno kampeti hadayaṁ pitu.*"

MOTHER AND CHILD.

But the utmost sublimity lies in the affection of a mother towards her child. And the stories are so full of pathos and happiness, joys and sorrows, hopes and fears, while presenting this aspect of human love, that they may well stand out as one of the sublimest pieces of world's Folklore.

The *Soṇa-Nanda Jātaka*,[1] just referred to, presents before us, in all sublimity, the bond of love that always is between parents and children. The Brāhmaṇa husband and wife and their two sons, Soṇa and Nanda, are living in a hermitage on the Himalayas. The two brothers tender their parents, do everything for them. Later on the elder reproaches the younger for not serving the parents satisfactorily, and asks him to go away elsewhere. Nanda goes away. And when after more than seven years he returns, the mother's heart is filled with inexpressible tender feelings. She runs towards her son, embraces him, smells and kisses (*cumbitvā*) his head, and keeps her heart at rest, and then says:

"Just as the tender bo-tree shoot is shaken by the blast,
So throbs my heart with joy at sight of Nanda come at last,
Nanda, methinks, as in a dream returned I seem to see,
Half mad and jubilant I cry, 'Nanda comes back to me.'
But if on waking I should find my Nanda gone away,
To greater sorrow then before my soul would be a prey.
Back to his parents dear to-day Nanda at last has come,
Dear to my lord and me alike, with us he makes his home.
Though Nanda to his sire is dear, let him stay where he will—
Thou to thy father's wants attend—Nanda shall mine fulfill.[2]

The following *gāthās*, still more clearly, put before us the type of an affectionate mother with all her joys and anxieties, more sublimely than even Wordsworth could:

"Craving a child in prayer, she kneels each holy shrine before,
The changing seasons closely scans and studies astral lore.
Pregnant in course of time she feels her tender longings grow,
And soon the unconscious babe begins a loving friend to know,
Her treasure for a year or less she guards with utmost care,
Then brings it forth and from that day a mother's (*janetti*) name will bear.

With milky breast and lullaby (*gitena*) she soothes the fretting child
Wrapped in his comforter's warm arms his woes are soon beguiled.
Watching o'er him poor innocent, lest wind or heat annoy,

1. J., V, pp. 312 *ff*.
2. *Ibid*., pp. 328-9 G. 159-63.

His fostering nurse she may be called, to cherish thus her boy
What gear his sire and mother have she hoards for him, 'may be,'
She thinks, 'some day, my dearest child, it all may come to thee.'
'Do this or that, my darling boy,' the worried mother cries,
And when he's grown to man's estate, she still laments and sighs:
He goes in reckless mood to see a neighbour's wife at night,
She fumes and frets, 'Why will he not return while it is light ?'"[1]

Out of the four riddle-like questions placed before the wise Mohosadha by the king, the two are worthy of our attention here. The first is :

"He strikes with hands and feet, he beats the face,
And he, O king, is dearer than a husband;"[2]

and in solving this the wise man says : "When a child on the mother's lap happy and playful beats his mother with hands and feet, pulls her hair, beats her face with his fist, she says, 'Little Rogue (*Coraputta*) why do you beat me?' and in love she presses him close to her breast unable to restrain her affection, and kisses him ; and at such a time he is dearer to her than his father."

The second question is :

"She abuses him roundly yet wishes him to be near ;
And he, O king, is dearer than a husband."[3]

The solution of this is thus beautifully given : "the child of seven years, who can now do his mother's bidding, when he is told to go to the field or to the bazar, says : If you will give me this or that sweetmeat, I will go ; she says : 'Here my son,' and gives them ; then he eats them and says : 'Yes, you sit in the cool shade of the house and I am to go out on your business' ! He makes a grimace, or mocks at her with gestures, and won't go. She is angry, picks up a stick and cries : 'Get out, may the thieves chop you up into little bits (*gaccha, corā taṁ khaṇḍakhaṇḍikaṁ chindantu*).' So she abuses him roundly as much as she will ; but what her mouth speaks she does not wish at all, and so she wishes him to be near. He plays about the livelong day, and at evening not daring to come home he goes to the house of some kinsman (*ñātaka*). The mother watches the road for his coming, and sees him not, and, thinking that he durst not return, has her heart full of pain; with tears streaming from her eyes, she searches the houses of her kinsfolk, and when she sees her son, she hugs and kisses him and squeezes him tight with both her arms, and loves him more than ever, as she cries : "did you take even my words in earnest ? (*putta, mamāpivacanaṁ hadaye ṭhāpesi*) ?' thus, a mother ever loves her son more in the hour of anger."

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1. *Ibid.*, pp. 329-30-GG. 166-172 : also III, p. 323-G. 11.
2. J., VI, 376-G. *Hanti hatthehi pādehi mukhañ ca parisumbhati*
   So ve rājā piyo hoti kantenamabhipassasi."
3. *Ibid.*, p. 377-G. *Akkosati yathākāmaṁ āgamañ ca' assa icchati*
   Sa ve rājā piyo hoti kantenamabhipassasi."

And, then, who can ever forget the slim and tender-hearted figure of Maddi, wife of that Prince-sage Vessantara, pining for her dear children Kaṇhā and Jāli, for she has been late in returning to the hermitage being obstructed on the way ? Her feelings are hard to be reproduced here in piecemeal. They should be experienced from the story itself, the *Vessantara Jātaka,*[1] the noblest and the sublimest in the whole of the *Jātaka* collection and, to our mind, in the world's literature or folklore.

We only quote this verse spoken by the boy Jāli, bereft of his mother :

"How true that saying seems to be
Which men are wont to tell:
Who has no mother of his own
Is fatherless as well."[2]

But, are we here all along playing upon mere sentiments and poetic imagination, and have no basis on the realities of life ? The suspicion does arise but we cannot share in it. We cannot for a moment believe ourselves that all these are mere ideas, and do not reflect real life. No piece of folklore can ever remain out of touch with real life : if it does, it is something else, but not a piece of folklore.

Anyway, nobody will object to our contention that domestic love and family tie were in those days on a sound footing.

JEṬṬHAKA.

The son, after marriage which was largely controlled by his parents as we shall see, must have lived in the same house and under the control of his father. But clearly as the father's years advanced, the care of the household fell on the shoulders of the eldest son.[3] After the death of his father, the son looked after the family property,[4] and if the son was yet young, the management was in the hands of the mother.[5] Brothers were entitled to equal shares of the family estate.[6] It seems probable that there was a tendency for the family to break up as soon as the parent died. The sons would then stay in the vicinity of one another for mutual support and assistance. In this way, the little knot of houses of the several branches of the family would together form the nucleus of the second stage in the society, the *nāti* a predominant feature of the sociology of the times.

1. J., VI, pp. 480-593, specially *gāthās,* 2213-2289.
2. *Ibid.,* p. 553-G, 2189—*Saccaṁ kira evaṁ āhaṁsu*
narā kira evaṁ āhaṁsu
yassa natthi sakā mātā
Pitā natthi tatheva so."
Cf. for motherly feelings, *ibid.,* pp. 19-20-GG. 50-5.
3. J., V, p. 326-G. 149 : *Jeṭṭhaka* is mod. *Jeth,* elder brother of a woman's husband.
4. J., I, pp. 226, 337 ; III, pp. 56, 300 : *Cf.* Subbarao, *op. cit.,* p. 9.
5. J., IV, p. 1.
6. J., III, pp 57, 300, 302-GG, 106-109.

CHAPTER III

THE RELATIONS

ÑĀTI OR THE ACQUAINTANCES.

Throughout history Man has remained a social being. Why Man alone? Sociability is indeed a common instinct in every living being. This is luminously clear from our stories which deal with Man and Animal alike. To keep oneself surrounded by relations is an instinct of self-preservation. The whole of the *Taccha-Sūkara Jātaka*[1] reveals this in a marked manner. A Boar, reared up by a carpenter, thinks to himself, when grown up: "I cannot live alone by myself in this forest; what if I search out my kindred, and live in their midst? (*ñātake pariyesitvā tehi parivuto vasissāmi.*)[2] He then not only lives amidst his kindred folk, but takes the leading in vanquishing their common foe, the Tiger, and thus provides a fitting illustration for the all-embracing maxim:

"United friends, like forest trees—it is a pleasant sight,

The Boars united, at one charge the Tiger killed outright."[3]

Of course, there always are gradations in relationship from the family onwards, according to the variations of interests: "*Mātāpitumittasuhajja-ñātivaggo*—father, mother, friends, kinsmen and acquaintances"—this is the phrase[4] which gives some of the prominent circles of this relationship. But in all these, *ñāti* appears to be an all-embracing term and is frequently to be met with in the stories. It is a term used not so much in the sense of blood-relations (*salohita*) as in the much wider sense of an acquaintance (as the root *ñā* clearly means *to know*) in whom a relation was undoubtedly merged. Well-fare of their *ñātis* was the chief solicitude of the people of those days. In their daily life, the people were guided by the love of those whom they knew well, their friends and acquaintances. No important activity could be done without taking one's *ñātis* into confidence. Even the king held consultation with his *ñātis*, over and above his officers and subjects.[5] The Owl was made king by his *ñātis*.[6] The *ñāti* gathers together and laments over the death of one of its members.[7] The wealthy, if he is wise and considerate, should share his wealth along with his *ñāti* in order that he may win fame and rejoice in

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1. J., IV, pp. 344 *ff*.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 344-G. 161.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 349-G. 176; See also *ibid*, p. 346—GG. 168—*ñātī ca disvāna samaṅgi ekato;* G-163—*ko n' amhākaṁ idha sattu, ko ñātī susamāgate*; G-172—*samagge sahite ñātī vyagghe ca kurute vase.*
4. J., V, p. 132. *Cf.* II, p. 29-G. 15: The *Uvāgadasāo*, p. 5, gives more: *Mitta-ñāyi-niyaga-sayana-sambandhi-parijana*—friend, kinsmen, members of one's own family, one's blood relations, connected by marriage, one's dependents—Hornle's tr. p. 8, n. 16.
5. J., IV, p. 134-GG. 96, 103-4; V, p. 190-G. 238.
6. J., II, p. 353—G. 58: *Sabbehi kira ñātihi kosiyo issaro kato.*
7. J., IV, p. 51.

heaven.[1] '*Mayā tvaṁ samanuññāto sotthiṁ passatu ñātake,*' says a fowler while setting free a bird he had caught. The liberated bird expresses the same desire in return: '*Evaṁ luddaka nandassu saha sabbehi ñātihi.*'[2] He who is faithful to his friends is of all kin the best;[3] kingdom (*rajja*), relations (*ñātaka*) and wealth (*dhanaṁ*) are the three things worth consideration by a reluctant Prince.[4] A widowed queen, big with child, arriving to an unknown city was asked as to whether there was any *ñātaka*, relation, of hers in that city.[5]

"One mortal dies—to kindred ties born in another straight:
Each creature's bliss dependent is on this associate"[6]

so we hear in the *Dasaratha Jātaka*. To have a respectable position in the midst of one's own *ñāti* was one of the highest aims of the people.[7] Blessings of his *ñāti* a Prince should always covet; for surrounded by them he is always safe.[8] So intense is the bond of affection that a parrot never leaves its tree 'though a dead stump,' because it is its *ñāti* and its *sakhā*.[9]

The *ñāti* was, most probably, a circle of relations where caste or creed had no place and recognition, and marriage as we shall presently see was contracted in such *ñātis*.

MITTA—SAHĀYA OR FRIENDS.

Even more sacred and stronger than the bond between an individual and his (or her) *ñāti*, was the tie of friendship (*metti*). Numerous are the stories which, with appropirate parables and similies and with knowledge of real life, exemplify the high value of friendship. To a man, a friend was nearer and dearer than his *ñāti*.

But to establish friendship is no easy task. For the world is full of deceitful appearances. Therefore caution is required at every step. You may have friends. But if they be sense-lacking, they may turn out your foes and ruin you, even as the son, in the *Makasa Jātaka*,[10] cleft his father's skull, while slaying the gnat, or as the girl Rohiṇī laid low her mother, while drawing the flies away.[11] Unthinking people, contracting friendship with anybody and everybody, share the fate of the lion Manoja at the hands of the jackal Giriya,[12] or of the sage Indasamānagotta at the hands of his pet elephant,[13] or again of the whole family of the iguanas (*godhā*) at the

1. J., III, p. 302—*Dhīro bhoge adhigamma Saṁgaṇhāti ca ñātake* ... *Cf.* IV. p. 127, G. 92.
2. J., IV, pp. 418-G. 98.
3. J., VI, p. 14-G. 15. *Nātīnaṁ uttamo hoti yo mittānaṁ na dūbhati.*
4. *Ibid.*, p. 15-G. 23; see also *ibid.*, p. 19-G. 48.
5. *Ibid*, p. 32.
6. J., IV, p. 127-G. 90.
7. J., VI, p. 360, G.."*tasseva taṁ rūhati ñātimajjhe.*
8. J., IV, p. 135-GG. 103-4"... *ñātiparibulham-..amittā nappasahanti.*"
9. J., III, p. 492-5. GG. 23,28, 38.
10. J., I, pp. 247-G. 43.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 249-G. 44.
12. J., III, pp. 323 and GG. 10-13.
13. J., II, pp. 42 *ff.* and GG. 21-22.

hands of one single chameleon (*kakantako*).[1] This is the constant advice tendered by a father—an experienced man—to his growing son easily susceptible to a woman's seductious charms:

> "One that can gain thy confidence and love,
> Can trust thy word, and with thee patient prove,
> In thought and word and deed will ne'er offend—
> Take to thy heart and cling to him as friend.
> To men capricious as the monkey kind
> And found unstable, be not thou inclined,
> Though to some desert love thy lot should be confin'd."[2]

Great stress is rightly placed on company with the good. In touching similies the truth was made known: "As is the friend whom he chooses for himself and follows, such he himself becomes—such is the power of intimacy. One in constant intercourse affects his fellow, a close comrade his associate, just as a poisoned arrow defiles a pure quiver. Let not the wise become the friend of the wicked for fear of contamination. If a man ties up stinking fish with a band of *Kusa* grass, the grass will acquire a putrid smell, so is intimacy with a fool; but if a man binds up myrrh in a common leaf, it will acquire a pleasant odour, so is intimacy with the wise. Therefore, knowing the maturity of his own actions like the ripeness of a basket of fruit, let not the wise man follow the wicked but follow the good.[3] "*Sukho bhave sappuruseh sangamo*": friendship with the good brings happiness,[4] so says Puṇṇaka, the Yakkha general. Countless indeed are the benefits of good friendship. For protection from any outside danger the need of a friend was absolutely felt by the people.

Mittaṁ sahāyaṁ ca karonti paṇḍitā

Kāle akāle sukhaṁ āsayānā.[5]

It was through his friend's help that the barber, shipwrecked and cast ashore, could his home in safety see,[6] and it was again through his friend, the Jackal, however small and weak he might be, that the lion's life was saved, as he himself admits (*sigālo mama pāṇado*).[7] The *Mahāukkusa Jātaka*,[8] where we hear the Hawk proposing a marriage to a she-hawk who asks whether he had any friend—for they must have some one who can defend them against any danger or trouble that may arise—and where we see how true her words a e, should have been sufficient to ingrain the truth–of the benefits of good friend-

1. J., I, pp. 487-8-G. 137.
2. J., III, pp. 148-GG. 186-188; 525-6-GG. 81-7.
3. J., IV, pp. 435-GG. 160-5; VI, p. 235-6-GG. 1047-52.
4. J., VI, p. 314-G.1379.
5. J., IV, p. 291-G. 46.
6. J., II, p. 112-G. 78.
7. J., II, p. 29-G. 14.
8. J., IV, pp. 289-*ff*. GG. 44-61.

ship—in the minds of those who might have heard this story or among whom it originated. And people in those days, as even now, must have had to pass through bitter experience in contracting. and, all the more so, in maintaining their friendship; and it was from this experience that they learnt for themselves, and tried to warn their fellow-brethren, that to the slanderer's whispered sneer one should never lend a willing ear, for 'slander parts friend from friend'; but he,[1]

> "On his friend in trust will rest
> As child upon its mother's breast,
> And ne'er will by a stranger's word
> Be parted from his bosom's lord—"[2]

a great psychological truth indeed!

The virtues which were to be found in a true friend are enumerated in the *Mittāmitta Jātaka*[3] and 'are quite simple and indicative of the early existence of the Āryan society in a strange land surrounded by unfriendly people.'[4] They are: he remembers his friend when he is away from home, feels delighted at his return, soothes him with gentle words when ailing, is among his well-wishers and not his enemies, restrains others from speaking evil of him, is in company with those who praise him, extols his wisdom and praises his works, rejoices in his prosperity and feels downhearted at his fall, opens his secrets to him and never betrays his, feels at a banquet the want of his company and expresses the desire that he might also meet with the same.

Not without reason, such feelings are constantly expressed. "Adversity, it is said, makes strange bedfellows and the limited circle of [illegible]ances in a small state not in a position to give adequate protection t[illegible]ials made them largely dependent on mutual comradeship and friendl[illegible]ances in which consideration of caste or creed had practically no place."[illegible]

HOSPITALITY.

The people in those days moreover were, as they even now are in remote villages, hospitable to strangers. The door of friendship was also open to these strangers. They also became acknowledged friends, upon some practical demonstration of friendly motives. Residence for a single night, receiving the hospitality of a stranger by accepting from him food, drink and shelter, was enough to bind the guest and the host in close friendship. The wise Vidhura thus expressed to Puṇṇaka, the *Yakkha*, who showed indications of an unfriendly attitude: "In whosesoever house a man dwells even for one night, and receives there food and drink, let him not conceive an evil thought against him in his mind; he who is treacherous to his friend burns the innocent

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1. J., III, p. 151-GG. 189-92.
2. J., III, p. 193-G. 64.
3. J., IV, p. 197-8-GG. 77-87; also II, p. 131-GG. 89-90.
4. Gokuldas De, *Calcutta Review*, Oct. 1931, p. 117.
5. *Ibid.*

hand that hitherto remained free from wound."[1] Such a host-friend was likened unto a tree that sheltered even for a little while the refuge, who sought it.[2] The host's duty it was to honour the guest (*sakkārasammānaṁ*) by washing and anointing his feet and seating him on a seat *āsanaṁ*).[3] Rightly says the merchant in the *Piṭha Jātaka*.

"The custom of our family-'twas so

Received by us from ages long ago—

Is to provide the stranger with a seat,

Supply his needs, bring water for his feet.

And every guest as kinsman dear to treat."[4]

The same words might still be heard in some remote village or the other of this ancient land.

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1. J., VI, p. 310-g. 1364.
2. *Ibid.* G. 1365—*yassa rukkhassa chāyāya nisīdeyya sayeyya vā. na tassa sākham bhañjeyya*" also V, pp. 240-G. 153; -72-G. 222; 87-G. 260 61; VI, p. 256
3. J., III, p. 10; IV, p. 52. The term used for a guest is *Pahuneyyaka* (*mod. marathi paunā*): J., III, p. 440.
4. J., III, p. 120-G. 147-8.

CHAPTER IV

POSITION OF WOMAN

Having had a cursory glance over the structure of society, the various classes of which it was composed and then the units of Society, *i.e.*, the family and the relations, we now pass on to examine the different aspects, the different fields, into which the manifold activities of the people in those days revealed themselves. Our main object here will be to depict real life, life as it was actually lived by the general mass of the people among whom, for the most part, these stories originated, life material as well as spiritual.

It is no exaggeration to say that in Ancient India, if the family was the unit of the social fabric, domestic or household affairs centred in no less degree round the woman. The picture of the family that we have drawn, however feeble, has the lady of the house in the centre of the canvas.

In order to understand and estimate fairly the position of woman in those days, we have to deal with two types of evidence in the stories: the one is the great mass of abstract statements about her, scattered here and there, mainly in the didactic *gāthās*, the other is what we obtain from the actions done and parts played by the female characters in the stories themselves. The former evidence, as usual, should be handled with caution, for such passages are often avowedly prejudiced in tone and substance. Moreover, they are often contradictory, as is natural, and it may not be possible to reconcile statements found in one place with those in another. On the other hand, the simple stories, when outstripped of didactic garment, give us a firmer ground to stand upon. And still, the abstract statements need not be wholly set aside: what we have to do is to see how far they harmonize with the general atmosphere, with the examples recorded in the stories. By doing so we shall be able to see that the *Jātakas* depict the bright as well as the dark side of female character. It is a vivid picture that we are going to see.

To proceed now with the subject proper, it seems convenient to try to analyse the position of woman through the four stages of life: childhood, youth, maturity and old age.

CHILDHOOD.

The first stage is naturally spent in her father's home. To the Hindu father a daughter has not been, for various social and economic reasons, a great blessing as the son, who has been considered fit to save his father from hell (theoretically), and to support him in old age (in practice);[1] yet, once a daughter is born, the natural affection cannot be denied: it is against human bondage. If there was some distinction between a boy and a girl, as we saw above, it was only outwardly. A

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1. The birth of a female child is sometimes looked upon as a sign of ill-luck: *Cf. Thiyo tassa pajāyanti na puma jayare kule Yo jānam pucchito pañham aññathā nam viyākare*: J., III, p. 409-G. 54.

boy and a girl receive equal care and affection from their parents, as Jāli and Kaṇhājinā do.

EDUCATION.

As to her training or education, we practically hear nothing. We have, no doubt, examples of women who are intellectually qualified like Amarā and Udumbarā. We first meet with Amarā, as a beautiful girl and wise. Early in the morning, while on the way to her father's farm to bring him rice-gruel, she is seen by the young man Mahosadha. She is equally skilful in talking with hand-gestures and in symbolical language. While asked her name, she replies: "My name is that which neither is, nor was, nor ever shall be (Immortal: *amarā*);" in reply to the question, "For whom do you carry that gruel?" she answers, "For the god of old time (father);" when asked about her father's occupation, she says, "He makes two out of one (ploughing);" when asked about the place of her father's farm, she says: "the place whence those who go come not again (cemetery)." She is expert in business-like dealings. She discovers the treachery perpetrated on her husband by the four wicked councillors, Senaka and others. These men desirous of causing a breach between the husband and wife, steal things from the royal household and send them to Mahosadha's house through a slave girl, so that he may be accused of theft. But Amarā writes down all particulars on a leaf (*paṇṇe likhitvā*)—day, month, the names of the things sent, of the sender and of the girl who brought it. She also answers their letters. So is also Queen Udumbarā. She also knows writing and reading.[1] But these stray examples do not at all justify our inference that the girl's education was, even fairly, attended to. Universities like Takkasilā are only for boys: girls have no entrance there. And even at home the girl hardly gets any education.[2]

MUSIC & DANCING.

But it is very probable that music and dancing were the two allied subjects in which women held sway in those days. Whenever a reference is made in praise of woman, she is invariably referred to as skilled in singing and dancing (*Kusalā naccagītesu*). It is Kaṇhā, and not Jāli, who can sing.[3]

But beyond this there is nothing more to be said about her childhood.

The next stage of a woman was youth, which brings us to the question of marriage.

MARRIAGEABLE AGE:

There are very clear indications to show that early marriage was unknown in those days. Nowhere do we see her as a child playing with her dolls at the time of marriage. Sixteen is the usual age when girls are spoken of as grown up, and fit to be given away in marriage.[4] On the other hand a girl passing her twentieth

1. J., J., VI, pp. 365 *ff*; 385. *Cf.* J., VI, p. 25-G. 93: *Sikkhitā caturitthiyo.*
2. *Cf Dahariṁ kumāriṁ asamatthapaññaṁ. Yan t' ānayiṁ ñātikulā sugatte*—J., IV, p. 35-G.54; and *N'eva itthisu sāmaññaṁ*: J., III, p. 151-G. 189.
3. J., VI, p. 563-G. 2264; see also, J., IV, p. 393; VI, pp. 25-G. 93; 121-G. 518, 289-G. 1256; 313-G. 1373-5. *Cf. Śat. Br.*, III, 2, 4.
4. J., I, p. 456—"*solasikavassuddesikabhāvaṁ*"; III, p. 93. *solasavassakāle abhirūpā, pāsādikā sabbalakkhaṇasampannā*; V, p. 210. *Cf. Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā*, II, 217.

year or more without getting married was a rare, quite an exceptional case. In the *Aṁba Jātaka*, one of the four daughters of a merchant of Benares thus takes an oath (*sapatha*) before the false ascetic :

"Let the maid that robbed thy tree, vainly for a husband sigh,

Past her teens though she may be, and on thirty verging nigh.[1]"

This, *inter alia*, suggests that though the girl getting married at sixteen or so was the general custom, circumstances did, sometimes, force them to remain without a husband (*appatikā kumārikā*) for some time more.[2] The son's age at the time of marriage is also generally given as 16 ;[3] but it seems probable, at least in the case of the Khattiyas and the Brāhmaṇas and all those who went out for education at that age, as we saw, that twenty or so was the age of marriage. After all, there cannot be, as there never have been, such hard and fast rules as regards marriageable age. The bride of equal age, (*tulyavayā*) for instance, is not unknown.[4]

SISTER-MARRIAGE:

Similarly, limitations on marriage imposed by Brāhmaṇic usage and injunctions are conspicuous by their absence in the stories, and even sister-marriage is not quite unknown. In the *Udaya Jātaka*,[5] leaving aside the doubtful case of Rāma and Sītā in the *Dasaratha Jātaka*,[6] we find Prince Udaya marrying his own sister, Princess Udayabhaddā, though born of a different mother (*vemātikabhaginiṁ*).

COUSIN-MARRIAGE:

The marriage of cousins also appears to have been in vogue. Both in the *Asilakkhaṇa* and the *Mudupāṇi Jātakas*,[7] we see a king giving away his daughter in marriage to his sister's son (*bhāgineyyo*). It was this form of cousin-marriage. *i.e.*, marriage with the daughter of the mother's brother (*mātuladhītā*) or the son of the father's sister (*pitucchāputto*) which was usual, and even desirable. The wicked queen of Padumakumāra, after having hurled her husband down the precipice in a forest and taking a crippled fellow for her paramour, goes about abegging among the people, pretending to be a devoted wife. And when asked by the people what the man is to her, she in a proud tone says: "He is the son of my father's sister, given me by my family

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1. J., III, p. 138-G. 170.
Visaṁ vā paṇṇuvisaṁ vā
Ūnatiṁsaṁ va jātiyā
Tādisā patiṁ mā laddhā
Yā te aṁbe avāhari." also G. 171-2.
2. J., V, pp. 103-G. 321-104-G. 324.
3. J., VI, pp. 72, 363 ; an anonymous verse quoted by Abhayadeva in his Commentary to *Uvāsagadasāo*, p. 72, says : *Dviraṣṭāvarṣā yoṣitpañcaviṁśatyādiko pumān : anayornirutttarā prītiḥ, svarga ityabhidhiyate* ; Vātsyāyana also says that the bride should be younger by three years or more than the groom : *Kāmasūtra*, p. 184.
4. J., IV, p. 76-G, 134. *Cf.* Gokul Das De, who takes *Sādisī* in the sense of *tulyavayā* : *Calcutta Review*, Oct. 1931, p. 110.
5. J., IV, p. 105.
6. J., IV, p. 130.
7. J., I, p. 457 ; II, p. 327.

my own husband."[1] So also Prince Vessantara is married to his maternal uncle's sister, Princess Maddī (*mātuladhītaraṁ*)[2] Presumably, the other form of cousin-marriage *i.e.*, marriage with the daughter of the mother's sister or the son of the father's brother was not usual.[3]

KINDS OF MARRIAGE :

Marriage was usually of three forms: marriage arranged by parents of both parties, *Svayaṁvara* and *Gāndharva* marriage. The commonest form of marriage was that arranged by parents of both the parties, and established between two families of the same caste (*jāti*) and rank (*kulaṁ*); marriage within one's own *jāti* was the rule. And it is probable that the *jātis* of the stories were endogamous. Almost everywhere we notice the effort to keep the family pure through marriage confined to people of one's own standing and profession, and not to allow it to degenerate through mixture with lower elements.[4] Such is more usually the case with the Brāhmaṇas. The Brāhmaṇa parents, in the *Ananusociya Jātaka*,[5] give express instructions to the people whom they send for finding a girl for their son to bring a Brāhmaṇa girl (*Brāhmaṇakumārikaṁ ānethā*). The ordinary course, however, is that the parents bring a wife for their son from a family of the same caste (*samānajātikakulā*).[6] '*Sādisī bhariyā*,' or wife of the same type, is a phrase frequently occurring in the *gāthās*.[7] But exceptions regarding caste and rank are not unknown. Thus for instance *Senāpati* Ahipāraka married a merchant's daughter, Ummadantī.[8]

Generally do we find that to the inclinations of young people, very little or no weight was attached in matters regarding marriage (*āvāhavivāha*). 'Much against his will' is an oft-occurring sentence in this connection. We always read that the elders consult with each other, and sometimes inform their grown-up children; but ultimately the parent's will prevails.[9] Something more still. It may sometimes happen that the chief members of two families made a compact in their youth that if one of them had a daughter and other a son, they would wed the pair together (*āvāhavivāha*).[10]

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1. J., II, p. 119.
2. J., VI, p. 486 : see also IV, p. 49.
3. It is significant enough that most of cousin-marriages recorded in other literature are those of the former type : maternal uncle's daughter and father's sister's son : *Cf. Vedic Index*, I, p. 475 ; for instance Vajirā and Ajātasattu : *Mahāvagga*, VIII, 1, 2, 3 ; Jyeṣṭhā and Nandi-Vardhana, elder brother of Mahāvira : in fact it was a common custom in some parts : *Cf. Purātatva*, I, pp. 265-6 ; also *Kāmasūtra*, p. 200.
4. *Cf.* Fick, *op. cit.*, p. 52.
5. J., III, p. 93.
6. J., I, pp. 199, 475 ; II, pp. 139, 225, III, pp. 93, 162, 422, 510 ; IV, pp. 7, 22, 37, 255; 305 ; VI, p. 72. This is akin to the *Prājāpatya* form of marriage of the Hindu Law Books.
7. J., IV, pp. 99-G. 24 ; 428-G. 130. There is also an indication of the fact that the law for regulating marriage generally was that the parties should be of different agnates (*gotta*). So we are told in the *Kacchapa Jātaka*. *Kacchapā kassapā honti, koṇḍaññā honti makkaṭā Muñca kassapa koṇḍaññaṁ kataṁ methunakaṁ tayā* : J., II, p. 360-G. 69 : *Cf. migī pakkhī assaññuttā*" : J., III, p. 265-G. 58 ; *nāma-gotta-kula* at J., IV, p. 328.
8. J., V, p. 211.
9. J., III, p. 510 ; IV, p. 305 ; J. VI, p. 72.
10. J., IV, p. 316 ; VI, p. 71.

In this form of marriage a wife was, for the most part, obtained for money paid to her father's family by the husband or his father. Passages like '*kīto dhanena bahunā*' (spoken by a monkey who does not differentiate between the husband and the wife),[1] '*bhariyā dhanakkītā*[2] or '*bhariyā yā pi dhanena hoti kītā*,[3] sufficiently testify to the prevalence of the practice of giving daughter in marriage in exchange of money. Thus speaks Udayabhaddā before her former husband who has come to test her:

> Men that would woo a woman, raise and raise
>
> The bids of gold, till she their will obeys.[4]

Still however money was not the sole consideration in these matters: the character and virtues of the bridegroom and the bride were of primary importance. It may sometimes be considered rather preferable, in the case of a father having more than one daughter, to have them placed in the hands of one groom of known good character and manners.[5] The *ācariya* of a family advises the father of four daughters as to the kind of the grooms he should select for them:

> "Good is beauty; to the aged show respect, for this right
>
> Good is noble birth; but virtue, virtue, that is my delight."[6]

The father gives all his four daughters—wooed by four different persons—to the one virtuous wooer.

CEREMONIES:

The usual practice in this form of marriage was that the bridegroom used to come to the bride's house for marriage on the fixed days.[7] Lucky days were fixed for the ceremony. Once an ascetic is consulted as to whether stars are favourable for holding marriage ceremonies. The fixed day is however found inauspicious and the bridegroom does not come to the bride's house for marriage and the girl is married away to another.[8] The bridegroom and his party were received with great honour, and were provided with lodging and other requisites-garlands, perfumes, garments and the rest.[9] We do not know much about the ceremonies that were to be performed at the marriage. Whether the *purohita* or a Brāhmaṇa in general had any thing to do with marriage celebrations, we are not told; 'the presumption is that he did nothing in this connection as marriage was not yet included in religion or considered a sacred function.[10] We once hear of the father of the bride pouring water over

1. J., II, p. 185-G. 137.
2. J., V, p. 269-G. 126.
3. J., IV, p. 112-G. 56; also III, p. 44; VI, pp. 267-G. 1154-7, 367.
4. J., IV, p. 108-G. 43. '*Nāri naro nijjhapayam dhanena Ukkaṁsati yattha karoti chandaṁ*.
5. G. D. De, *op. cit.*, p. 108.
6. J., II, p. 138-G. 96; also IV, p. 35-G. 54.
7. J., II, pp. 225-6; *cf. Dīgha Nikāya*, I, p. 11.
8. J., I, p. 258.
9. J., IV, p. 323.
10. G. D. De, *op. cit.*, p. 109.

the bride and the groom and giving her away.[1] More than this, we do not know what the nature of this *āvāhavivāhamaṅgalaṁ*[2] was.

DOWRY-SYSTEM.

We have several instances which show the existence of the dowry system (*dāyajja*),[3] though it does not appear to have been very commonly prevalent in those days, if we are to judge from the references to it which are, to say the least, scanty. It is of course needless, as we have no ground, to enter into a discussion of the question as to whether or how far such a dowry, if it existed, was the property of the bride.

The custom of celebrating the marriage with bathmoney (*nahānamūlaṁ*) given by the father to his daughter, specially in royal weddings, or of collecting presents (*paṇṇākārā*) on the occasions may have been prevalent, though clear references to this are lacking.[4]

SVAYAṀVARA.

We have several instances and references where girls, on attaining proper age, which generally ranges from sixteen to twenty, choose privately or publicly husbands for themselves from a number of suitors. The *Kuṇāla Jātaka*,[5] for instance, refers to the *svayaṁvara* marriage of princess Kaṇhā. Her father has an assembly proclaimed for this purpose; a host of men are assembled arrayed in all their splendour. Kaṇhā, with a basket of flowers in her hand, stands looking out of an upper lattice window; on seeing the five sons of King Pāṇḍu, she falls in love with all five and throws a wreathed coil of flowers on their heads, and says: 'Dear mother, I choose these five men.' She is allowed to have these five men, despite the father's great vexation. This is evidently a reminiscence of the well-known *Svayaṁvara* of Draupadi (Kṛṣṇā) of the Great Epic. In the *Kulāvaka Jātaka*[6] also, we find Sujātā, the daughter of the Asura king Vepacittiya, selecting a husband after her own heart from the great assembly of the Asuras mustered by her father (*Sujātaṁ alaṅkaritvā sannipataṭṭhānaṁ ānetvā cittarucitaṁ sāmikaṁ gaṇhā 'ti āhaṁsu*). The Nāga princess Irandati goes, at her father's wish, to seek a capable husband for herself, gathers all the flowers in the Himālayas, coloured, scented or tasteful, spreads a couch of flowers (*pupphasantharaṁ*) and performs a pleasant dance and sings sweet music, thus fascinating the Yakkha general Puṇṇaka, whom she takes by the hand and returns home.[7] But these are all illusive examples, and do not justify our inference at all that this kind of marriage still existed. It had already gone out of usage, though the ideal and the charm

1. J., III, p. 286.
2. J., IV, p. 323.
3. J., III, p. 8; VI, p. 462.
4. *Cf.* Introductory portions to J., II, pp. 237; 403. See *I. H. Q.*, II, p. 570.
5. J., V, pp. 426-7.
6. J., I, pp. 205-6.
7. J., V, pp. 264-5-GG. 1145, 8.

of it remain for ever.' In the *Jātaka* times, *Svayaṁvara*—free choice of a husband by a girl—was only an exceptional boon,[2] conferred on her by her father with whom the final verdict might still remain.

GĀNDHARVA MARRIAGE.

We may also note the third form of marriage—what may be called the *Gāndharva* marriage—in which the bride and bridegroom make their own choice, without the knowledge of their guardians, and are married without rights or ceremonies.[3] Thus we hear in the *Kaṭṭhahāri Jātaka*[4] : a king has gone to his pleasure garden, sees a woman merrily singing and picking up sticks in the grove, falls in love with her, becomes intimate with her; the woman conceives: the king gives her the signet-ring from his finger, saying: "If it be a girl, spend this ring on her nurture; but if it be a boy, bring him to me." In course of time, the woman is made queen-consort and the son viceroy. This again is a reminiscence of the celebrated union of Śakuntalā with Duṣyanta. In the *Vīṇāthūṇa Jātaka*,[5] we read of a girl who, though betrothed to a rich man, goes away with a hunchback. Later on, however, she is disappointed on seeing this hunchback lying huddled on the earth 'like a lute with broken strings,' and returns to her betrothed husband. In the *Mahāummagga Jātaka*,[6] we find Mahosadha disregarding the idea that others—his sister Udumbarā for instance,—should choose a wife for him; he himself goes to seek a 'wife to suit his taste,' meets the village girl Amarā on the way, has a long wooing chat with her, lives for some days in her house and finally carries her away.

So also the following *gāthā*, similar to the one quoted before, and uttered by another young maiden of high parentage, in denying on oath the false charge of stealing mangoes in a garden, indicates the existence of *abhisārikās* waiting in search of their lovers:

"She that thy ripe mangoes ate
Weary path shall tread alone,
And at trysting place too late
Grieve to find her lover gone."[7]

Instances of elopement and abduction must also have occurred, as when a king slew his enemy-king and bore off his queen to be

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1. Even in the Epic Age this *svayaṁvara* was probably only meant for the Kṣatriyas: See Siddhanta, *op. cit.*, pp. 151-2.

2. J., I, p. 207. Here may also be noted some instances where we hear of young men, causing golden images, the like of which they would have in real life as their wives, and sending them all over the country. J. III, p. 93; IV, p. 105.

3. *I. H. Q.*, II, p. 1568.

4. J., I, p 134 *ff.*

5. J., II, pp. 225-6-G. 163.

6. J., VI, p. 364 *ff.*

7. J., III, p. 139-G. 171: (See next page.)

his own wife,[1] or when a robber-chieftain kidnapped a village girl and kept her as his wife.[2]

CO-WIVES.

To come now to the question of the wife's position in her husband's home. We should first note, that she may have to put up with co-wives (*Sapatti*), though rarely. As a general rule, people were no doubt monogamous. Very rarely, if at all, do we hear of people bringing a second wife while the first is still living. Only once, as far as we can gather, we read of a Brāhmaṇa asking for, and receiving, two wives, and that too as a boon from a king.[3] Princes, of course, are always polygamous, considering it a privilege to have a crowded harem, with a rare exception of a Prince Suruci.[4] And it is here, among the royal household, that we can have a glance over the relations between co-wives: "What is the worst misery for a woman?" asks a king of his queen while intending to give away his daughter in marriage to another prince, as already promised. "To quarrel with her fellow-wives (*sapatti-rosadukkhaṁ*)," so answers the queen.[5] And if the same princess Sumedhā, after being married to Prince Suruci, who, at first monogamous, is afterwards forced to accept the usual number of sixteen thousand concubines, through people's and his own queen's requests, speaks out that:

"No less than sixteen thousand dames my fellow-wives have been:
Yet, Brahmin, never jealousy nor anger came between;
At their good fortune I rejoice; each one of them is dear;
My heart is soft to all these wives as though myself it were,"[6]

she is a rare exception, proving, negatively, the opposite. 'Anger of a co-wife is a serious thing,' so asserts the Nāga woman in the *Bhūridatta Jātaka*.[7]

POLYGAMY & POLYANDRY.

Thus, if polygamy was a rare incident in general life, polyandry was not less so. Princess Kaṇhā's polyandrous marriage stands out as a solitary case in the whole of the *Jātaka* book; but this too does not fall in our period—the Mahājanapada period: it is a trait of an anterior period, *viz.*, the Epic age. And even in the Epic period the particular form

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Dīghaṁ gacchantu addhānaṁ ekikā abhisāriyā
saṁkhete patiṁ mā adasʻa yā te aṁbe avāhari.

There is a delightful wooing scene of a cock and a she-cat at J., III, pp. 265-6-GG, 57-62. It is also delightful to note that the wood, usually a *Sāla*-grove, is the scene of love-making. Once a poor man, gone into the woodland to gather sticks and leaves with his sister, comes running up hearing the cry of closing of the city-gates. And the door-keeper reproaches him: "Don't you know that the gate of the town is shut betimes? Is that why you go out into the woods, making love?" Says the other: "No, master, it is not my wife, but my sister." "J., II, p. 379. Courtesans also go and enjoy there, as will be seen.

1. J., V, p. 425.
2. J., I, p. 297.
3. J., IV, pp. 97-9-GG. 15, 24.
4. J., IV, p. 317 *ff.*
5. J., IV, p. 316.
6 J., IV, p. 320-G. 107-8.
7. J., VI, p. 160—*Sapattiroso nāma bhariyo*: see for Epic examples, specially, the sentiments of Devayānī and Draupadī, Hopkins, *J. A. O. S.*, 13, p. 354, note; see also *C. H. I.* I., p. 239.

of polyandry was, it is said,[1] connected with the principle of levirate and *Niyoga*.

Thus strictly speaking, both polygamy and polyandry were unknown in those days. A man could not, and did not, marry more than one woman at a time, nor could a woman as a general rule marry twice. We have already noticed an instance where a bride is given away to another man on the failure of the first selected bridegroom in coming to the bride's house on the appointed day. When he later comes, he is told that the girl cannot be married twice over.[2] Even if she is not loved by her husband, a wedded wife may not take another mate: it is against custom.[3] So also;

> "Wedded, for others' wives we do not sigh,
> But we are faithful to the marriage-vow."[4]

Even the king, if he wanted to have a new woman as his queen, first ascertained that she was not another's, as we have seen before.

RE-MARRIAGE.

It may however happen, that a woman may be forsaken, or allowed to go away, by her husband or may go away of her own accord, and that both of them may then take to newer mates. We learn, from the *Ruhaka Jātaka*,[5] that a Brāhmaṇa, simpleton as he was, believed his wife's words, made himself fine like a horse, putting the horse-trappings on himself, went down into the street prancing along horse-fashion, and when brought to his shame by those laughing at him, became wroth with his wife, drove her away and took another wife. The *Takkala Jātaka*[6] informs us, that Vasiṭṭhaka was a young villager, who supported his father in his old age. He had a wicked wife. She did not want the old man in her house. So she persuaded her simple husband to get rid of him by treachery. But their little son, shrewd as he was, won't allow this thing to be done. He brought his father to his senses. Vasiṭṭhaka, now angry, gave her a sound drubbing, and bundled her head-over-heels out of doors, bidding her never darken his door again (*ito patthāya imaṁ gahaṁ mā pavisi*). The woman dwelt for a few days in another house. Vasiṭṭhaka then pretended to bring another wife. And the women in the neighbour's family told his wife, "have you heard that your husband has gone to get another wife in such a place?" "Ah," said the forsaken woman, "then I am undone; there is no place for me left." It was only after great beseechings on her part, that she was taken back in her former home. This long incident, by the by, shows the utter helplessness of a woman who may be forsaken by her husband.

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1. Siddhanta, *op. cit.*, p. 154.
2. J., I, p. 258—*idāni dinnadārikaṁ kathaṁ puna ānessāmā.*
3. J., IV, p. 35—G. 55. "*Ārā dūre na idha kadāci atthi, paraṁparā nāma kule imasmiṁ-taṁ kullavattaṁ anuvattamānā māhaṁ kule antimagandhinī ahuṁ-etassā vādassa jigucchamānā akāmikā baddha carāmi tuhyaṁ.*"
4. J., IV, p. 53-G. 82. "*Mayaṁ ca bhariyaṁ nātikamāmā.*"
5. J., II, p. 115 and G. 80.
6. J., IV, pp. 45-9.

Once a lord justice boldly advises a queen to forsake her husband who does not love her[1]. At another time we hear the Bodhisatta asking a Brahmin whose wife was found guilty of adultery: "Brahmin, will you keep your wife or take another?" (*kiṁ te sa yeva bhariyā hotu udāhu aññaṁ gaṇhissasī*). The Brāhmaṇa, however, keeps her back.[2] And even the wise Vessantara, quite naturally and unhesitatingly, speaks out to his wife Maddī:

"Be kind, O Maddī, to thy sons, thy husband's parents both,
To him who will thy husband be, do service, nothing loth,
And if no man should wish to be thy husband, when I'm gone,
Go, seek a husband for thyself, but do not pine alone."[3]

Though these words are naturally annoying to Maddī, the most devoted wife ever born (*kasmā deva imaṁ ayuttakathaṁ kathesi?*), their significance cannot be lost sight of. The words of Pabhāvatī point to the same thing, though in quite a different tone: "what have I to do with such an ugly, hideous husband? If I live I will have another husband."[4]

Thus divorce was allowed, but it seems without any formal decree.[5]

IDEAL WIFE.

The general position of the wife was in no way better. The ideal of a wife in those days was that she should be equable (*sādisī* or *tulyavayā*), obedient (*assavā* or *anubbatā*), sweet of speech (*piyabhāṇinī*), fruitful, fair and famous (*putta-rūpa-yasūpetā*), and waiting on the wishes of her husband (*chandavasānugā*).[6] The woman virtually became a mere object of play (*upabhogā*) with the rich, and to the average householder, an instrument for procuring progeny. She was a mere *pādaparicārikā*—like a servant.[7] It is not to be wondered at if we, in our stories, should find a sad and gloomy picture of women-folk, in general, leaving aside the abstract statements.

Let us see this picture. The instances that will be cited now, will, we hope, enable us to have an insight into the social life of the day.

WICKEDNESS.

There are twenty-five different ways in which a wicked woman is known: she approves her husband's absence from home: she is not pleased at his return, she speaks ill of him, she is silent in his praise, she neglects his interests, she does what ought not to be done but she never does what ought to be done, she goes to bed with her clothes on and lies with her face turned away from him, she changes her side frequently, she makes a great ado, she sighs a long-drawn sigh, she feels a

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1. J., III, p. 108 and G. 131.
2. J., III, p. 351.
3. J., VI, p. 495-GG. 1751-2"... *yo ca taṁ bhattā maññeyya... no ce... aññaṁ bhattāraṁ pariyesa......*"
4. J., V, p. 288—"*ahaṁjīvanti aññaṁ pati labhissāmi*".
5. *Cf.* the example of Isidāsī in *Therīgāthā com.* p. 260.
6. J., IV, p. 76-G. 134; 422-G. 111; 428-G. 130; V p. 348-G. 62; VI, p. 361-G. (?)
7. J., III, p. 342; VI, p. 364. *Cf. Ibid.*, p. 473-G. 1652-3.. "*Chāyāya va anapāyinī*... cleaves like a shadow." 508-G. 1868-9.

pain, she frequently rises from bed as if at nature's call, she acts perversely, she lends her ears to a stranger's voice and listens attentively, she wastes her husband's goods to gain some other love, she forms an intimacy with her neighbour, she wanders abroad, she walks along the streets, she indulges in adultery, she treats her husband with disrespect, she exposes herself shamelessly to passers-by, and standing at the door she often looks around with a confused mind."[1] What a masterpiece of observation? Is it merely a feat of imagination? We do not think so.

Then, on eight grounds a woman despises her husband: if the husband be poor or sick, or old, or a habitual drunkard, or reckless, or dull, or overworked by his cares of business, or disobliging to her.[2] Further, on nine grounds, does a woman incur blame (*padosaṁ*): if she is fond of frequenting parks, gardens, and river-banks, fond of visiting the houses of kinsfolk or of strangers, given to wearing the smart cloth-vest, addicted to strong drink, stares about her with idle looks, or stands before her door.[3]

Or, look at this: a woman makes up to a man in forty different ways (*accāvadati*): she draws herself up, bends down, frisks about, looks coy, presses together her fingertips, plants one foot on the other, scratches the ground with a stick, dances her boy up and down, plays and makes the boy play, kisses and makes him kiss her, eats and gives him to eat, gives or begs something, mimics everything, speaks in a high or low tone, speaks now indistinctly now distinctly, appeals to him with dance, song and music, with tears or coquetry, or with her fury, laughs or stares, shakes her dress or shifts her loin-cloth, exposes or covers up her legs, exposes her bosom, her arm pit, her navel, closes her eyes, elevates her eyebrow, pinches her lip, makes her tongue loll out, looses or tightens her cloth-dress, looses or tightens her head-gear.[4] A perverse sex-mentality, this, but a true representation all the same. And a deep insight into sex-phenomena, too.

WICKEDNESS OF WOMAN.

Indeed, the wickedness of a woman is brought out in all its aspects. Once a poor man's wife insists upon going to the *Kattikā* festival putting on a safflower-coloured cloth, while the husband is too poor to get it. But the wife is obstinate, and does not hear her husband's pleadings for poverty, and so causes her husband to risk his life in stealing safflower from the king's conservatories. The man is caught, hauled up and impaled alive: his last words are: "Alas! I shall miss going to the festival with you arrayed in safflower-coloured cloth, with your arms twined round my neck."[5] Another woman feigns sickness and does not do her household duties.[6] We have a vivid picture, much like the present day, of how strife and discontent prevail in a household owing

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1. J., V, pp. 434. 5-GG. 298-304; *cf.* Vātsyāyana. *Kāmasūtra, Sūtras* 12, 22 and 52 (*dvāradeśāvasthāyinī*).
2. J., V, p. 433-G. 295.
3. *Ibid*, G. 296-7.
4. J., V, pp. 433-4.
5. J., I, pp. 499-500 and G. 143.
6. J., I pp. 463-4.

to the young wife's treachery. Poor Kaccānī ! Old and feeble and innocent, she is driven away from the house by her own son through ear-poisoning by the young wife who does not like to wait upon her old grand-mother[1] as the one, noticed before,[2] who does not like the presence of the grand-father in her house. Once a wife is tired of walking and is carried on shoulder by her husband. In course of the journey, she is so thirsty that the man at last strikes his right knee from which she drinks blood, and thus quenches her thirst. Afterwards they live on the bank of a river. Once the husband notices a robber with hands, feet, nose and ears cut off, drifting down the stream with loud wailing. The husband takes pity, brings him to his hut, and cures him. Now the wife falls in love with this stranger, and at last gets rid of her husband.[3] What an appalling instance of an ungrateful and treacherous wife ! Numerous are the instances of this nature in our stories. Nothing is spared while hurling a bitter invective against woman-kind. And the harsh reflections so frequently to be met with ! The ways of women are difficult to be understood : they are as perplexing as the course of fish in the sea.[4] "Frailty, thy name is woman" is the experience or rather the opinion, expressed centuries before the Great English Poet, and in a land quite different from his. Fickleness of mind is an inborn instinct of a woman. Her mind is as changing as that of shifty monkeys, as the shade cast by trees on height or depth around, and as the tire of wheel revolving swift without a pause or rest.[5] Truthfulness is scarcely seen (*saccaṁ tesaṁ sudullabhaṁ*).[6] Like fuel burning in a blazing fire, they burn a man whom they serve for gold or for desire.[7] The selfish, possessive and doubtful nature of a woman is illustrated by the words of the wife of a fowler : 'day by day you return empty-handed , I suppose you've got a second establishment to keep up elsewhere.'[8] Similarly a fish, while caught in a net and at the fisherman's fire, says :

" 'Tis not the cold, the heat, or wounding net;
'Tis but the fear my darling wife should think
Another's love has lured her spouse away."[9]

The poor man's wife who wanted a safflower-coloured cloth said to her husband: 'If I can't have them dyed with safflower, I don't want to go at all. Get some other woman to go to the festival with you.'[10] It is once stated that a woman cannot be satisfied with three things : intercourse, adornment and

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1. J., III, pp. 424-7 GG. 1-8.
2. J., IV, pp. 45-9.
3. J., II, pp. 115-8.
4. J., V, p. 94-G. 295. '*Thīnaṁ bhāvo durājāno macchassevodake gatan.*'
5. J., V, p. 445-G 314 ; The great Russian poet Pushkin employs another simile, less striking than that of the *Jātaka* poet, in his '*Gypsies*': "As the moon passes by many a cloud and sheds her loveliness on all of them, but remains with none, so is woman and her love." Quoted *Hindu Tales*, p. 204 n.
6. J., I, p. 295-G ? V, pp. 94-G. 295 ; 448. G. 329.
7. J., II, p. 330-G. 39.
8. J., I, p. 209. '*Tvaṁ divase divase tucchahattho agacchasi, aññaṁ pi te bahi positabbaṭṭhānaṁ atthi maññe.*'
9. J., I, p. 211-G. 33 : contrast the words of Saṁbulā at J., V, p. 91-G 282.
10. J., I, p. 499.

child-bearing.[1] Insatiable and incurable is lust in a woman. So passionate are women, that no guard can keep them right. A daughter stood holding her father's hands, and escaped with her paramour without her father's knowledge.[2] A girl was brought up entirely by women from her birth. She saw no man other than her husband. She was kept in a seven-storied house with a strong guard of women only. But she managed to bring an outsider into the house, by her designing waiting woman, and corrupted herself and then took to various tricks to prove her innocence.[3] In fact, corruption is the rule of their life. Given opportunity, all women work iniquity.[4] No woman finds delight in her own house. A wife forsakes her husband though strong and lusty. She will sin with any other man, even with a lame person.[5] A householder's wife plays tricks with her husband, in whose absence she carries on intrigues with the village headman.[6] In her husband's absence, a Brāhmaṇa lady misconducted herself, and there was no end to the stream of her lovers in and out of the house.[7] A bride, while carried in a closed carriage accompanied by a large escort, misconducted herself with King Kandari of Benares who was kept concealed by his minister in a tent-shaped screen, in order to be convinced of the depravity of woman-kind.[8] Passion in woman is all-consuming. They are proud by nature. They will not let their pride kiss the ground easily by a man whom their heart yearns for.[9] A queen had, by her repeated importunity, caused her husband, the king, to promise that he would not look on any other woman with eyes of love, but she herself used, regularly, to sin in the absence of the king.[10] But with such a corrupted state of things in the harem of the king we have already become familiar. Here we only try to get an idea of the state of things among the general mass of the people. Women are profligacy incarnate (*itthiyo asātā nāma*).[11] Passion makes them completely blind. No woman is ever faithful to one man alone.[12] So on and so on. And the *Jātakas* leave no stone unturned to prove this. Examples they give us in countless numbers, both from history and from everyday life. Similies they employ, so striking,[13] that they won't escape from our memory easily. We must now stop here, we think. The upshot of the whole discussion is, that adultery and corruption did exist in the

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1. J., III, p. 342. *Methunadhammena, alaṁkāreṇa, vijāyanena......*
2. J., II, p. 323 *ff*.
3. J., I, p. 289 *ff*; a green-grocer tests his daughter's innocence before giving her in marriage: I, pp. 411-2; II, p. 180.
4. J., I, p. 289-G ?
5. J., V, p. 440-G. 308.
6. J., II, pp. 134-6 and G. 93-4.
7. J., I, p. 496-G. 141; also II, pp. 133-G. 91; 168-G. 122; 338 *ff*. G. 46-8; III, pp. 342 *ff* G. 46 *ff*; IV, pp. 245-298.
8. J., V, p. 439.
9. J., II, pp. 338-40. GG. 46-8.
10. J., I, pp. 437 *ff* G. 116.
11. J., I, p. 288-G. 60.
12. J., I, p. 293; III, p. 221-2-G. 124; V, p. 450-G. 341: "One woman may have husbands eight, yet on a ninth her love she sets."
13. The limit is reached when a woman is so horribly described, in her unbridled lust, to be thirsting for the blood of her own dutiful son: J., I, pp. 286-8.

society, as always; *paradāra gamana* and *itthimāyā* were not, or could not be, absent.[1] All women—unmarried women, unmarried girls (*kumāriyo*), married women (*sabbhattu*) and widowed women (*jiṇṇā*)—are prey to fleshy lust, but through honour's voice they check the passion, so we hear also.[2] And this precisely is the keystone of the whole subject. Whereas corruption was certainly there, and mothers often became sorry for their sons visiting neighbourer's wives and not returning home in time,[3] the situation could not have been so utterly hopeless as the stories would make us believe, with all the emphasis at their command. The purpose of the *Jātakas*, specially in this direction, is avowedly didactic, and we must discount the terms in which women are referred to. These utterances are from, and for, the ascetics—those who, perhaps, tired of their own weakness, and despaired of their failures, want to run away from the world: and so it is that women are a stain to the religious life—*itthiyo nāma pabbajitassa malaṁ.*[4] These people, you see, having got all the terrible traits in the character of the tender sex in one place, cannot entertain respectful feelings towards women. They are apt to cherish frightful feelings, and to keep themselves aloof from feminine charms that overcome man's reason,[5] as admonitions to budding ascetics like Isisiṅga, go to show.[6] The general mass of the people, on the other hand, had not the least aversion towards, or squeamishness about women. We may not deny the existence of moral corruption, but we must emphatically hold, that the perverse sentiments expressed before were not the sentiments of the people in general: they come from the mouths of those who, through some reason or other, looked beyond this world, and whom Varāhamihira, a few centuries after, termed 'wicked persons.'[7] And in the face of their preachings, people maintained their love towards wives, whose status, though, was no higher.[8] In the *Jātakas* themselves we can see this other side of the picture, the picture of devoted and chaste wives, of happy love and affection between husband and wife.

THE OTHER SIDE.

People never love others as they do a beloved wife, so we hear;[9] "may thy friendship with thy loved wife be indissoluble:" is the benediction of Vidhura bestowed upon the Yakkha general Puṇṇaka, who won the hand of Irandatī.[10]

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1. J., V, p. 403-G. 253; VI, p. 238-G. 1064; V, p. 157; IV, p. 178-G. 42.
2. J., V, p. 410-G. 282.
3. J., V, p. 330-G. 172.
4. J., I, pp. 128, 155; II, p. 326; III, pp. 250, 530-G. 92 *ff*; V, p. 289; VI, pp. 64, 540.
5. Law, *Women in Buddhist Literature*, p. 42.
6. J., V, pp. 159-60. 129-32; 207-8-G. 51-6.
7. He says: *Ye hyaṅganānāṁ pravadanti doṣān*
   vairāgyamārgeṇa guṇānvihāya;
   te dūrjanāḥ me manaso vitarkaḥ
   Sadbhāvavākyāni na ca tāni teṣāṁ.—Bṛhatsaṁhitā.

8 *Cf.* the significant remarks in Jaina works: "....Men forsooth say, women are the vessels of happiness, but ...." *Ācārāṅgasūtra*, 1, 2, 4, 3; 5, 4, 5; "In this world men have a natural liking for women"; he who knows and renounces them, will easily perform his duties as a *Sṛamaṇa*: *Uttarādhyayanasūtra*, II, 16, 17.

9. J., VI, p. 458.
10. J., VI, 323—*ajeyyamesa tava hotu metti bhariyāya kaccāna piyāya saddhiṁ.*

"A maiden fair, with wreath upon her head
Fragrant with sandal oil, by me was led
A happy bride within my house to reign :"[1]

These utterances of a mother give us the picture of a happy household. The custom, as to-day, made unrelated girls, sisters.[2] As against the invectives cited above we have the following :

"Truth that sages ascertained, who is there that dares to blame ?
Women in this world are born, destined to great power and fame.
They for dalliance are formed, joys of love for them ordained,
Seeds within them germinate, source from whence all life's sustained.
They from whom man draws his breath scarce by man may be disdained."[3]

All women were not like Alaṁbusā or Nalinikā : there did arise, from time to time, illuminating illustrations of Sujātā, Sambulā, Amarādevī, Udayabhaddā, Uduṁbarā, Rūjā and others. Sujātā, fair and lovely, was a faithful, virtuous and dutiful girl, properly discharging her duties to her husband and parents-in-law. Both husband and wife dwelt together in joy, and unity, and oneness of mind.[4] Sambulā was again a symbol of a devoted wife. She followed her leprosy-stricken husband to the forest, and served him with exemplary devotion.[5] And thus the words of the *Saṁyutta Nikāya*[6] that : *bhariyā paramā sakhā*—wife is a supreme comrade—come to be true.

AT HOME.

These instances, no doubt, confirm the idea that a woman's highest object of worship was her husband, the ideal of a Hindu wife that has stood the ravages of centuries. Ideas prevailing at the time, with regard to the duties and status of a wife, as already noticed, show that she was under the subjection of her husband, and was his absolute property, for Vessantara could give Maddī away to a Brāhmaṇa who begged her of him, and still "she did not frown nor chafe or cry."[7]

SECLUSION.

On the question of seclusion again we have evidence both for and against. But the evidence for seclusion of women is very scanty indeed. It is for the most part the royal maidens who are termed *Orodhā*.[8] Only the queens, and princesses, and perhaps daughters

1. J., III, p. 512-G. 108.
2. J., I, p. 111 ; at VI, p. 32, we witness a curious scene, as if it were a custom, of a woman—a helpless woman—calling an unknown man 'brother,' clasping his feet and making a loud lamentation—"*ahaṁ taṁ bhaginiṭṭhāne ṭhapetvā paṭijaggissāmi, bhātika ti maṁ vatvā pādesu gahetvā paridevā.*"
3. J., V, p. 368-G. 119-20.
4. J., II, pp. 121-5.
5. J., V, pp. 88-98-G. 272-4, 294, 296, 303.
6. J., I, p. 37 ; *Kindred sayings*, I, p. 52, n. 3. *Cf.* Hopkins, *J. A. O. S.*, 13, pp. 363-4.
7. J., VI, p. 570-G. 2309 : *Cf.* I, p. 305 ; while on the one hand, we see at J., III, p. 165, a husband abusing, beating and oppressing his wife, we also notice, on the other hand, a woman striking the back of her husband with a spoon which she used for frying rice (*vīhibhajjanadabbi*), because he left earning his livelihood, and began to talk of becoming an ascertic : J., VI, p. 177.
8. J., VI, pp. 15-G. 25; 21. G. 66 ; 328-G. 1447 ; 465-G. 1642 : *Cf.* Pāṇini, *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, III, 2, 36, which yields the term *asūryaṁpaśyā* and has been explained in the *Kāśikā* as *asūryaṁpaśyā rājadārā* : *Cf.* Bhandarkar, *Aśoka*, p. 182 : "To go veiled is only a court custom." *C. H. I.*, I, p. 293.

of noble families, went in a covered carriage (*paticchannayāna*).[1] But even there the custom does not seem to have been rigid. We often see queens freely moving in the palace, and talking with ministers and other officers.[2] Generally however women had complete freedom. They enjoyed in public places of enjoyment.[3] Daughters-in-law were not forbidden, as to-day, to talk before their elders, fathers-in-law.[4] A man goes with his wife through the bazaar freely.[5] At public ceremonies, or feast or festivals women are seen moving without any fear,[6] as we saw a woman insisting on going to the festival in a safflower-coloured garment, with her arms twined around her husband.[7] Still however we are inclined to believe, that opportunities were very few in which women could develop their capacities. They were, for instance, not supposed to be knowing swimming, as the men were.[8] We are elsewhere[9] told that women are naturally timid (*itthiyo bhīrujātikā*). And cowards are compared to women. When an archer becomes wroth with the robbers for offering him raw meat, the latter says: "What, is he the only man, and are we merely women?"[10] The husband drives the cart and the wife sits behind.[11]

MOTHERHOOD—THE AIM.

Motherhood is the one outstanding aim of the Indian marriage ideal: "Women," says Manu, "were ordained to be mothers, even as men were created to be fathers"—a statement of the principal purpose, perhaps not quite in harmony with modern notions, but none-the-less significant of the hidden aim of human life.[12] That is why a wife is called *Pajāvatī* (or *pajāpatī*) in our stories.[13] All women, whether rich or poor, long (*puttatthikā*) and beg for sons and daughters, and offer prayers and gifts to heaven.[14] Barrenness was a curse to a woman.[15] She was less respected for this reason, so much so that we hear of a woman pretending to be big with child up to the last, through the help of her good old nurse who instructs her fully in the whole process.[16] Here we fortunately have a glimpse of a woman in this state. The woman who

1. J., V, p. 439; VI, pp. 31, 33, 167, 498.
2. J., VI, pp. 293-4, 300.
3. J., I, p, 296; IV, p. 390.
4. J., I, p. 453.
5. J., IV, p. 114.
6. J., VI, p. 328-G. 1447.
7. J., I, p. 499. On the freedom of woman in ancient India see Oldenberg, *Buddha*, p. 164; "It is probable that while in earlier days a good deal of freedom was allowed to all women, things had greatly changed by the time the epic had come to be written down." Siddhanta, *op. cit.*, p. 160.
8. J., III, p. 221-G. 123.
9. J., VI, p. 29.
10. J., III, p. 220.
11. J., II, p. 122.
12. Shah, *Splendour that was Ind.*, p. 197.
13. For instance, J., II, pp. 6, 305.
14. J., VI, p. 150-G. 694-7.
15. *Cf. MBH.* XIII, 127, 129.
16. J., IV, p. 37; also J., IV, p. 489.

became heavy with child was generally sent to her own parent home (*pitṛkulaṁ*)[1] for bringing forth the child. Stopping of monthly courses (*utukāla*) was the sign of a woman having conceived. The general idea of the child's time in the mother's womb was 9 or 10 months.[2] During this period there is a strong craving in a woman's heart, (*dohala*) which must be fulfilled, at any cost, and we have many a figure of harrassed husbands on this account.[3] Some ceremonies were performed at the time of a woman's conception for the protection of the embryo (*gabbhaparihāra*).[4] The pains of travail at the birth of a child are kown as *Kammajavāta*, [5] thus showing how deeply the *Karma* theory was rooted in the minds of the people.

DRESS & ORNAMENTS.

As to woman's inborn love ıor finery and ornaments (*Vatthālaṅkārā*), we have ample evidence. Women were in those days, as they have always been,[6] fonder of these things than men.[7] Fine garments of cotton, silk and linen were worn.[8] How these were worn by the ladies, we have no clear indications to show.[9] The two, upper and lower, garments, of a single piece each, were probably common to both sexes, though women seem to have further elaborated their toilette by supplementary clothing for such parts of the body as the prevailing notions of modesty required them to clothe. Among the various ornaments worn by women, at least of the richer class, were necklaces (*mālā*) earrings (*kuṇḍalā*), of jewels or *Kusa* flower or palm leaf, bracelets (*keyūrā*), frontletpiece, foot-bangle (*pālipādakaṁ*) and waist bands (*mekhalā*).[10] These and other ornaments worn by ladies jingled like little birds that chirrup in time ot rain (*cirītikā*).[11] Face-powders were also used (*kakkūpanisevitaṁ mukhaṁ*).[12] They smeared their hair, arms and other parts of the body with sandal oil.[13] Fair tresses on the head, with many a curl parted in the middle and tipped with gold, added to the charm and beauty of women.[14] They also dyed the finger-tips of their hands and feet, crimson-red, like copper with

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1. J., II, p. 122 ; IV, pp. 37-8 ; V, p. 439.
2. J., III, p. 503 ; IV, p. 37; VI, p. 485-G. 1699.
3. J., I, pp. 278-9 ; IV, pp. 334, 414 ; V, pp. 354-5 ; VI, p. 263-G. 1141: *Cf. Yājñavalkya, Smṛti* 3, 79—"*Dohadasyāpradānena garbho doṣamavāpnuyāt*" : for a comprehensive treatment of the subject see *J. A., O.S.*, XL., p. 4 *ff* ; The object longed for is for the most part a lump of clay, as is well known.
4. J., II, p. 2 ; IV, p. 323 ; V, p. 281; *Cf.* Bühler, *Ritual Litteratur*, in *Grundriso der Indo-iran, Philologie*, p. 43.
5. J., VI, p. 485. In trying to solve the origin of creation these ancient people put forth the theory, that originally there were no wives, and that the creation of mankind was the outcome of the mind : *Pure puratthā kā kassa bhariyā* ; *mano manussaṁ ajanesi pubbe* ; J., VI, p. 213-G. 922.
6. *Cf. Rgveda*, I, 124-7—"*Jāyeva patyā uṣati suvāsāḥ* ; also *Ibid*, IV, 3, 2 ; V, 80, 50 ; X. 71-4 and X, 91, 13. *Cf.* also *jāyā patimiva vāsasā* : *Atharva Veda* XVIII, 2, 51.
7. J., V, p. 164.
8. J., VI, p. 590-G. 2443.
9. For details on the subject see G. P . Majumdar, *Indian Culture*, I, 2, p. 191 *ff.*
10. J., VI, 590-G. 2444-7 ; *kāyūraṁ aṅagadaṁ, maṇimekhalaṁ giveyyaṁ uṇṇataṁ mukhaphullaṁ, Uggatthanaṁ giṁgamakaṁ pālipādakaṁ* ; See also, V, pp. 202-G. 30 *ff*, 215-G. 62-9 ; 302 G. 37. 44 ; VI, 232-G. 1023.
11. J., V, p. 202-G. 31.
12. J., V, p. 302-G. 37 ; VI, p. 232-G. 1024 (*kuddamukhī*) ; *Cf. J. B. O. R. S.* XII, p. 440.
13. J., V, p. 215-G. (*bāhāmudū candanasāra-littā*) 302-G. 38-41 (*Kese thane : soṇiṁ mudu candanasāralittā*).
14. J., V, pp. 156-G. 115, 203-G. 34 (*dvedhāsiro sādhuvibhattarūpo*).

lac.[1] The toilet of course remained incomplete without a mirror which was, in the case of high-class ladies, fixed to ivory-handles,[2] just as we see in a fresco-painting at the famous caves of Ajaṇṭā.[3] Some kind of footwear (*pādukā*) was also used by the ladies.[4]

THE THIRD STAGE.

Coming now to the position the woman occupied with regard to her children, we have only to remind ourselves of what we have already noticed before. We have seen that the mother was an object of great reverence. At this stage, grown-up as she was, she naturally occupied a substantial authority in the household. The internal management and control of the house were solely in her hands. Once a monkey, just let loose by its owner, a *gahapati*, informed its tribe in the forest that human society was vastly different from theirs in view of the following:

"There are two masters in the house: one has no beard to wear,
But has long breasts, ears pierced with holes, and goes with plaited hair;
His price is told in countless gold; he plagues all people there."[5]

This shows vividly, and in a humorous way, her position in the house.[6]

THEIR OCCUPATIONS.

Excepting perhaps the royal ladies and high-class women, it was not uncommon for ordinary women, old and young, to work for livelihood.[7] In the villages, the peasant women did various kinds of work, for instance, of watching the fields.[8] Spinning, weaving and other allied occupations were usually meant for women,[9] as we saw. Flower-girls (*paṇṇikadhītā*) went about selling flowers and fruits in baskets.[10] Many of the poorer women, however, were employed in domestic service as waiting-women (*paricārikā*),[11] maid-servants (*dāsī*)[12] and nurses (*dhātī*).[13] The work and the position of female slaves, we have already noticed. She, the *Dāsī*, had to perform many duties,[14] and the treatment she received does not appear to have been in anyway enviable.

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1. J., V, pp. 204; G. 43; 215-G. 65 (*taṁbanakha*); 302. G. 39; VI, p. 456-G. 1617.
2. J., V, p. 302-G. 37 '*ādāsadantātharupaccavekkhitaṁ* (*mukhaṁ*).'
3. Cave No. 17. See, for instance, the plate facing p. 63 of Mukul Candra Dey, *My Pilgrimages to Ajaṇṭā and Bāgh.*
4. For instance, J., V, p. 298. Means of adorning and beautifying oneself are minutely described in the *Brahmajāla Suttanta* of the *Digha Nikāya*: See *Dialogues of Buddha*, I, p. 13. For charming and realistic descriptions of feminine beauty See, J. V. pp. 155-6-G. 106-117; 202-5-G. 28-50; 215-G. 62-9; 302-GG. 37, 44; VI, pp. 456-7-GG. 1615-20; *Cf. Women of the Meghadūta, I. H. Q.*, IV, p. 300 *ff.*
5. J., II, p. 185-G. 137.
6. Some of the verses of the Jaina *Sūtrakṛtāṅga*, I, 4, 2, 3-17, interesting as they are for comparison with what we have said before, afford us moreover a glimpse of a Hindu household some 2000 years ago, where women ruled supreme over men.
7. J., I, pp. 111, 421; III, p. 180.
8. J., VI, p. 336.
9. J., VI, p. 26-G. 105.
10. J., III, p. 21; *Cf. Puṣpalāvī* of the *Meghadūta.*
11. J., I, p. 291; IV, p. 79.
12. J., I, p. 248; II, p. 428; III, pp. 343, 424; V, p. 212.
13. J., II, p. 328; III, p. 391; IV, p. 38; V, p. 183; VI, p. 2.
14. A realistic picture of a woman grinding perfume in the king's palace is given at J., III, p. 377.

PROSTITUTION.

Among other means of livelihood, we now note the "shady one of prostitution," which was a recognised institution. We are here leaving out the dancing girls (*nāṭakitthiyo*), who formed the royal harem with which we have already become familiar.[1] There were besides these, the courtesans or prostitutes who usually belonged to that section of the fair sex which had no place by the domestic fireside of the common householder, and were reserved for the pleasures of the people. These women earned their livelihood as courtesans.[2]

In order to understand clearly the position of these courtesans, we shall briefly reveiw the stories concerning them.

A *gaṇikā* once used to make great gains; but afterwards she did not get the worth of a betel-nut (*tambulamattamapi*), and nobody courted her. The reason for this was that the woman used formerly to take a price from the hand of one, and not to go with another until she was off with him (*ajirāpetvā*), and that was why she used to receive much. Afterwards she had changed her manner, and without leave of the first she went with the last, and so she was left forsaken.[3]

A *vaṇṇadāsī* received a thousand pieces from a youth, who visited her only once and then disappeared. She, for honour's sake (*sīlabhedabhayena*), took not so much as a piece of betel from another man, and so she gradually became poor. "The man who gave me a thousand pieces has not come these three years; and now I have grown poor. I cannot keep body and soul together." She went to the chief-justice to seek advice, and was told to return to her former profession.[4]

These two instances seem to suggest, as an ideal, that a courtesan should look to only one man, and as a statement of fact, that she did receive many.

Sāmā was a courtesan (*gaṇikā*) of Benares. Her price, as usual, was a thousand pieces of money. She was a favourite of the king's, and had a suite of five hundred female slaves (*vaṇṇadāsīyo*). A young wealthy merchant, who was enamoured of Sāmā, presented her every night with a thousand pieces of money. One day, while standing at an open window on the upper floor of her house, she saw a robber, comely and gracious, being led along the street. Sāmā fell in love with him at first sight. She got the robber released by sending a thousand pieces of money to the city-governor as a bribe, saying that the robber was her brother and that he had no other refuge except in Sāmā, and the young merchant was executed as a substitute. Thenceforth Sāmā accepted nothing from any other man's hand, but passed all her time taking her pleasure with this robber only. The robber thought, one day, that if the woman should fall in love with any one else, she would cause his death also. So he took her with all her ornaments on to a garden, squeezed her till she

1. *Supra*, pp. 117-20.
2. Law, *op. cit.*, p. 26.
3. J., II, pp. 302, 309.
4. J., II, p. 380.

became insensible and then decamped, with all her jewellery, never to return. When Sāmā recovered consciousness, she could not find her lord. She fasted and led a simple life for a few days, but when she learnt, from the people she had despatched in search of her lord, that he would not have her, she took once more to her former course of life, full of regrets.[1]

Practically the same thing is told about another courtesan (*nagarasobhanī*) of Benares, Sulasā by name. But here Sulasā is described as one—a woman that too—who possessed rare wisdom and courage. The robber, after three or four months, desired to leave her, taking away some of her jewellery. He told her one day, that while being hauled along by the king's men he had promised an offering to a tree-deity on a mountain top. Sulasā, to fulfil his desire,put on all her ornaments, and accompanied him to the top of a mountain. There she was told by the robber, that he had not gone there for offering but tor killing her and depriving her of all the jewellery. In piteous words she said: 'husband, why would you kill me? I left a rich man's son for you, spent large sum and saved your life. I might get a thousand pieces a day, but I look at no other man. Such a benefactress I am to you ; be kind enough to spare my life. I will be your slave.' But the robber did not move. Then Sulasā's wits rose to the occasion. She prayed for the last embrace. He agreed. She walked round him in respectful salutation three times, and kissed him. Then she stood behind him, as if to do obeisance there, and threw him down the precipice. The robber was crushed to pieces, and died on the spot. With a burning heart Sulasā returned home.[2]

In these two instances we do envisage the fact, that a courtesan did not always like to flirt with many. She yearned to have a man of her choice, and then to live happily with him and with nobody else.[3]

Another lady of the town (*nagarasobhanī vaṇṇadāsī*) was beautiful and prosperous. A young merchant, as before, gave her a thousand pieces daily, and took pleasure with her constantly. Once being late, he went to her without money. She said : "Sir, I am but a courtesan ; I do not give my favours (*keli*) without a thousand pieces : you must bring the sum." She did not here the young man's entreaties, and ordered her maids to drive him away. Being discontented, he turned out an ascetic. When the king, a friend of the young man, knew this, he at once ordered her to bring him back. She drove in a chariot to the place where the man was, and beseeched him to return. But the man setting forth the utter impossibility of this, she came back.[4]

Then we hear of Kālī, another *gaṇikā* of Benares. She had a brother, Tuṇḍila by name, a debauchee, a drunkard and a gambler who wasted her wealth. She could not restrain him. One day, he was beaten at hazard

1. J., III, pp. 59-63-GG. 69-72.
2. J., III, pp. 435-8 GG. 18-26. The minister Senaka killed a harlot (*Vesi*) after enjoying her in a garden, and carried her ornaments away : J., VI, p. 382.
3. Bimala Churn Law's reading of her psychology is, to our mind, at variance with the whole tone of the stories : See, *op. cit.*, p. 33.
4. J., III, pp. 475-8. GG. 77-87.

(*dutaparājito*), and lost the very clothes he was clad in; wrapping about him a rag of loin-cloth, he came to his sister's house. But she had commanded her maids to drive him out. And so they did. He stood by the threshold (*dvāramūle*) and made his moan. Now a rich young merchant, frequenting Kālī, came and asked Tuṇḍila why he was crying. On knowing the reason, he consoled him and entered the house, and asked Kālī why she treated her brother like that. "If you are fond of him, give your clothing yourself," she replied in scorn. Now in her house (*gaṇikāghare*) the fashion was this: out of every 1000 received, 500 were for the woman, 500 for clothes, perfumes and garlands; the men who frequented the house received garments, stayed the night there, and on the next day put off these garments and put on their own and went their ways. Here the young man put on the garments provided for him, and gave his own to Tuṇḍila who hastened away to the tavern. And on the next day, according to the orders from Kālī, the maids surrounded the man when he was going out and took the clothes from him and bade him off. The man lamented upon his state.[1]

Thus we got a very vivid and realistic picture of the life these courtesans led in those days.[2] They lived upon their *vaṇṇa*. Usually the rich people were their patrons, and kings also held them in favour.[3] They lived in state and luxuries, with a large train of servants.[4] They kept intimate connection with court-musicians.[5] A courtesan, as a general rule and in the eyes of the ordinary people, was not looked down as a moral outcast past redemption, as we may see her talking freely with Gāmaṇicaṇḍa and sending a message to the king,[6] though expressions like 'a vile trade (*nīcakamma*),'[7] 'a house of ill-fame' (*gaṇikāghara*),[8] and 'this bad life of mine (*kiliṭṭha*)[9] and a low woman (*duritthī kumbhadāsī*),[10] show that the moral aspect of the occupation was not lost sight of. Still, discounting the objective colouring, we do not feel that these 'public women' were in any way below the normal standard, but they, Sulasā, Sāmā and others, like their sisters Ambapālī and Sālavatī[11], rose to a higher standard through their intellectual and artistic accomplish-

1. J., IV, pp. 248-9-G. 106.

2. A curious idea is met with in the *Hatthipāla Jātaka*, J., IV, pp. 473-4: A wretched woman (*duggatitthī*) is seen outside the gate of a city with seven sons, hail and hearty: one holding pot and plate for cooking, one mat and bedding, one going before and one following behind, one holding a finger of her, one sitting on her hip, and one on her shoulder. When asked about their father, she says: "the lads have no father at all for certain (*nibaddho*)," and points to a banyan tree (*nigrodha*) whose deity, she says, gave her children. Courtesans in India, says Rouse, were said to be married to certain trees: perhaps this woman belongs to that class, Cowell, *Jātaka*, IV., p. 294 n.

3. *Cf.* J., V, p. 134, where we hear a *gaṇika* deposed from her position by a king and afterwards restored.

4. *Cf. Mahāvagga*, VIII, 15, 11.

5. J., I. pp. 384-6.

6. J., II, pp. 302-3.

7. J., III, p. 60.

8. J., IV, p. 249.

9. J., III, p. 436.

10. J., VI, p. 228-G. 1001.

11. See *Mahāvagga*, VI, 30 *ff*; VIII, 1, 3-4.

ments, and came to be respected, rather than hated, by the people in general.[1]

Whatever the reasons for the existence of the institution of prostitution may be,[2] it is certain that it was an important institution. It cannot moreover be said with any sound reason, that people sought the company of the *gaṇikā* because their life at home was miserable or unbearable, but evidently they were drawn by her accomplishments, physical and intellectual.[3] We hear :

"With wives chaste, faithful and of high degree,
A man may circumspect and prudent be,
May curb his passions well in such a case,
Yet in some harlot his whole trust may place.[4]

WIDOWHOOD.

Before leaving this subject of the position of woman, we must note her condition in widowhood. The first question here is, whether she had any right to live as a widow or whether she was expected to accompany her husband to the funeral pyre. We do not find a single instance, as far as we can see, of self-immolation of a widow. The custom of *Satī* was quite absent in those days.

But the state of a widow was terrible indeed. *Vidhavāputta* is a term of scorn and reproach.[5] And the piteous words of Maddī, who envisages that state, are worth noticing in this connection :

"For terrible is widowhood.... The meanest harries her about.
Knocked down and smothered in the dust, held roughly by the hair,
A man may do her any hurt, all simply stand and stare.
Even in a prosperous household, bright with silver without end,
Unkindly speeches never cease from brother or from friend.
Naked are rivers waterless, a kingdom without king,
A widow may have brothers ten, yet is a naked thing.
A banner is the chariot's mark, a fire by smoke is known,
Kingdoms by kings, a wedded wife by husband of her own.
The wife who shares her husband's lot, be it rich or be it poor,
Her fame the very gods do praise, in trouble she is sure."[6]

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1. *Cf.* the character of Vasantasenā of the *Cārudatta* of *Bhāsa* and the *Mṛcchakaṭika* of Śūdraka.

2. "The same reasons which gave rise to the class of the Hetaiera in Athens were also responsible for the growth of free women in the cities of ancient India. They played an important part in the public and private life of our country and undoubtedly contained many women of the type of Theodote and Aspasia." Sailendranath Dhar, *I. H. Q.*, IV, p. 302.

3. *Cf.* Chakladar, *Social Life in Ancient India*, p. 203.

4. J., V, p. 403-G. 252. We have in the stories different designations for these public women or courtesans. Whether they differed from one another, we cannot say. We have *Vesī* (*Veśyā*)—V, p. 425 ; VI, p. 382; *nāriyo*—V, p. 425 ; *gāmaṇiyo*-V, p. 425 ; *gaṇikā*—II, pp. 302, 309 ; III, pp. 59-60 ; IV, p. 248 ; V, p. 134 ; *nagarasobhanī*—III, pp. 435, 475 ; *vaṇṇadāsī*—II, p. 380 ; III, p. 475 ; VI, p. 300 ; *kumbhadāsī*—V, p. 403—G. 252 ; VI, p. 228-G. 1001 ; Kālidāsa, in his *Meghadūta*, notes three classes of these women *Paṇyastrī* : *abhisārikā* and *Veśyā*, *I. H. Q.*, IV, pp. 302-3.

5. J., VI, pp. 33.

6. J., VI, p. 508-G. 1869-1876.

It seems however that widow-remarriage was allowed, and widows, if not grown very old, did marry another man and there was nothing abominable in that.[1]

PROPERTY-RIGHTS.

About the legal property-rights of woman, we learn next to nothing. We once hear an old man, complaining that as soon as he was dead, his wife, being young, would marry some other man and spend all his money, instead of handing it over to his own son.[2] *Pettikaṁ dhanaṁ*, as a dowry given to her, may have been recognized as a sole possession of a woman.[3]

FEMALE ASCETICS.

Some women also took the monastic vow like men, and lived by begging, away from the mundane world. These *paribbājikās*[4] were generally wise and learned like Bherī of Uttarapañcāla, and liked to form company with the learned male ascetics. This sometimes actually resulted in close intimacy, and it does not seem quite improbable that some at least, tired of this ascetic life, again came back to householder's life, like Saccatapāvī of the *Kuṇāla Jātaka.*[5] Sometimes both the husband and the wife together took to ascetic life, and then they lived in the forest abstaining from any worldly connection, having their own separate huts (*paṇṇasālā*).[6] Public opinion does not seem to have been in any way against these female ascetics.

We feel, at the end of this discussion, that normally the position of woman was happy. But it was not quite satisfactory. Freedom to enjoy light and air, the two blessings of God, she no doubt had, and her personal freedom was seldom interfered with, but she was accepted more for meeting the demands of the male-sex than for any aspirations of her own fulfilled.

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1. J., I, p. 225; VI, p. 159.
2. J., I, p. 225.
3. J., VI, p. 494-G. 1748.
4. J., III, pp. 93-4; 383; IV, pp. 23-7; 306; V, pp. 427-8; VI, pp. 73, 467.
5. J. V., pp. 427-8, Saccatapāvī is called a *setasamaṇī*, possibly a Jaina nun.
6. J., III, pp. 93-4; 383; IV, p. 23-7; VI, pp. 73-520.

CHAPTER V

EDUCATION

Education is no doubt one of the standards by which cultural position of a particular society or people is to be judged. From the light which these stories throw, here and there, on the system and nature of education, we may be inclined to say that the *Jātaka* society had reached a high water-mark of cultural attainments.[1]

As to the general education of a child at home—for the Indian system of primary education was mainly one of hereditary transmission of skill in arts and crafts—we know very little. Once we hear: when the son of the *Seṭṭhi* learnt writing (*lekhaṁ*), the slave Kaṭāhaka too went with him carrying his slate (*phalakaṁ vahamāno gantvā*), and thus learnt writing.[2] It would seem from this, that the boys received instruction somewhere outside the home, presumably at a public school. The use of the word '*phalaka*' or board also shows, that method of instruction of beginners in the art of writing was much the same as in the primary schools of to-day. The boys learnt the three Rs—reading, writing and arithmetic—in these elementary schools.[3]

UNIVERSITY CENTRES.

After completing this general education, the boys were sent out to some well-known institution for higher education. Of all the places which imparted higher education, Takkasilā, in the extreme north-west, was by far the most important and widely renowned. Our stories abound in references to this famous University town.[4] It was, as we have already noted, the chief intellectual centre of the age, attracting students and scholars from different and distant parts of the country.[5] The fame of Takkasilā as a great centre of learning was evidently due to its world-renowned teachers (*disāpāmokhā ācariyā*). Let us see how this great University seat imparted education to the youths of the country.

FOR HIGHER STUDIES.

As stated before, students are always spoken of as going to Takkasilā to complete their education and not to begin it. As a rule, the time for beginning the higher studies at Takkasilā is given as the age of sixteen (*solasavassakāle*),[6] or when the students come of age (*vayapatte*).[7] Naturally, students of a maturer age only could be sent so far away from their homes.

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1. On this subject, the two articles, one by J. N. Sikdar in the *J. B. O. R. S.* IV, pp. 148-61, and the other by Dr. R.K. Mookerji in the *Buddhistic Studies*, pp. 236-56, have been helpful to us.

2. J., I, p. 451. "Comenius calls the first years of a child the mother's school, and finds here the rudiments of all later education." S. V. Venkateswara, *Indian Culture, through the Ages*, I, p. 107.

3. According to Kauṭilya, a prince should be taught *lipi* (writing), and *saṅkhyāna* (arithmetic), after the 4th year. *Arthaśāstra*, I, 5.

4. For full references see Dines Andersen, *Index to the Jātaka*, pp. 61-2.

5. From Bārāṇasī J., I, pp. 272, 285, 409, 463; II, pp. 85, 87; III, p. 234; IV, pp. 50, 224; V, pp. 127, 263; Rājagaha—J., III, p. 238: V, p. 177, 247; Mithilā—IV, p. 316; Ujjenī-IV, p. 392; Kosala—III, p. 45; Sivi-V, p. 210; Kuru-III, p. 399; V, 457.

6. J., II, p. 277; III, p. 122; IV, p. 237; V, pp. 127, 210.

7. J., I, pp. 356, 436, 505; II, p. 52; I, pp. 18, 171, 194, 228, 248; V, pp. 162, 193, 227

ADMISSION.

While dealing with the education of Princes we have, by reproducing a long and characteristic passage from the *Tilamuṭṭhi Jātaka*,[1] noticed practically all the principal features of the educational system and organization of the times, specially at Takkasilā. We saw, there, how the student, coming from abroad for learning, was admitted into the University. Usually the students paid the entire tuition fees—the teacher's fees (*ācariyabhāgaṁ*)—in advance, which was 1000 pieces of money (a favourite figure).[2] In lieu of paying fees in cash, a student was allowed to pay them in the shape of services to his teacher. Such students attended on their teacher by day and received instruction by night[3] and were called *dhammantevāsikā*, as against those feepayers—*ācariyabhāgadāyakā*—who only learnt the arts. The duties of 500 Brāhmaṇa pupils of a school were, among others, to gather firewood from the forests for their master.[4] If however a student wanted to devote his whole time to studies, without sparing any time for such services, and at the same time was not able to pay the fees in advance, he may be trusted to pay them after the completion of his education. We read of one such Brāhmaṇa student paying off the fees by begging after completing his studies.[5] It may also happen, that poor students were provided a free education by some charitable community. For instance, once the "Benares folk" used to give day by day commons of food to the poor lads, and had them taught free.[6] Then again the cost of education was, to some extent, taken over from the teachers, and the pupils, by the occasional invitations to dinner extended to them by philanthropic householders or by the latter themselves bringing to the former presents in oxen and rice and milk.[7] Another class of students was formed by those who were sent as companions of the princes of their respective countries at State expenses.[8] Looking to the length of time a student took to finish his education, and to the necessary expenses which the teacher had to incur, the amount of fee charged does not seem to have been very heavy.

DAY-SCHOLARS.

Though the University centres were mainly residential, day-scholars were also admitted to instruction. Prince Junha of Benares had an independent house for himself from which he attended the college at Takkasilā. "One night after lessons he left the teacher's house in the dark and set out for home."[9] In the day-scholars were included householders or married students. We have several instances of such day-scholars, married men, who are obstructed by their wives from going to their master's house and listening to his teachings.[10]

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1. J., II, pp. 277-8. *Supra*, pp. 89-90.
2. J., I, p. 273; II, pp. 47-8; IV, pp. 38-9; 50, 128, 298, 316, V, p. 457.
3. J., II, p. 278.
4. J., I, pp. 317-8.
5. J., IV, p. 224.
6. J., I, p. 239—'*Bārāṇasivāsino duggatānaṁ paribbayaṁ datvā sippaṁ sikkhāpenti.*'
7. J., I, pp. 191, 318; III, pp. 171, 537, IV; p. 391.
8. J., III, p. 238; V, pp. 247, 263.
9. J., IV, p. 96.
10. J., I, pp. 300-2, 463.

NUMBER OF STUDENTS.

The usual number of students under an individual teacher is invariably given as five hundred—which, again, is a conventional figure.[1] Among these, the majority was, of course, formed by the Khattiyas and the Brāhmaṇas.[2] The minority was formed by sons of *seṭṭhis* or magnates and officers of kings.[3] Once we read of a tailor going to Takkasilā, but that also in the company, or rather as a servant, of a merchants' son.[4] Caṇḍālas were not admitted, as we saw from the instance of the two brothers Citta and Sambhūta.[5]

STUDENT LIFE.

The particulars about the life of the students are very few in the stories. But from these few we at least find, that the students led a very simple life. Even the aristocratic princes came there with the modest equipment of a pair of onesoled sandals (*ekatālika upānaha*), a sunshade of leaves (*paṇṇachattaṁ*) and a thousand pieces of money as the teacher's fees, of which not a single piece was probably left for private use.[6] In other ways also the life of the students at the University was under strict control of the teacher, so much so that they were not even free to go to a river for bath, except in the company of the teacher.[7] Their standing duty was to gather firewood in the forests, and also personal service to the teacher.[8] Their food was also simple consisting mainly of rice-gruel (*yāgu*) or simple rice (*bhatta*), and prepared by a maid of the teacher's house.[9] At invitations, which were not infrequent, they were given sugar-cane (*ucchu*), molasses (*gulaṁ*), curd and milk (*dadhikhīraṁ*).[10]

ASSISTANT TEACHERS.

Of course it is inconceivable that a single individual could manage a school of 500 pupils or so. He was helped by a staff of Assistant teachers (*piṭṭhi-ācariyā*). And only the most advanced or senior pupils (*jeṭṭhantevāsikā*) were appointed as Assistant teachers.[11] The senior pupils also rendered help in teaching work. We read of a teacher appointing his oldest pupil to act as his substitute.[12] Another teacher of Takkasilā, while going to Benares on some mission, says to his chief pupil: "My son, I am going away from home, while I am away, you are to instruct these my pupils."[13] These senior pupils or monitors (*anusatthārā*) were held in respect by other pupils.[14] By being associated with teaching these seniors soon became fit to be teachers themselves. Prince Sutasoma being the senior pupil soon attained to proficiency in teaching

1. J., I, pp. 239, 300, 317, 402, 436; III, pp. 18, 235.
2. J., I, p. 463; II, p. 100; III, pp. 122, 158.
3. J., II, p. 99; IV, p. 38, 237; V, p. 227.
4. J., IV, p. 38: The fisherman's instance is only a rare exception: III, p. 171.
5. J., IV, pp. 391-2.
6. J., II, pp. 277-8; IV, p. 96.
7. J., II, p. 278.
8. J., I, pp. 317-8: 447-8.
9. J., I, p. 318.
10. J., I, p. 448.
11. J., II, p. 100, V, p. 457.
12. J., I, p. 141.
13. J., IV, p. 51—'*tāta ahaṁ vippavasissāmi, tvaṁ yāva mamāgamanā ime māṇave sippaṁ vācehiti.*'
14. J., IV, p. 178-G. 45.

(*nipphattiṁ pāpuni*) and becoming the private teacher of his comrade in the school soon educated him, while the others only gradually acquired their learning.[1] We may also note, in this connection, that the teacher was not a single individual, but had a family of his own (*ācariyakulaṁ*),[2] having wife and children.[3] And it was quite usual for the teacher to give his daughter, if he had any, in marriage to his eldest and advanced student,[4] and he might establish a special test for the purpose.[5]

STUDY HOURS.

The study hour seems to have commenced very early in the morning, when the boys were roused from their sleep by the crowing of a cock. The cock, it seems, was domesticated in every school to serve as a clock. It was a necessity. Once, when the trained cock died, the students brought a second one which, however, had been bred in a cemetery, and had no knowledge of times and seasons, and used to crow casually—at midnight as well as at daybreak. Roused by his crowing at midnight, the young Brāhmaṇas fell to their studies; by dawn they were tired out and could not for sleepiness keep their attention on the subject already learnt (*gahitatthānamapi*); and when he fell acrowing in broad day, they did not get a chance of quiet for repeating their lessons (*sajjhāya*). And, as it was the cock's crowing both at midnight and by day which had brought their studies to a standstill, they took the bird and wrung his neck.[6] This passage shows that there were certain hours for private study, when the students repeated new lessons and revised the old ones. The two things had probably to be finished before noon.

INSTRUCTION.

Instruction by the teacher seems to have been imparted at times convenient to the students, and light and lucky days were observed in giving it,[7] reminding us of the '*anadhyāya*' system of the *Upaniṣadic* times. As pointed out before, the poorer students performed menial work for the school during the day time, and received instruction at night[8]. Possibly, the day-scholars also learnt the *sippas* at night.[9] The *ācariyabhāgadāyakas* were treated like the eldest sons in the house, and were given schooling on every light and lucky day.[10]

TEXT BOOKS.

From the frequent use of the expression '*sippaṁ vācesi*,' *i.e.*, 'causing to read the *sippas*, the arts, it seems clear that the students used to read books. And in the instance already cited, the reference to drowsiness preventing the students from understanding (lit. seeing-*passanti*) the subject already learnt, also indicate the use

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1. J., V, pp. 457-8.
2. J., V, p. 457.
3. J., IV, p. 50.
4. J., III, p. 219; VI, p. 347—"*tasmin pana kule sace pi vayapattā dhītā hoti jeṭṭhantevāsikassa dātabbā ti vattam.*"
5. J., III, pp. 18-9.
6. J., I, p. 436 and G. 115.
7. J., II, p. 278.
8. J., II, p. 47.
9. J., IV, p. 96.
10. J., II, p. 278 (*sallahukena nakkhattena*).

of books. We have also direct references to the existences of books (*potthakaṁ*) 'preserved with brilliant, coloured rappings, and read laying them upon a beautiful standish.'[1] Moreover, the repeated mention of the use of writing, both in private and official correspondence, leaves no doubt as to this.

COURSES OF STUDY.

The three *Vedas* and the eighteen *sippas* or arts[2] are repeatedly spoken of as the subjects taught at Takkasilā. The invariable mention of the three *Vedas* shows that the *Atharvaveda* was not included in the curriculum. The *Vedas* were of course learnt by heart. We do not know of what did the 18 *sippas* consist. We have however mention of the following individual arts and sciences: elephant lore (*hatthisutta*),[3] magic charms (*mante*),[4] spell for bringing back the dead to life (*matakutthāpanamantaṁ*),[5] hunting (*luddakakamma*),[6] spell for understanding all animals' cries (*sabbarāvajānanamantaṁ*),[7] archery (*issāpasippa: dhanurvidyā*),[8] the art of prognostication (*aṅgavijjā*),[9] charm for commanding all things of sense (*ālambanamantaṁ*),[10] divining from the signs of the body,[11] and medicine (*tikicchā*).[12]

Most of the references in the *Jātakas* point to the students taking up the *sippa* or the science course. It seems that technical education was much more valued in those times than *Vedic* or theological studies. It is also evident from some passages that a student was allowed to take up a special course in one of the *sippas*, in addition to or without the ordinary course.[13]

PRACTICAL SIDE.

These sciences were not simply theoretical. Knowledge of the literature of a subject had to be followed by its practical applications. For some subjects, like medicine, practical training was naturally essential, as we know from the account of Jīvaka's education.[14] In other subjects, the practical course was left to be completed by the students themselves when they left their colleges. They wandered far and wide, acquiring all practical usages (*sabbasamayasippāni*) and understanding country observances (*desacārittaṁ*).[15] Princes had to demonstrate their technical knowledge before their fathers after returning home from Takkasilā, as we have seen before. "A practical turn was indeed given to all instruction as a pedagogic principle." In addition to theoretical lectures and practical training, nature-study was sometimes insisted upon for those who were intellectually weak among students. An interesting example of this is

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1. J., III, pp. 235, 292; IV, p. 299; V, p. 483.
2. J., I, pp. 259, 285, 356, 402, 464; II, p. 87; III, pp. 115, 122, 537-8
3. J., II, p. 47.
4. J., II, p. 100; also I, p. 402.
5. J., I, p. 510.
6. J., II, p. 200.
7. J., II, p. 415.
8. J., I, p. 356; II, p. 87; III, p. 219; V, p. 127.
9. J., III, p. 122.
10. J., IV, p. 457.
11. J., II, p. 200.
12. J., IV, p. 171.
13. J., I, p. 356; II, p. 99; III, pp. 18, 129; IV, p. 456.
14. *Mahāvagga*, VIII, 1, 6 *ff*.
15. J., I, p. 356; III, pp. 115, 235, 238; IV, pp. 38, 200; V, pp. 247, 426.

furnished by the *Naṅgalīsa Jātaka* ;[1] a world-renowned professor of Benares had 500 young Brāhmaṇas to instruct, one of whom had always foolish notions in his mind (*dandhabhāva*), and always said the wrong thing ; he was engaged with the rest in learning the scriptures as a pupil, but because of his folly could not master them. The teacher was at pains to consider what method of instruction would be suitable for that 'veriest dullard' of all his pupils. And the thought came to him, that the best way was to question him on his return from gathering firewood and leaves, as to something he had seen or done that day, and then to ask what it was like. 'For,' thought the master, 'this will lead him on to making comparisons and giving reasons, and the continuous practice of comparing and reasoning on his part will enable me to inpart learning to him.' But the experiment in the end failed, for the boy compared snake, the trunk of an elephant, sugar-cane, curd and milk, all to the shaft of a plough :

> "For universal application, he
> Employs a term of limited import.
> Plough-shaft and curds to him alike unknown
> --The fool asserts the two things are the same."[2]

This at least shows the earnest desire on the part of the teacher to use all his intellectual powers to educate a child.

BENARES.

Next to Takkasilā, Benares was the most important as a centre of learning. It was however largely the creation of the ex-students of Takkasilā who set up as teachers at Benares, presumably at other places as well,[3] and carried thither the culture of that cosmopolitan educational centre which was moulding the intellectual life of the whole of India. In course of time Benares also produced its own alumni as educationists--teachers of world-wide fame with the usual number of 500 pupils to teach.[4] It is also probable that Benares had, like Takkasilā, specialized in the teaching of certain subjects, specially music,[5] as it has till the present day. With all this, however, Benares was still a growing university in those days, and did not attain much celebrity which it afterwards did since the decline of Takkasilā. The movement of students towards Benares is, in the *Jātakas*, very slow and scarce in comparison with the other city. Even the students of Benares had to seek resort in Takkasilā.

From the foregoing discussion it will have been apparent, that there was a general spread of education throughout the country. And it will have become also evident, that the demand for the knowledge of the *Sippas* or for technical and scientific education was not less keen than that for general

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1. J., I, pp. 447-49.
2. J., I, p. 449-G. 119.
3. J., I, p. 463 ; II, p. 100.
4. J., I, p. 238 ; III, pp. 18, 233; IV, p. 237.
5. J., II, p. 248: "*Bārāṇasiyaṁ guttilakumāro vayappatto gandhabbasippe nipphattiṁ patvā Guttilagandhabbo nāma sakalajambudīpe ayyagandhabbo ahosi.*"

education or religious studies. The large mass of middle-class people[1] and the lower strata of society,[2] however, do not seem to have got any benefit of this education directly.

FOREST-SEATS. Before we leave this subject, we must also note another institution which, in a way, promoted the spread of education. We mean those forest-seats where religious teachers, mainly drawn from the class of ex-students of Takkasilā, having renounced the world, imparted instruction to numerous disciples in the traditional learning of the age. These hermitages also served as schools of higher philosophical speculation and religious training. Some of the boldest sepculations in Indian philosophy naturally emanated from these sylvan and solitary retreats, away from the haunts of men. Generally these were set up in the Himalayas.[3] Sometimes however the bands of ascetics would establish themselves near the centres of population, and would have facilities for attracting recruits.[4] Setaketu is said to have been originally a senior pupil at a Benares school. He then went to Takkasilā for education in the arts, on completion of which he wandered through the country learning all practical arts, and at last came across a group of 500 ascetics in a village, who after ordaining him taught him all their arts, texts and practices (*sippamantācaraṇaṁ*).[5]

1. *Cf.* J., IV, p. 255.
2. *Cf.* J., III, p. 171.
3. J., I, pp. 406, 431, 505; III, p. 143; IV, p. 74.
4. J., III, p. 115; IV, p. 193; V, p. 128.
5. J., III, p. 235.

CHAPTER VI

ARTS AND SCIENCES

Far advanced from the primitive stage as the *Jātaka* society was, it naturally saw the development and prosperity of various arts and sciences. People in that age had come to possess refined tastes and aesthetic perceptions : they strove for the joy and beauty in life.

LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE.

Reading and writing (*vācanaṁ, lekhanaṁ*) were commonly known. As we saw just a while before, numerous are the references to the various and widespread uses of writing in the *Jātakas*, to the writing of epistles,[1] to the forging of letters,[2] to inscriptions on gold plates,[3] to inscription over a hermitage,[4] inscription in letters (*akkharāni*) of vermilion upon a wall,[5] to letters of the alphabet engraved on gold necklets,[6] to inscriptions upon garments and accoutrements,[7] to the scratching of a message on an arrow,[8] and to the scratching of a writing on a leaf (*paṇṇa*).[9]

Pāli, in the form, more or less, in which these stories are written, was most probably the common language of the people, though *Saṁskṛta* may have been spoken among the more literate and cultured class, and there may have been different dialects also, as we discern from the specific mention of the *Caṇḍāla-bhāsā*.[10]

Among literary works, in addition to the various works of antiquity like the *Vedas* and the *Vendāṅgas*,[11] the *Akkhānas* or ballads[12] and stray *gāthās* composed by *sāvakas, isis* or *kavis*,[13] *Hatthisuttaṁ* or the treatise on elephants was known.[14] The *gāthās* of the *Jātakas* themselves, indeed, reveal a highly developed stage of Poetry, rich with imagination and beauty of style,[15] and deep with thoughts and observation alike.[16] The *Akkhānas* or the ballads in

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1. J., I, p. 377 (mentions a correspondent) ; II, pp. 95, 174 (sealing a letter : also I, p. 451) ; IV, p. 145 (gives content of the message) ; IV, pp. 370, 385, 403.
2. J., I, p. 451 ; IV, p 124.
3. J., II, pp. 36, 372, 376; IV, pp. 7, 257, 335, 488 ; V, pp. 59, 67, 125; VI, p. 29.
4. J., VI, p. 526—'*ye ke ci pabbajitukāmā gacchantu' ti akkharāni likhitvā*'.
5. J., IV, p. 489—*Jātihiṅgulakena bhittiyā akkharāṇi likhitvā* : quoted by Barua, *old Brāhmī Inscriptions, Intro.*
6. J., VI, p. 390—*Suvaṇṇamālā akkharāni chinditvā.*
7. J., VI, p. 408—*Nivatthavatthādisu akkharāni oloketvā.*
8. J., II, p. 90—*Kaṇḍe akkharāni chinditvā.*
9. J., II, p. 174; IV, p. 55; VI, pp. 369, 385, 400.
10. J., IV, p. 391; On language, see Rhys Davids, *Bud. Ind.*, p. 140 *ff.*
11. J., V, p. 476.
12. J., V, p. 450-G. 339 '*Vedaṁ akkhānapañcamaṁ*' *Cf. Dialogues of the Buddha*, I, 7-9.
13. J., V, p. 484. The *Aṅguttara Nikāya*, 2,230, mentions four kinds of poets ; the poet of imagination, the poet of tradition, the poet of real life, and the improvisatore.
14. J., II, p. 46.
15. The best representative of charming lyrical poetry may be found in *Canda-Kinnara Jātaka*, J., IV, p. 283-G. 18-42.
16. On the literary value of the *Jātakas*, see Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature*, II, pp. 113 *ff*

prose and verse, such as those sung by the rhapsodists, were current and had set up the stage out of which the future Epics were to be evolved.[1] We may also discern the beginnings, the first steps, towards a future drama in the varied productions of shows with scenery, music and dancing before a big concourse of people on certain festival days : those were the *samajjas* of which we shall presently speak. We have a distinct reference to *nāṭakāni*, which were, most probably, dramatic performances, as distinguished from pure dancing and acting or pantomimes.[2] It seems the age of the *Jātakas* saw the beginnings of literary activities—of prose, poetry and drama—in the ordinary language of the people.[3]

MATHEMATICS-ASTRONOMY-ASTROLOGY.

Of mathematical sciences, we do not get much information from the stories. But there cannot be any doubt that they were far advanced from the Vedic times.[4] The numerical system must have been well established, as we may guess from the stray references to numerical figures, and their fractions. Some arithmetical process for multiplication must have been in existence in order to get the following instance : $4 \times 500 = 2000$: five hundred attendants for each of the four dogs would make the total two thousand (*ekkekkassa pañca sunakhasatāni parivāroti evaṁ dvīhi sunakhasahassehi parivāritā*).[5]

Both astronomy and astrology seem to have been well advanced, though no information as to their scientific character is available. Of course various *nakkhattas* were known, and the *nakkhattajānanakas* made forecasts on the moving of different constellations (*nakkhattacāraṁ*).[6] And the popular belief of Rāhu covering up the moon's orb and the latter's liberation from the jaws of the former,[7] and the idea of hare in the moon,[8] were also prevalent.

MEDICINE.

Medical science seems to have well advanced in those days. There were *Vejjas* and *tikicchakas* who knew their profession well, the profession which they had obtained as a legacy from their ancestors like Bhoga, Vetaraṇi and Dhammantari (Dhanvantari ?)[9] The

1. The *Vessantara* J., its *gāthās*, virtually constitute an *epic* : J., VI, pp. 479 *ff*.
2. J., V, p. 282—*nāṭakāni upaṭṭhāpessāmā*.
3. Speaking on the literature of the Buddhist period in general, Rhys Davids remarks : "It shows a curious contrast between the value of the ideas to be expressed and the child-like incapacity to express them well. We have here, as to style, only the untrained adolescence of the Indian mind. But what vigour it has !.... there is much rough and rugged beauty both in the ballads and in the lyrics.... In aftertimes we have evidence of more successful study of the arts and methods of rhetoric and poetry. But never do we find the same virility, the same curious compound of humour and irony and love of Nature on the one hand, with a deadly earnestness and really on the whole a surprisingly able grasp of the deepest problems of life, on the other :" *Buddhist India*, p. 186.
4. On the whole subject of these Ancient Indian Sciences, see particularly Thibaut, *Astronomie, Astrologie und Mathematik* in Bühler-Keilhorn's *Groundress der Indo-Arischen Philologie* ; and also recent marvellous treatment of the same by Mr. Gurugovinda Cakravarti in the *Journal of the Department of Letters*, Cal. Uni. XXIV (1934).
5. J., III, p. 536.
6. For instance, J., II, p. 426 ; V, p. 476.
7. J., I, p. 274 ; III, pp. 52, 364; IV, p. 330-G. 135: *Cando yathā Rāhumukhā pamutto*.
8. J., III, p. 52 ; IV, pp. 85-6 G. 144.
9. J., IV, p. 496-G. 340.

typical figure of a doctor can be discerned in the following *gāthā*, already quoted before :—

"Some carry sacks upon their backs, root-filled and fastened tight ;
They gather healing herbs, they bathe, and magic spells recite."[1]

And there were royal-physicians also.[2] Of course they took their fees.[3]

It seems that the snake was the most dangerous creature, specially the black-snake (*kaṇhasappo*).[4] Particularly the breath coming from its nostrils (*nāsāvāta*) was believed to be very poisonous, causing blindness if it fell on the eyes.[5] Whether this was the same as the *ahivātaroga*, by which the whole family of the *Aṁba Jātaka*, except the son who broke through the wall and escaped, was destroyed, we have no means to ascertain.[6] Snake-bites were cured.[7]

Ordinary wounds, bumps and scars were healed by applying some oil (*telaṁ*), and bandaging the injured parts (*sāṭakakaṇṇa*).[8] Pounding the bark of a tree on a stone and rubbing the ointment on the wounded palms through which holes were made for binding strings healed the wounded parts.[9]

Among diseases[10] we have mention of jaundice (*paṇḍuroga*) but no remedy is suggested.[11] The treatment for dysentery (*lohitapakkhandikā*) was a broth made of millet and wild rice, mixed with leaves sprinkled with water, without salt and spices. Irregular food was known to be one of the causes of dysentery.[12] And it was also recognised that there is no proper digestion of food without proper sleep;[13] indigestion (*ajiṇṇo*), among other things, is due to over-eating.[14] Milk mixed with a pungent drug, if drunk, was thought to ensure protection from getting cold in the water.[15] *Sīsābādha* or headache was known to be very obstinate, sometimes lasting for years together ; and some medicinal herb, when ground on a slab and mixed with some water and then applied to

1. J., IV, p. 361-G. 226 : *Pasibbake gahetvāna puṇṇe mūlassa saṁvute osadhikāyo ganthenti nahāyanti japanti ca.*
2. J., II, p. 213 (*Rājavejja*)
3. J., II, pp. 19 (*vejjavetanaṁ*), 213 (*paribbayaṁ*)
4. J., III, p. 346-G. 48-9 ; also II, p. 215-G. 155.
5. J., II, p. 296 ; III, p. 418; IV, p. 457; VI, p. 74.
6. J., IV, p. 200; *ahivātarogo* occurs also in the commentary on the *Therīgāthā*, p. 120 : it may mean malarial fever which, *e.g.*, in the Terāi, is believed to be due to snake's breath. Or, is it possible that *ahi*, which may mean the navel, could here be the bowels, and some such disease as cholera be meant : Cowell, *Jātaka*, II, p. 55 n.
7. J., I, p. 310 ; II, p. 215-G. 155 ; IV, p. 496-G. 340 ; VI, pp. 181—2-GG. 793-8.
8. J., I, p. 293 ; III, p. 42.
9. J., V, p. 504 "*Rukkhatacaṁ pāsāṇe ghaṁsitvā....hatthatalāni makkhesi.... vaṇo phāsukaṁ ahosi.*"
10. The Jaina *Ācārāṅgasūtra*, I, 6, 1. 3. names sixteen diseases : Boils and Leprosy, consumption, falling sickness, blindness and stiffness, lameness and humpbackedness, dropsy and dumbness, apoplexy and eye-diseases, trembling and crippledness, elephantiasis, and diabetes; besides these many illnesses and wounds occur."
11. J., I, p. 431 ; II, p. 102.
12. J., II, p 213 ; III, p. 144.
13. J., III, p. 143.
14. J., II, p. 362.
15. J., I, p. 458. "*tikhiṇabhesajjaparivāritaṁ khīraṁ pivanti....sītaṁ na bādhati.*"

the forehead, could heal the pain.[1] Symptoms of rheumatism—*Vātābādha*—were, among others, contraction of bodily parts and humping of the back, as the description of the goat (*meṇḍa*) and the dog (*sūna*) in the *Mahāummagga Jātaka*[2] shows. Constipation was another disease for which proper treatment seems to have been thought out. The patient had to take a dose of *ghee*, perhaps mixed with some medicine (*tikkhiṇa sappi*), as even to-day in place of castor-oil, butter-milk mixed with some *ghee* is used as a strong purgative. After taking this, the patient was not expected to talk or work much, but simply to lie down in bed. And the psychological aspect of diseases was also not lost sight of : the sickroom was well arranged to please the attention of the patient.[3] Leprosy (*Kuṭṭhaṁ*)—stricken man had to be carefully nursed. The spot was washed, a salve anointed to it, and a bandage was put on it.[4] Too much indulgence in sexual intercourse was recognised to be an evil bringing in its train various diseases—cough (*kasa*) asthma (*sāsa*), bodily pain (*daraṁ*) and childishness (*bālyaṁ*) among others.[5] The physicians first of all studied and diagnised the case properly and then prescribed proper remedy for it. "It is the way of physicians," says the young physician of Benares just returned from Takkasilā, "first to learn whence the disease arises, then to make a remedy to suit."[6] It was also recognised that mental sickness is incurable by physical treatment : it can only be cured by a psychological remedy.[7] Eye-diseases were also cured.[8]

Besides medicinal treatment, delicate surgical operations also seem to have been carried out. A surgeon once fitted a man with a false tip to his nose, which was accidentally cut by the sharp edge of a sword, and painted it so that it looked like a real nose.[9] Sīvaka was really a master-surgeon.[10] The surgical operation that he successfully carried out, on the person of king Sivi, was simply marvellous. The king wanted to give away his eyes to a Brāhmaṇa who begged for them. With great pain and hesitation, Sīvaka, the surgeon, sat to his work : he pounded a number of simples, rubbed a blue lotus with the powder, and brushed it over the right eye : round rolled the eye, and there was great pain..... Again he rubbed in the powder, and brushed it over the eye : the eye started from the socket, the pain was worse than before.... A third time he smeared a sharper powder and applied it : by the drug's power, round went the eye, out it came from the socket, and hung

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1. J., VI, p. 331. *Osadhaṁ gahetvā nisadāya ghaṁsitvā thokaṁ nalatante makkhesi sīsābādho gato.*
2. J., VI, pp. 179 ; 350 "*piṭṭhiṁ nametvā ekaṁ pādaṁ ukkhipitvā*" and GG. (?)
3. J., VI, p. 413.
4. J., VI, p. 383 "*Uruyā kuṭṭhamatthi, tam dhovitvā bhesajjena makkhetvā upari pilotikaṁ datvā bandhati.*"
5. J., VI, p. 295-G. 1288 "*Na bālhaṁ itthiṁ gaccheyya sampassaṁ tejasaṁkhayaṁ Kasaṁ. sāsam, daraṁ bālyaṁ khiṇamedho nigacchati.*"
6. J., IV, p. 171. "*Vejje nāma ayaṁ vyādhi imaṁ nissāya samutthito ti ñātvā tadānucchavikaṁ bhesajjaṁ karonti;*" See also J., II, p. 214.
7. J., III, pp. 143-4 ; IV, pp. 171-2 G. 25*ff*.
8. J., VI, p. 74.
9. J., I, p. 455 : *Vejje datvā nāsikakoṭiṁ phāsukaṁ kārāpetvā lākhāya paṭināsikaṁ kāretvā.*
10. Probably he was no other than Jīvaka, the court-physician and surgeon of Biṁbisāra and his son Ajātasattu : *Mahāvagga*, VIII, 1 *ff*.

dangling at the end of the tendon.... The pain was extreme, blood was trickling, the king's garments were stained with the blood. Then Sīvaka, with his left hand grasping the eyeball, took a knife in his right, and severing the tendon, laid the eye in the king's hand. In the same way the left eye was also taken out, and both the eyes were then placed in the eye-sockets of the Brāhmaṇa who then began to see.[1] Nobody would contend, we hope, that this minute description is only an outcome of rich imagination, and has no bearing with reality.[2]

It is not strange at all that, with such an advanced stage of medical science, knowledge of Anatomy was not lacking. For instance, it was possible to distinguish between two heads (*sīsāni*) : whether of male or of female. For it was known that the sutures (*sibbāni*) in a man's head are straight (*ujukāni*) and ......in a woman's head they are crooked (*vaṅkāni*).[3] We are not in a position to ascertain the truth of this statement, but the fact that anatomy of different parts of the human body was known and studied cannot be gainsaid.[4]

It is not that this knowledge of physical sciences was confined to human beings : it was also applied to animals. Elephant lore, for instance, must have been a deep study of this animal, its characteristics, its diseases and cures, its training and so on. And there were elephant-doctors (*hatthivejjā*) who were well-versed in this science.[5] They knew how to find out any ailing in elephants and to cure it.[6] Once a certain elephant trod upon a splinter of accacia wood, which pierced his foot, and caused it to swell up and fester (*uddhumātapādaṁ*). With a sharp tool an incision was made about the splinter, a string was tied to it, and it was pulled right out. The gathering was then lanced, washed with warm water and doctored properly, and in a very short time the wound was healed.[7] Similarly characteristics of different animals and birds were known.[8] Minute knowledge ot anatomy of snakes was natural : a male

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1. J., IV, pp. 407 *ff. Nānābhesajjāni ghaṁsitvā bhesajjacuṇṇena nīluppale paribhāvetvā dakkhiṇa-akkhiṁ upasiṁghāpesi, akkhi parivatti, dukkhā vedanā uppajji.... paribhāvetvā puna upasiṁghāpesi, akkhi akkhikūpato muñci....tatiyavāre kharataraṁ paribhāvetvā upanāmesi akkhi osadhabalena paribbhamitvā akkhikūpato nikkhamitvā nahārusuttena olaṁbamānaṁ aṭṭhāsi. So vāmahatthena akkhiṁ dhāretvā dakkhiṇahatthena satthakaṁ ādāya akkhisuttakaṁ chinditvā akkhiṁ gahetvā....."*

2. *Cf.*, Jīvaka's masterful surgery : once he made the man, who was suffering from some head-disease, lie down on his bed, tied him fast to the bed, cut through the skin of the head, drew apart the flesh on each side of the incision, pulled two worms out, and then closed up the sides of the wound, stitched up the skin on the head and anointed it with salve ; at another time he cut through the skin of the belly, drew the twisted intenstines out, disentangled them, put them back aright, stitched the skin and anointed it with salve : *Mahāvagga* VIII, 1, 18 ; 22.

3. J., VI, p. 330.

4. For minute details of anatomy in *Vedic* literature see *Ved. Index*, II, pp. 358-62.

5. J., I, p. 485.

6. J., I, p. 187.

7. J., II, p. 18; *tikhiṇavāsiyā khānukassa samantato odhiṁ katvā rajjujā bandhitvā ākaḍḍhantā khānukaṁ nīharitvā pubbaṁ mocetvā uṇhodakena dhovitvā tadanurūpehi bhesajjehi nacirassa eva vaṇaṁ phāsukaṁ kariṁsu."*

8. A horse's wound is healed : J., I, pp. 180, 184 ; it was a common knowledge that dogs vomit by eating away the mixture of *kusa* grass mashed into buttermilk : I, p. 177 ; crow's hunger is appeased for the moment by eating a lamp-wick (*dīpavaṭṭi*) ; J., p. 243 ; some drugs about the persons prevent animals from approaching near ; I , p. 200.

snake is distinguishable from a female one by the following features: the tail (*naguttham*) of the male snake is thick (*thūlaṁ*), that of the female is thin (*tanukaṁ*); the male snake's head is thick (*thūlaṁ*), the female's is long (*dīghaṁ*); the eyes of the male are big: of the female small; the head (*sovatthiko*) of the male is rounded, that of the female cut short.[1]

Not only this, the knowledge of various trees and fruits, particularly the poisonous trees like the *Kiṁphala*, and how to remove poison, was also not lacking.[2]

It seems, on the whole, that the science of medicine and surgery was far advanced in the *Jātaka* days, from the primitive stage when folk-medicine was closely connected with charms and sorcery, such as we see it in the *Atharva-veda.*[3]

ARCHERY.

The Science of Archery—*Issāpasippa*[4]—once a highly advanced science, has almost lost its place to-day.[5] In the *Jātakas*, we have several instances which show how this science had attained to a high state of efficiency.

In the *Asadisa Jātaka*,[6] we see Prince Asadisa exhibiting a marvellous feat of archery. The king, in whose service he was employed had asked him to bring down a cluster of mango-fruits. The archer chose a suitable position. He spread a screen around him and there (*antosāṇiṁ*) doffed the white cloth which he wore over all, and put on a red cloth next his skin; then he fastened his girdle, and donned a red waistcloth. From a bag he took out a sword in pieces, which he put together and girt on his left side. Then he put on a mailcoat of gold, fastened his bow-case (*cāpanāliṁ*) over his back, and took out his great ramshorn bow (*meṇḍakamahādhanu*), made in several pieces, which he fitted together, fixed the bow-string, red as coral (*pavālavaṇṇaṁ jīyaṁ*); put a turban upon his head; twirling the arrow with his nails, he threw open the screen and came out, prepared for the amazing feat.... He sped the arrow forth swiftly (*vegaṁ janetvā kaṇḍaṁ khipi*). As the arrow went up, it pierced the exact centre of the mango stalk (*aṁbapiṇḍivantāni yāva-majjhaṁ kantamānaṁ*).... Then he let fly another arrow with greater speed than the first. This struck the feather (*puṁkhe*) of the first arrow, and turned it back.... Down it came, not a hairbreadth out either way, but neatly cut through the stalk of the mango cluster.[7]

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1. J., VI, pp. 339-40.
2. J., I, pp. 170, 271, 272-G. 53, 368, 380.
3. See Bloomfield, in the second volume of the *Grundriss der Indo-Arischen Philologie und Altertumskunde*, pp. 58 *ff.* "But the science of indigenous Medicine and Surgery, continuing through all the intervening centuries to the present day, indicates even now a degree of intrinsic worth and vitality, which would well repay a closer study and research than it is now fashionable to accord this science." K. T. Shah, *op. cit.*, p. 110.
4. J., I, p. 356: II, p. 87; III, pp. 219; V, p. 127.
5. It is perhaps only when we happen to witness the wonderful feats of a *brahmacāri* of some *gurukula* that we are reminded of its former glory.
6. J., II, pp. 88-9.
7. J., II, pp. 88-91-G, 59—*dūrepāti akkhaṇavedhī.*

More amazing and marvellous are the feats of the master-archer Jotipāla of the *Sarabhaṅga Jātaka.*[1] The same preliminary preparations are made. He has summoned for expert archers-men, who pierce like lightning (*akkhaṇa-vedhī*), able to split a hair (*vālavedhī*), and to shoot at a sound without seeing (*saddavedhī*), and to cleave a falling arrow (*saravedhī*), just as Asadisa did; he sets up a pavilion in a square enclosure in the palace yard, and at the four corners he stations the four archers equipped with plentiful of arrows. He himself stands in the middle with an arrow tipped with adamant (*vajiraggaṁ nārācaṁ*), and asks the four men to shoot him all at once. They begin to shoot their arrows simultaneously. But he strikes them severally with his own iron arrow, and makes them drop on the ground, and remains unhurt to the last. This is called the arrow-defence (*sarapaṭibāhanaṁ*). Then to show that he can shoot the four men posted at the four corners, with a single arrow, he fixes four plantains (*kadaliyo*) at the four corners, and fastening a scarlet thread (*rattasuttakaṁ*) on the feathered part of the arrow, he shoots it aiming at one of the plantains. The arrow strikes it, and then the second, the third and the fourth, one after another, and then strikes the first, which it has already pierced, and so returns to the archer's hand: the plantains stand encircled with the thread. This is called the 'pierced circle'—*Cakkaviddhaṁ.* Other feats performed are: arrow-stick (*saralaṭṭhi*), arrow-rope (*sararajju*), arrow-plait (*sara-veṇi*), arrow-terrace (*sarapāsāda*), arrow-pavilion (*saramaṇḍapaṁ*), arrow-wall (*sarapākāraṁ*), arrow-stairs (*sarasopānaṁ*), arrow-tank (*sarapokkharaṇī*), blossoming the arrow-lotus (*sarapadumaṁ nāma pupphāpesi*), and raining a shower of arrows (*saravassaṁ*). Then again he cleaves seven incomparably huge substances, pierces a plank of fig wood, eight inches (*aṅgula*) thick, a plank of *asana* wood, four inches thick, a copper plate (*taṁbapaṭṭaṁ*) two inches thick, an iron plate (*ayapaṭṭaṁ*) one inch thick, and pierces a hundred boards (*phalakasataṁ*) joined together, one after another, shoots an arrow at the front part of wagons full of straw and sand and planks, and makes it come out at the back part, does the same thing from back to front; drives an arrow through a space of over a furlong (*usabhā*) in water, and more than two furlongs of earth, and last but not the least, pierces a hair at the distance of half a furlong, at the first sign of its being moved by the wind.[2] All these were of course extraordinary performances (*asādhāraṇāni*) of skill, but not at all impossible. Art of hitting (*sakkharakhipanasippa*) was also a wonderful thing. A marksman cuts the foliage of a tree into various shapes asked for—an elephant or a horse for instance—by throwing stones after stones and he also shoots the dry pellets of goats' dung (*sukkhā ajalaṇḍikā*), one by one, like flies, through slit in the curtain right into the chaplains' gullet (*tālutalaṁ*).[3]

MUSIC AND DANCING.

Among the Fine Arts, the *Kalās* or *sippas*, appertaining to music both vocal (*gīta*) and instrumental (*vādita*)—and dancing (*nacca*) were widely cultivated. Not only the kings and nobles who were, as we saw, always surrounded with musicians (*gandhabbā*) and dancers

1. J., V, pp. 129-131.
2. *Ibid.*
3. J., I, pp. 418-20.

(*naṭanaccakā*),[1] but ordinary people too loved to sing and dance or hear and witness others doing so. Women of course were naturally gifted in this respect. Even a poor girl gathering firewood in a garden does her work with the accompaniment of singing.[2] Another young girl gathers flowers of all kinds, makes them into a flower-wreath (*pupphacuṁbatakaṁ*), climbs a mango tree with beautiful flowers, standing on the bank of a river, and plays there, dropping flowers into the water and singing in a sweet voice.[3] A great merchant's son does not go after any serious learning but only enjoys in singing and dancing (*gītanacca*).[4] Undoubtedly people had a great love for music.[5] The *kinnaras*, as usual, are noted for sweet music and dancing.[6] Naturally there were master-musicians (*gandhabbā*), like Guttila and Musila[7] and Sagga,[8] who taught music to others and sometimes also held competition among themselves.

Unfortunately we do not get much information as to the technical character of vocal music except that it was sweet (*madhura*). But there must have been certain *rāgas* or modes of singing corresponding to the tunes of musical instruments, no doubt. The keeping of perfect harmony between the notes of song and the tunes of the cords only could produce the best music.[9]

Among the musical instruments (*turīyāni*),[10] the *vīṇā*[11] even then was the most popular. Now, what kind of *vīṇā* was this? It appears that this old *vīṇā* was a harp without a post; it had a hollow belly (*doṇi*), covered with a board or stretched leather (*camma-pokkhara*):[12] this belly was broader towards the back, where its end was rounded, and tapered towards the front, where it was continued into an upstanding curved arm (*daṇḍa*)[13] which often terminated in a little scroll like the head of a violin. It had seven strings (*sattatantī*),[14]

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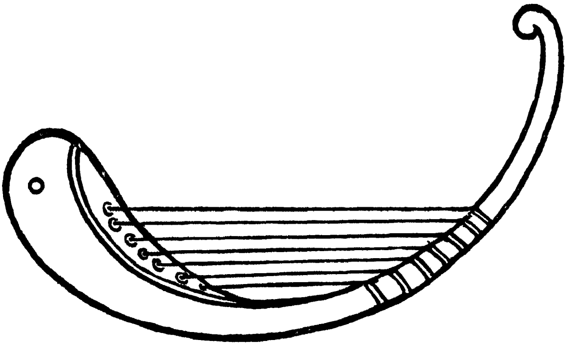
1. *e. g.*, J., I, p. 470 ; V, pp. 249, 261, 506-7-G. 478.
2. J., I, p. 134 : *gāyitvā gāyitvā* ; a boy of 7 years at J., V, p. 249.
3. J., IV, p. 231. *madhureṇa sureṇa gāyanti* ; see also II, p. 329.
4. J., IV, p. 255 : *cf.* also IV, p. 160-G. 13.
5. J., V, p. 290 : Even the ascetics indulge in it : J., I, p. 362-G. 80.
6. J., IV, p. 252 : *ete madhureṇa sureṇa gāyanti, manuññaṁ naccanti.*
7. J., II, pp. 248 *ff.*
8. J., III, pp. 188 *ff.*
9. J., II, p. 329 : III, p. 188 "*tantissarena gītassaraṁ gītassarena tantissaraṁ anatikkamitvā madhureṇa sureṇa gāyi* or *gandhabbaṁ ādāyi*.
10. The primary idea of *turiya, tura* or *tūrya*, is instrumental music, that is *vādita*, or orchestra, as we might term it. *Cf. Pāṇissaraṁ Kuṁbhathūṇaṁ nisīthe, atho pi ve nippurisaṁ hi tūriyam :* J., V, p. 506-G, 478 ; generally the term is used for any musical instrument, as *viṇādini turiyāni*. III, p. 40 ; *nānā turiyāni gahetvā* : VI, p. 289 ; the word appears to have been used in the Buddhist literature in the triple sense of musical measure (*tāla*) musical instrument, and playing on musical instruments with or without the accompaniment of dancing, singing and the rest. See Barua, *Barhut Inscriptions*, p. 51 : the label on the Barhut railing reads : *Sāḍika sammadaṁ-turaṁ devānaṁ* : *Ibid.*, p. 47.
11. *Cf.* Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, *J. A. O. S.*, 50, pp. 244-53 ; 51, pp. 47, 284 ; 57, pp. 101-3; N. B. Divatia, *Annals B. O. R. I.*, XII, pp. 362-71.
12. *Cf.* J., VI, p. 580-G. 2389 : *Vādantu ekapokkharā.*
13. J., II, pp. 225: *Vīṇādaṇḍako viya saṁkuṭito*, 226-G. 163. *So' yaṁ saṁkuṭito seti chinnatantiyathā vīṇā*" 252 (*suddhadaṇḍa*).
14. J., II, pp. 252-3-G. 184 ; VI, p. 51-G. 234" *Kadā vīṇaṁ virujako sattatantimanoramaṁ.*"

which were one above the other, and stretched from the arm to the belly, forming as it were arcs to the crescent of the whole frame: The top-most string was called the *bhamaratantī*-bee-string;[1] all these strings passed through holes (*chiddāni*)[2] in the flat surface (parchment sounding board) of the belly, and probably also passed through, and were fastened to, its rounded under-side (*pokkhara*). The weight of the instrument lay well back. Thus, from this description of the different parts of the *vīṇā*,[3] it becomes clear that it was much simpler than the *bīn* of the modern type,[4] but similar to that depicted in the sculptural representations at Barhut and elsewhere,[5] and was something like the accompanying illustration.[6]



This old *vīṇā* was used equally by men and women, either as a solo instrument,[7] or as an accompaniment to song,[8] but even more often to accompany dancing,[9] whether dramatic or professional.[10] It was held under the left arm or in the lap, with its thin arm projecting forwards and upwards. It was played upon by the finger-nails (*agganakhehi*)[11] (of the right hand). From the *Guttila Jātaka*,[12] which presents before us the two master-musicians, playing upon the *vīṇā*, we also know something of the tuning of the harp. Musila plays the *vīṇā*, first having tuned it to a high pitch (*uttamamucchanāya mucchetvā vādesi*); then he tunes it lower to a medium pitch (*majjhimamucchanāya*) and finally plays with the strings slack (*sithila*).[13] Evidently all the seven strings

1. J., II. p. 253: here the seven strings are broken in succession, the player performing on those remaining, and finally on the arm alone. The first string to be broken is *bhamaratanti* and it should be the top-most one, for this being the longest would have the lowest note.
2. J., III, p. 507.
3. See *Milindpañho*, p. 53 (Trencher).
4. See illustration, *Annals B. O. R. I.*, XII, p. 364.
5. See illustrations, *J. A. O. S.*, 50. 240.
6. Reproduced from A. K. Coomaraswamy, *op. cit.*, 50 p. 246.
7. *Cf.* J., II, pp. 248 *ff.*
8. *e.g.*, J., II, p. 329, III, p. 188: IV, p. 470.
9. J., I, p 292: *Cf. Hindu Tales*, p. 105-6, king Udayana playing on the *vīṇā* and the queen dancing.
10. J., III, p. 507.
11. J., IV, p. 470.
12. J., II, pp. 248 *ff.*
13. *Mucchanā* is evidently used in the older sense equivalent to *sthāna*, pitch or register; but now *mūrchanā* has come to mean mode, and there are seven *mūrchanās* in each register of which seven are called *jātis*, a term practically equal to *rāga*; *jātivīṇā* occurring in J., II, p. 249 should mean, according to Coomaraswamy, not 'a beautiful *vīṇā*,' but one adapted to the playing of *Jātis*: *op cit.*, pp. 249-50.

resounding make a music powerful and divine.[1] In the case of a harp for charming elephants—*Hatthikantā-vīṇā*—,[2] three of the strings have magical effects when struck.

Of other string-instruments, we have no knowledge.[3] But of other kinds of musical instruments coming under the *pañcaṅgika-tūriyaṁ*,[4] many are mentioned : *Pāṇissara*, *sammatāla* or the cymbals, *kuṁbhathūṇa* (*udakavādya?*) playing on cups filled with water in varying proportions, various kinds of drums—*Bherī*, *mūtiṅgā*, *muraja*, *ālaṁbara*, *ānakā*—, conches, *etc.*—*saṅkhā*, *panavadendimā*, *kharamukhaṁ*, *godhāparivādentikā*, *kuṭuṁbatiṇḍimāni*.[5] Of the wind instruments, *veṇu*, or the flute was popular.[6]

Music and dancing go together. The *Naṭa-nattakas* are frequently mentioned in the stories.[7] Much of this dancing seems to have been of an acrobatic character, like the javeline dance, or the pole dance.[8] But serene dance, with waving hands, regulating foot-falls and graceful movements, performed with the accompaniment of the *vīṇā* or the *veṇu*, is also known.[9] That inborn instinct of graceful movements led people to see this phenomena not only among human beings, but also in Nature (*Cf.*, the *Vedic uṣas*) in beasts and birds. And people liked to train pea-cocks and pea-hens to utter sweet notes and dance at the snapping of fingers and clapping of hands.[10]

PAINTING.

The Pictorial art, *cittakamma*, also seems to have been highly developed and to have added its own quota to the endless artistic glories of India. Paintings were drawn on the walls (*bhitti*) as well as on panels or boards (*phalaka*).[11] We read of Prince Kusa preparing a palm-leaf fan for his beloved Pabhāvatī, and depicting on it a white umbrella, and taking as his subject-matter a banquet hall, amongst a variety of other forms, he represents a standing figure of Pabhāvatī.[12] Balls, with various designs painted on them in a variety of colours, are also mentioned (*cittabhenduka*).[13] In the great religious assembly constructed under the supervision of the wise Mahosadha, painters (*cittakāre*) painted beautiful

1. J., II, p. 253.,
2. J., VI, pp. 255, 262.
3. *Ācārāṅga Sūtra*, II, 11, 2 mentions *Vīṇā*, *vepamei*, *Vadvisaka*, *Tuṇaka*, *Pānaka*, *Tumbaviṇika* or *Dhamkina*.
4. See *Kāmasūtra*, Benares Ed. p. 33.
5. J., II, p. 344 ; V, p. 390-G. 206 ; VI, pp. 217-G. 931 : 276-G. 1198 ; 277-G. 1199-1200 ; 580-G. 2389-90.
6. J., IV, p. 284 : See *Ācārāṅga Sūtra*, II, 111-4.
7. J., III, p. 61 ; IV, pp. 284, 323-4 ; V, pp. 249, 276 ; VI, pp. 7, 580-G. 2388.
8. *Vaṁsa-dhopana* at J., IV, p. 390, is taken to mean an acrobatic performance corresponding to *Vaṁsa-nṛtyaṁ* of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, XIII, 6, 2, 20, and not flute-playing as we said before : *Cf. J. A. O. S.*, 48, p. 281, 2.
9. *Cf.* J., IV, p. 284-*muduke hatthe nāmetvā* VI, p. 265 : *manoramenākāreṇa naccitvā.* See also IV, p. 324.
10. J., II, p. 37 : III, p. 127 : IV, p. 336 ; *Cf. Sitā* in the *Uttararāmacaritaṁ*, III, 19, "*Karakisalayatālairmugdhayā nartyamānaṁ.*" *Cf.* on '*Nṛtu*' *I. H. Q.*, IX, p. 154.
11. J., I, p. 304.
12. J., V, pp. 291–2 : *tālavantaṁ katvā tattheva setacchattaṁ āpānabhūmiñ ca vatthuṁ gahetvā ṭhitaṁ Pabhāvatiṁ ca ti nānārūpāni dasseti.*
13. J., V, pp. 196, 203-G. 37 ; Pavilions (*vimānas*) made with canvas dyed in many a tint (*nānārattehi vatthehi*) : J., IV, p. 304-G. 75 ; decorated peaks on gate-houses (*nānācittaṁ*) : VI, p. 125-6-G. 558, 562.

pictures (*ramaṇiyaṁ cittakamma*), so that the hall became like Sakka's heavenly palace Sudhammā.[1] And on the walls on either side in the great tunnel—*Mahā-ummagga*—clever painters made various kinds of paintings: the splendour of Sakka, the zones of Mount Sineru, the sea and the ocean, the four continents, Himavat, Lake Anotatta, the Vermillion Mountain, Sun and Moon, the heaven of the four great kings with the six heavens of sense and their divisions—all were to be seen in the paintings,[2] reminding us of the marvellous paintings in the grand cathedral caves of Ajaṇṭā.[3]

For this *Cittakkamma* or painting, the surface of the wall appears to have been most ordinarily used, as even the ordinary houses had the walls decorated with vermillion letters, and perhaps some other representations also. The walls, on which the paintings were to be made, must be carefully plastered, probably coated with lime and nicely polished (*sudhālepanaṁ*).[4] Lattice-work (*kīlañja*) was also known.[5]

SCULPTURE.

The plastic arts, particularly sculpture, appear to be more difficult of execution and perfection than the pictorial, at first sight. Obviously the manual labour is greater and the knowledge of anatomy must be higher owing to the need to show the third dimension. However, the creative excellence and uniqueness are distinctly superior in painting which soars to limit less heights, in imagination and finery. Sculpture flourished side by side with, if not to the same extent as, painting in the days of the *Jātaka* stories. Unfortunately no specimen of sculptural achievements has survived which can be satisfactorily identified as belonging to this period, though the sculptor's art is as old as the Indus valley, as the antiquities discovered at Mohenjodāro and Harappā clearly testify.[6]

The earliest material for carving selected by the Indian artist seems to have been wood. Gradually stone and metal revealed before the artist an inexhaustible field for the display of his skill and craftsmanship. The *Jātakas*

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1. J., VI, p. 333.
2. J., VI, p. 432; also VI, pp. 412, 481.
3. *Jayamangalā* commentary on Vātsyāyana's *Kāmasūtra* quotes a beautiful verse, apparently from a *Silpa śāstra* about the six great requisites of painting, *viz.*, "'knowledge of appearances, correct perception, measure and structure of forms, action of feelings on forms, infusion of grace or artistic representation, similitude and artistic manner of using brush and colours." See *Modern Review*, 1914, pp. 581-2.
4. J., VI, p. 432: *Cf. J. A. O. S.*, 48, p. 263: *I. H. Q.*, III, p. 53: An old booklet named *Sudhālepavidhānaṁ* describes the method of plastering the walls before painting, shows the way how to prepare the several colours for painting and explains the process of painting the walls: See *I. H. Q.*, III, pp. 53-9.
5. J., VI, p. 412. See description of Indasālaguhā in the *Digha-Nikāya*, II, *Sakkapañha Suttanta* and its commentaries; also Barua, *Barhut Jātaka Scenes*.
6. One has only to go over the marvellous facts and figures and illustrations embodied in the 3 bulky volumes of *Mohenjodāro and the Indus Civilization* by John Marshall. "While the remains found in the Sind valley," says Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy, "certainly go back to the third or fourth millennium B.C., it must not be supposed that a complete hiatus divides this early period from later times. A part of the remains at Mohenjodāro probably dates between 1000 and 400 B.C. and on the other hand the minor antiquities from various Indian sites, as at Basrāh, Taxila (Bhir mound), Pāṭaliputra and South Indian prehistoric sites go back at least to the 5th century B.C. *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, pp. 4-5.

inform us that carving out figures from wood was known. The Brāhmaṇa of the *Asātamanta-Jātaka*, cuts a fig tree and prepares a life-size wooden figure from it.[1] We also hear of a stone-image (*silāpatimā*) of an elephant erected at the Karaṇḍaka monastery (*assamapadaṁ*),[2] which at once brings before our eyes that famous stone-elephant of Dhauli (Orissa) where the Edicts of Aśoka are written.[3] In the great tunnel constructed by Mahosadha, there were, in the royal chambers, statues of women (*mātugāmapotthakarūpakāni*), very beautiful; without touching them no one could tell they were not human.[4] And we have numerous references to statues of gold (*suvaṇṇa patimā*),[5] though of their artistic qualities we have nothing to say. We also read of a gate house which had a decorated peak and was surrounded by statues of Indra as though guarded by tigers[6].

The *Jātakas* nowhere expressly mention an image of god, but from what we are told of the *Cetiyas, thūpas* and the *devakulas* or the temples outside the cities, where presumably the gods or *devatās* were worshipped, we might assume that such images were not unfamiliar in those days. Within a few centuries these shrines developed into those wonderful structures, at Barhut and at Sāñchī among others, where series of scenes from these very stories first begin to challenge the artist's imagination and embody his skill.[7]

As usual, the demand for beautiful dolls and playthings (*Kīlabhaṇḍakaṁ*) of which the children were very fond, also offered a vast field for the exercise of the plastic art.[8]

ARCHITECTURE.

Of secular architecture, we have nothing much to say, over and above what has been already said as regards 'housing' and village-construction, as also the fortifications of a city. The mention of the *Vatthuvijjācariyas* or men qualified for testing sites for house-building[9] and of Vissakammā, the Divine Architect,[10] sufficiently shows the importance of secular architectural science. The existence of great halls and palaces cannot be doubted. The cyclopean walls of Old Rājagaha, frequently occurring in the stories, are undoubtedly very ancient.[11] The *rativaddhanapāsāda* and the *pupphakapāsāda* as also the iron-palace—*ayoghara*—are mentioned.[12] We hear of palaces resting on a

1. J., I, p. 287. *Udumbararukkhaṁ chinditvā attano pamāṇena katṭharūpakaṁ katvā.*
2. J., IV, p. 95.
3. See Ludwig Bachhofer, *Early Indian Sculpture,* I, pl. 1.
4. J., VI, p. 432.
5. J., I, p. 343 : III, p. 93 : IV, p. 105 : V, p. 282.
6. J., VI, pp. 125-6-G. 558, 562 › *Cittakūṭadvārakoṭṭhakaṁ parivāretvā thitā Indapatimā :.. akhiṇṇaṁ Indasadisehi vyaggheh' eva surakkhitaṁ : Cf.* A. K. Coomaraswamy, *J.A.O. S.,* 48 p. 257.
7. K. T. Shah, *op. cit.,* p. 140.
8. J., VI, p. 6—*dārakānaṁ nāma kīlabhaṇḍakaṁ piyaṁ hoti ti suvaṇṇādimayāni hatthi rūpakādini avidure thapesuṁ.*
9. J., I, p. 297 ; IV, p. 323.
10. J., I, pp. 314-5 ; VI, p. 332.
11. For other remains of Post-*Vedic* pre-Mauryan date see Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art, pp.* 10 *ff.*
12. J., IV, pp. 122, 492 ; V, p. 187 ; also VI, pp. 117-9.

single pillar (*ekathūṇaka-pāsāda*).[1] Some palaces had huge octagonal stone-columns (*silāthaṁbhe*) numbering one thousand.[2] Several architectural terms seem to be not devoid of interest:[3] *Koṭṭhaka* is usually 'gatehouse';[4] *Koṭṭhāgāra* is a store house,[5] but *Kūṭāgāra* generally means a house with a finial or roof ridge:[6] *Pañjara* has the double significance of 'attic' and 'dormer-window,'[7] and *Kaṇṇikā* is connected with the rafters (*gopāṇasiyo*) and is to be seen from within the house by looking up: it is probably always ornamented, very likely representing an inverted lotus. It is distinct from the rest of the roof. It is patera.[8]

The *Mahā-ummagga Jātaka*[9] presents before us indeed a marvellous underground construction—a great engineering feat. The description of the construction of the great tunnel is indeed too realistic to be passed off unnoticed: the mouth of the tunnel was upon the Ganges' bank; its entrance was in the city. It was provided with a door, eighteen hands high, fitted with machinery (*Yantayuttadvāra*) so that all were closed by pressing a peg (*āṇi*). On either side, the tunnel was built up with bricks (*iṭṭhikāhi*) and worked with stucco (*sudhākammaṁ*); it was roofed over with planks (*padaracchanaṁ*) and plastered with cement (*ullokamattikā*) and then whitewashed (*setakammaṁ*) In all there were eighty great doors and sixty-four small ones, all of which closed by pressing one peg and opened by pressing another. On either side there were some hundreds of cells for placing lamps (*dīpālayā*), and they also were provided with machinery, so that when one was opened, all were opened, and when one was shut, all were shut. On either side, there were one hundred and one bed-rooms (*sayanagabbhā*) for one hundred and one Khattiyas. In each of these was laid a variegated bed, as also a great couch shaded by a white umbrella, a throne placed near the couch and a statue of a woman of surpassing beauty. Also on either side of the tunnel, skilful painters made all sorts of paintings as described before. The floor was like a silver-plate being strewn with sand (*vālukā*). On the roof were full-blown lotus flowers (*ullokapadumāni*). On both sides were booths (*āpaṇe*) of all kinds; here and there were hung festoons of flowers and scented blooms. Thus they adorned the tunnel until it was like the divine hall of Sudhammā,[10] A grand construction, this. The Ajaṇṭā and Ellorā caves, out of so many existing rock-cut structures, show that the above description is not simply an imaginative picture.[11]

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1. J., IV, pp. 79, 153.
2. J., IV, p. 215: VI, pp. 127-G. 568: 173-G. 769: *atthaṁsā sukatā thaṁbhā sabbe veluriyāmayā sahassathaṁbhā pāsādā.*
3. *Cf.* A. K. Coomaraswamy, *J. A. O. S.*, 48, pp. 250 *ff.*
4. J., I, pp. 227, 351; II, p. 431: VI, p. 413.
5. For instance, J., V, p. 184-G. 212-3:
6. J., V, p. 188-G. 225-6; *Cf. J. A. O. S.*, 50, p. 243.
7. *e.g.*, J., II, p. 172 (*rathapañjara*); III, p. 379 (*Vivata sīhapañjara*); IV, pp. 60-G. 100; 356.
8. J., I, p. 201: III, pp. 317-9-G. 1; 431, 472; See A. K. Coomaraswamy, *J. A. O. S.*, 50, pp. 238 *ff.*
9. J., VI, pp. 332-3; 428-36; 459-60.
10. J., VI, p. 432.
11. Underground houses are also mentioned in the Jaina *Sūtras*: *Cf. Ācārāṅga Sūtra*, II, 3, 3, 1. The *Mahāvagga*, I, 30, 4 mentions five kinds of dwellings *Vihāras, Addhayogas, Pāsādas, Hammiyas,* and the *silāguhās*; for constructing of wells, tanks and lakes see J., III, p. 416; V, p. 233; VI, p. 333; 344-5.

Of religious architecture, we only discern the first beginnings in the stories. We do find mention of the *devakulas* (lit. residence of the gods) or temples,[1] but we do not know anything about the nature and architectural character of these buildings, except that they were the resort-places of the travellers, thus corresponding to the later-day *dharmaśālās*.

Then again, we have several references to *thūpas* (*Stūpas*),[2] built upon the remains of the deceased persons. The *Sujāta Jātaka*[3] relates, that a land-owner from the day of his father's death was filled with sorrow, and taking his bones from the place of cremation he erected an earth-mound (*mattikāthūpaṁ*) in his pleasure-garden, and depositing the remains (*atthīni*) there, he visited the place from time to time, adorned the tope with flowers and studiously lamented, neglecting his daily duties and personal comforts.[4] Another *Jātaka*[5] gives an account, much more minute, of the obsequies of a king. The ladies of the royal harem came to the cemetery (*ālāhanaṁ*), as retinue for the deceased king, with red garments, disheveled hair and torches in their hands. The ministers made a funeral pyre (*dārūnaṁ citakaṁ*) with a hundred wagon-loads of wood. On the spot, where the body was burnt, a shrine (*Cetiya*) was erected and honoured for seven days with offerings of incense and flowers. The burnt skull (*sīsakapālaṁ*) inlaid with gold, was put at the king's gate, raised on the spear-like staff (*kuntaggee*) serving as royal insignia, and was honoured. Then taking it as a relic (*dhātu*) another shrine (*Cetiya*) was built and honoured with incense and garlands.

From these two typical cases, we come to know something about the original and simpler character of the *thūpa*[6] and the *Cetiya*,[7] 'The topes (*thūpas*),' says Rhys Davids,[8] 'were not especially Buddhist monuments, but in fact, pre-Buddhistic, and indeed only a slight modification of a worldwide custom.' Originally made, in the Āryan days, of wood or bamboo, these soon began to give place to more enduring structures. Instead of heaps of earth or of stones covered with earth, as had been the custom in more ancient times, there now were beginning to be built solid brick structures. "The first step was prob-

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1. J., III, p. 238 ; IV, p. 39 ; criticising Lassen who adduced, as a second argument in favour of the priority of Buddhism to Jainism, the fact that both sects erected temples, Jacobi says :.... "Instead of seeing in the Buddhists the originals, and in the Jainas the imitators, with regard to the erection of temples and worship of statues, we assume that both sects were, independently from each other, brought to adopt this practice by the perpetual and irresistible influence of the religious development of the people in India: *Jaina Sūtra*, (*S.B.E.* XXII) Intro. p. xxi.

2. The origin of the form *Thūpa* is traced back to an Indo-European word like *Tuṁba*, from which the English *Tomb* or the French *Tombe* has been arrived. According to this connection the *stūpa* is nothing but a *Tomb* or *tumulus* : Barua, *I. H. Q.*, II, p. 16.

3. J., III, pp. 155 *ff.*

4. Dr. Barua remarks : "Though here the custom is one of cremation and the man is a member of the Āryan or cultured community, he is said to have lamented, being subject to natural weakness and subconsciously under the superstitious belief that his weeping might bring back the departed soul." *I. H. Q.*, II, p. 19 : also *Barhut stone as a story-teller*. Scene in Cunningham's *Stūpa of Barhut*, pl. xlvii, 3.

5. J., III, pp. 374-5.

6. *Cf.* also J., III, p. 434 : built on the square ; *mahāthūpa* J., III, p. 461.

7. See also J., II, p. 256 : III, p. 375 ; VI, pp. 68, 173-G. 768 (*vanacetiyāni*) ; *Caitya-Vṛkṣas* in the *Atharvaveda, pariśiṣṭa*.

8. *Buddhist India*, p. 80. See also *I. H. Q.*, II, p. 229.

ably merely to build the cairn more carefully than usual with stones, and to cover the outside with fine *cunam* plaster to give it a marble-like surface. The next step was to build the cairn of concentric layers of the huge bricks in use at the time and to surround the whole with a wooden railing."[1] None of the most ancient structures of this kind have survived or been explored sufficiently to enable a restoration to be drawn. But some idea can, no doubt, be had from examples of a little later period.[2] The most glorious examples of the *stūpa* now in existence, *viz.*, those of Barhut and Sāñchī, with their wealth of inside and outside decoration, presuppose a few centuries of artistic as well as religious development.[3]

1. *Buddhist India*, p. 82.

2. The tope built by the Sākiyan Kinsmen of the Buddha over their portion of the remains of his funeral pyre is an earlier example, but this is still in ruins : *Ibid.* p. 132, fig. 33.

3. Some architectural terms in regard to the *thūpa* and the *Cetiya* are known to the *Jātakas : Vedikā* or the railing, *toraṇa*, the arch, and *dvāra* the gateway : J., V, p. 511 ; the *cetiyas* were sometimes marked with finger-prints, *gandhapañcāṅgulikaṁ ;* J., II, p. 256.

CHAPTER VII

RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY

POPULAR RELIGION.

With much hesitation we enter into that mystic and all-pervading world, the world of religious beliefs and superstitions, which has always baffled the most acute mind in grasping and analysing its true character. The material at hand is indeed vast in its scope and weighty in substance. On the theoretical side, the *Jātakas* present before us more or less the same Buddhistic religious thought which we find in other recognised Buddhist canonical works, specially the *Nikāyas*. So that it would be simply tiresome, and not at all necessary, to go into minute details in this connection. Our main interest lies on the other side, *viz.*, the practical one. And, in so far as the stories give us a realistic picture of the religious ideas and beliefs, manners and customs prevalent among the folk, of the pre-Buddhistic days, the information would, we hope, be useful and welcome. Therefore, in the course of our discussion on this, religious, aspect of Ancient Indian life, we shall have to try to leave aside, as best we can, the purely academic and philosophical discussions, hair-splitting debates as the Buddhists themselves would say, which abound in the *gāthās* of this collection, and to get a glimpse of the popular mind and practices of the time, retaining, at the same time, the harmonious connection that may have existed between the two. Just as the beliefs and ideas recorded in the *Ṛg Veda* do not, for the most part, represent the popular or the folk mind,[1] but an advance on, or reform of, the ideas and beliefs commonly held, so also these stories do not, when they speak in didactic strain, represent the mass-mind : they do so only when they mingle with the masses for the time being, and not among their adversaries only. And it is here that our work lies. Here we find ample evidence which unfolds to us the minds of the people at large, their conception of the universe, its regulative forces, the chief sources of detriment to man, and the ways and means of averting the evil influences which now and then assail mankind.

As a rule, Religion is or has been the behaviour of man with respect to the Natural forces and influences of this universe which he regards, quite believingly, as the expression and manifestation of some supernatural being. He tried to explain and reconcile the diverse phenomena that he constantly witnessed by imagining the existence of ever-present agencies which, he thought, controlled the universal system. These agents may be classified into two categories : *viz.*, (*a*) the beneficent elements, and (*b*) the malevolent agents. To the former category belonged the various gods, the *devas*, which were supposed to be the controllers of the cosmic system, and the ancestral spirits looking to the welfare of mankind.

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1. For this see Kirste in the *Vienna Oriental Journal*, 1902, pp. 63 *ff*; for the Great Epic, see Hopkins, *J. A. O. S.*, 1899, pp. 315, 365; also *Religions of India*, chap. XIV; Hewitt, *J. R. A. S.*, 1888, p. 325.

The gods were many, and the most prominent among them was ***Sakka***, the later transformation of the great god of the ***Veda***, ***Indra***.[1]

SAKKA.

Sakka is called Sujaṁpati among the gods and Maghavā by men.[2] He is at the head of the Thirty-three *devas* dwelling in the Tāvatiṁsa heaven which is the topmost of the three other heavens *viz.*, the Yāma, the Tusita and the Parinimmita.[3] This heaven of the Thirty-three was the happiest place imaginable, abounding in rich palaces and gardens,[4] where the Devadhītās and the Accharās sported.[5] Sakka had Mātali as the charioteer and Pañcasikha as his musician.[6] His palaces were Masakkasāra[7] and Vejayanta, and Sudhammā was the assembly hall of the gods.[8] The belief was common that when Sakka's life draws towards its end, or when his merit is exhausted and worked out, or when some mighty being prays or through the efficacy of virtue in priests or Brāhmaṇas full of potency (*mahiddhiyā-Samaṇa-Brāhmaṇānaṁ*), his palace and the yellow marble throne (*paṇḍukaṁbalasilāsanaṁ*) grow hot and shaken.[9] His character as the rain-god (*Pajjunna*) was still retained.[10]

OTHER GODS.

Among other *Vedic* gods who still survived, though slowly fading away, were the Moon and the Sun (*Canda Suriya*).[11] The worship of the Fire (*Aggi*) and Water (*Āpa*) is laughed at in scorn, and its worthlessness and foolishness explained beautifully to the Common Folk:[12]

> To Worship fire, the Common drudge of all,
> Senseless and blind and deaf to every call,
> And then one's self to live a life of sin—
> How could one dream that this a heaven could win ?[13] and so on.

The wind-god *Vāyu* (*Māluta*) has also been the laughing stock of the story-teller.[14] *Varuṇa* is still a power, ranked with the highest,[15] but he is gradually reduced to a tree-god,[16] more prominently, a Nāga king *par*

1. See *Buddhist India*, p. 234.
2. J., IV, pp. 9-G. 12 ; 403-G. 55 ; also III, p. 146. G. 183.
3. J., I, p. 202 ; II, pp. 89, 312 ; VI, p. 279-G. 1221.
4. J., VI, pp. 132, 278-G. 1216 : Pharusaka, Cittalatā, Missaka and Nandana.
5. J., I, p. 240 : II, pp. 57, 256-G.(?) IV, p. 90 ; Barhut Jātaka label : Cunningham, *The Stūpa of Barhut*, pls. xiv, 2 ; liv, 32. See Barua and Sinha, *Barhut Inscriptions*, pp. 48 *ff*.
6. J., III, p. 222 ; V, p. 383 ; the *gandhabbas* at VI, p. 265-G. 1146.
7. J., VI, p. 289-G. 1255 : *Masakkasāraṁ iva Vāsavassa*.
8. J., V, p. 386 : VI, p. 278-G. 1216 : 127-G. 567-9 : See Barhut label, Cunningham, *op. cit.*, pls. XVI, LIV.
9. J., II, p. 188 ; III, pp. 53, 129 ; IV, p. 8-9.
10. J., I, pp. 331, 332-G. 74 ; IV, p. 253-G. 113.
11. J., I, p. 474-G. 131 ; VI, pp. 1, 263-G. 1142
12. J., I, p. 494 : The Lord of the Fire could not so much as look after his own, in that his victim was carried away by the robbers, how should he look after the Brāhmana who worshipped him ? G. 140 : II, p. 44 : One day the Brāhmana put rice and *ghee* in the fire which at once caught his hut and rendered it all waste : naturally he was enraged G. 23-4 ; VI, pp. 206-207-GG. 886-895 : *milakkha* (*Mleccha*—)G. 892.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 207-G. 893 (*Vessānara*).
14. J., I, p. 165-G. 16 ; also VI, p. 263-G. 1142.
15. J., VI, p. 164-G. 750.
16. J., IV, p. 8.

excellence,[1] and a lord of the oracle girls (*vāruṇī*)[2] who, possessed by the god, would, as the Greek Pīthias, prophesy smooth things.[3]

Of other mythological Deities of benevolent character, we may mention *Siri* or *Sirimā,* the Goddess of Luck, of plenty and success, who was very popular.[4] She is stated to be the daughter of Dhataraṭṭha, one of the four guardian angels.[5] Then we have *Gaṅgā-devatā,* the presiding female deity of the Ganges or rivers in general. She is represented as the custodian of fishes.[6] She too, like Siri, is represented on one of the Barhut medallions, mounted on elephant-faced *makara* and holding a goad in her right hand.[7] *Maṇimekhalā,* the divinity of the sea, who looks after men sailing over the vast ocean, seems to have come in at a rather later stage, but commands respect over a wider area.[8]

It is quite natural, that the mutual assimilation of different traditions of diverse sections of the people, different explanations about the same Natural phenomena, diversity in the conception of the various aspects of Nature, gradually enlarged the huge pantheon with various traditions about individual gods and goddesses, almost on the lines parallel to those we find in Greece, Rome and other parts of the ancient world. Anthropomorphic considerations naturally played the supreme rôle in the evolution of these ideas. "The primitive mind is swayed by wonder and fear, and naturally tries to do recompense for the good done or to appease the anger of the omnipotent agents. As such, the gods were worshipped, and this worship was nothing but offering various kinds of food or sacrificing animals to them—practically, the same means as win success with ordinary men. In course of time, this sacrifice elaborated into a complicated ritual and came to have a different purpose and meaning."[9]

EVIL SPIRIT.

If wonder or gratitude impelled man to venerate or worship the various deities mentioned before, fear made him dread the spirits of evil which infested the world. People had to take recourse to various arts and artifices to counteract these evils, to what we call spells, charms or magic which still survive. Prominent among these evil

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1. J., VI, pp. 164, 257-329-GG. 1153-7 ; 1164-71 ; 1350, 1424-8 , 1439.
2. J., VI, p. 586—G. 2425. *Vāruṇīva pavedhenti thanadhārābhisiñcathā* : the commentator explains *vāruṇī* as *yakkhāviṭṭhā ikkhaṇikā. Cf. atiyakkhā ;* VI, p. 502-G. 1828.
3. *Cf.* D. N. Sen, 4th *Oriental Conference Proceedings*, II, p. 699.
4. J., III, pp. 257, 258 (*ahaṁ mahājanassa issariyadāyikā*) 261, 262-G. 50, 51 (synonymous with *Lakkhi*) 263, 264 ; V, p. 399. G. 236-7.
5. The *Jātaka* mythology distinguishes between the *Vedic Śrī* and the popular one by representing the former as a daughter of Śakra or Indra and the latter as the daughter of *Dhṛtarāṣṭra* the guardian angel. See Barua and Sinha, *op. cit.*, pp. 74-8 ; Barhut Sculpture : Cunningham, *op. cit.*, pls. XXIII, 1, LIV ; also *Buddhist India*, figs. 36, 37, 38.
6. J., II, pp. 423 *ff* ; G. 113-4.
7. Barua and Sinha, *op. cit.*, p. 68 ; Cunningham, *op. cit.*, pls. XXXVI.
8. J., IV, pp. 17-21 ; VI, pp. 35 *ff.*, *Cf.* for details regarding this divinity and the Far-Eastern versions, S. Levi in *I. H. Q.*, VI, pp. 597 *ff* . VII, pp. 173 *ff.* 371 *ff* ; other heavenly beings : the *gandhabbas*, the *Kiṁpurisas* and the *Kinnaras* : J., IV, pp. 25-*ff*. G. 110, 111, 116, 442 *ff*-G, 169-186 ; VI, p. 265-G. 1146 ; See Barua and Sinha *op. cit.*, p. 91, *Cf.* for philological and ethnical relations between the Asses, Horses and the Gandharvas, the Greek Centaurs and the Iranian Gandarewa : J. Przyluski, *Indian Culture*, III, pp. 613-20.
9. N. C. Banerjee in *Calcutta Review*, XXIII, pp. 67-8.

spirits which endangered the safety of man were the *Asuras*, the eternal enemies of the gods,[1] the *Dānava-rakkhasas*,[2] the *Vijjādharas* or the wizards flying invisibly and endowed with all sorts of spells and magic (*abbhutad-hammā*),[3] and above all the *Yakkhas* and various other spirits.[4]

The Four Great Kings (*Cātummahārājā*) were the guardians of the four quarters : Dhataraṭṭha in the East at the head of the *Gandhabbas*, Virulha in the South at the head of the *Kumbhaṇḍas*, Virupakkha in the West above the *Nāgas* and Vessavana-Kubera in the North above the *Yakkhas*.[5] All the quarters (*disā*) were worshipped in times of danger or calamity.[6]

THE *YAKKHAS*.

Of all the evil spirits, the *Yakkhas* were the most commonly dreaded, and people were in perpetual fear of them. Vessavana, the Lord of the *Yakkhas* himself, is not held without fear.[7] To common people, the world seemed to be infested with the *Yakkhas*. Even their signs and bodily forms were not left out. They could be recognised because they had unwinking and red eyes, cast no shadow, were fearless and without mercy,[8] in stature as tall as palm trees, head as big as an arbour, huge eyes like bowls, two tusks like turnips and the beak of a hawk.[9] They lived on the flesh of men and beasts,[10] and haunted deserts and forests, trees or waters.[11] The she-goblins, the *Yakkhiṇīs* were even more dreadful, as they, by their various snares of beauty, music, smell, taste and comfort, attracted men and made them their prey.[12] People were believed to be possessed by the *Yakkhas* : a goblin named Naradeva took possession of the minister *Kāvinda* on every fast day, so that he barked like a mad dog.[13] It, however, seems from the descriptions that the *Yakkhas* might have been an aboriginal tribe,[14] like the *Nāgas*.

The *Nāgas*, under the guardian angel Virupakkha, or as sometimes Dhataraṭṭha,[15] were, according to the superstitious belief, the Siren-serpents whose worship has been so important a factor in the folklore, superstition and poetry

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1. J., I, pp. 202-206-G. 30.
2. J., III, p. 527.
3. J., III, pp. 303, 455 ; 527-31-G. 90 (*Vāyussa putto*) ; the episode is depicted in a Barhut railing. See Barua and Sinha, *op. cit.*, pp. 89-90 ; J., IV, p. 496-G. 341.
4. For detailed lists see the *Mahāsamaya Suttanta* and the *Āṭānāṭiya Suttana* of the *Digha. Nikāya* : *Dialogues of the Buddha*, II, pp. 286 *ff* ; III, pp. 188 *ff*.
5. J., III, p. 257.
6. J., VI, p. 562-G. 2256—'*Sabbā disā namassisaṁ puthuṁ katvāna añjaliṁ.*' These four great kings are all called *Yakkhas* in the Barhut inscriptions : their representations on a railing of the *Stūpa* are lifesize : See Cunningham, *op. cit.*, pls. LIII, XXII, LV ; Barua & Sinha *op. cit.*, pp. 65-7.
7. J., I, p. 328 ; II, p. 16 ; III, p. 502 ; VI, p. 265.
8. J., VI, p. 307.
9. J., I, p. 273 ; also I, p. 102 ; IV, p. 491.
10. J., I, p. 101 ; III, p. 327 ; V, p. 458 : for cannibalism see Grierson, *Piśācas* in *J.R.A.S.*, 1905.
11. J., I, pp. 99, 349 ; upon the central rafter of the hut : II, p. 16.
12. J., I, pp. 240, 395-7 ; II, p. 128 ; III, p. 502 (a female *Yakkha* with a face of a horse : *assamukhī Yakkhiṇī*).
13. J., VI, p. 383.
14. It seems also correct to say that the *Yakkha* worship in its ultimate analysis is indisputably hero-worship.—Barua and Sinha, *op. cit.*, p. 67 ; In the *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra*, III. 14-15 ; V, 24, the *Yakkhas* are greatly praised ; a Yakkhanagara is mentioned at J., I, p. 101.
15. J., V, p. 164-G. 751 '*Dhataraṭṭho hi Nāgānaṁ bahunaṁ api issaro.*'

of India from the earliest times down to-day (*cf. nāgapañcamī*). Cobras in their ordinary form, they lived, like mermen and mermaids, beneath the waters[1] in great luxury and wealth in rich palaces surrounded with beautiful gardens.[2] They could at will, and often did,adopt the human and other forms;[3] and, though terrible if angered, were kindly and mild by nature, and people offered them sacrifice with milk, rice, fish and meat and drink.[4] "Not mentioned," says Rhys Davids,[5] "either in the *Veda* or in the pre-Buddhistic *Upaniṣads*, the myth seems to be a strange jumble of beliefs, not altogether pleasant, about a strangely gifted race of actual men, combined with notions derived from previously existing theories of tree-worship and serpent-worship, and river-worship. But the history of the idea has still to be written."[6]

Then there were the *Garulas* (*Garuḍas*), or the *Supaṇṇas*, the Indian counterpart of the harpy and griffin, half man, half bird, perpetual enemies of the *Nāgas*, on whom they feed.[7] They also could, and did, adopt the human form, and were of beautiful form, so much so that a queen of Benares fell in love at first sight with a *Supaṇṇarāja* who carried her away to his island-above.[8] According to Rhys Davids,[9] "they also were, perhaps, originally a tribe of actual men, with an eagle or a hawk as their token on their banner."

Of other such feared creatures, having an ethnological probability, were the man-eating *Pisācas*,[10] similar to the *Yakkhas*, the *Bheravas* and[11] the *Kuṁbhaṇḍas*.[12]

And there were various Titans, souls, or spirits supposed to animate and to reside in the wind (*ākāsatthadevatā*),[13] in water (*udakarakkhasā*),[14] in thunder and rain,[15] above all the tree-gods (*rukkhadevatā*).[16]

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1. *Supra*, p. 65.
2. See especially J., VI, pp. 269-70-GG. 1164-71, where we have a picturesque description of Bhogavatī (or Hiraññavatī), the city of Varuṇa, the *nāgarājā* ; also VI, p. 167.
3. J., II, p. 13.
4. J., I, p. 498. At J., IV, p. 353-4-G. 198, the spirit of a banyan tree who reduces the merchants to ashes is called a *Nāgarāja*, the soldiers he sends forth from his tree are *Nāgas* and the tree itself is the dwelling place of the *Nāga*.
5. *Buddhist India*, pp. 23-4.
6. On the *Nāgas* as an important race of men occupying an important place in the political conflicts, at the time just before the Buddha, see *Supra*, pp. 63-5. The *Nāga* maidens Vimalā, wife of Varuṇa and her daughter Irandatī are described as possessing rare beauty : J., VI, pp. 262-G. 1140 ; 266-G. 1149 ; 269-G. 1169-70. See illustration of *Nāga* mermaids in water, at *Buddhist India*, fig. 41 : "These *Nāgas* are represented on the ancient bas-reliefs as men or women either with cobras' hoods risin , from behind their heads or with serpentine forms from the waist downwards." *Ibid*, fig. 42.
7. J., II, p. 13 : VI, p. 191.
8. J., III, pp. 91 *ff*. G. 105-8 ; 187 *ff*. G.55-9 ; here also the *nigrodha* tree has some connection with the abode of the *garulas* or *supaṇṇas*.
9. *Buddhist India*, p. 224.
10. J., II, p, 16-G. 9-10 : III, pp. 146-7-G. 183-4 ; *cf*. the terrible description of a *pisāca* (*pisāya*) in the *Uvāsagadasāo*, pp. 46-51 ; also Grierson in *J. R. A. S.*, 1905.
11. J., I, p. 499.
12. J., II, p. 397 ; III, pp. 146-147-G. 183-4.
13. J., I, p. 499.
14. J., I, pp. 128, 170-1 ; sea-sprite (*samuddadevatā*) : p. 497.
15. J., I, p. 167.
16. J., I, pp. 168-328 ; 415, 423, 441.

TREE-WORSHIP.

Tree-worship is indeed very old, and widely spread.[1] It was, of course, not the trees as such, but the souls or spirits supposed to dwell within them (*nibbattadevatā*) and to haunt them, that were looked upon as gods. And this notion survived down to the rise of Buddhism as we see from the *Upaniṣads*.[2] Our stories are full of references to this tree-worship, with its superstitious and savage customs. Offerings were made to the tree-spirits :[3] even human sacrifices were offered,[4] they were consulted as oracles, and expected to grant children, fame and wealth ;[5] they were believed to injure those who injured the trees in which they dwelt,[6] and they were pleased when garlands were hung upon the branches of the tree, lamps lighted round it, and *bali* offerings were made, at the foot of the tree.[7] Horried and hideous practices were connected with this tree-worship. In the *Dummedha Jātaka*,[8] we hear of those devoted-people (*devatāmaṅgalakā*) offering sacrifices to the banyan-tree in which the entrails, blood and flesh (*maṁsalohita*) of the victims—goats, cocks, pigs and the like—are the substantial parts of the *bali*. In the *Dhoṇasākha Jātaka*,[9] a still more horrid picture is witnessed. The unhappy princes are knocked unconscious (*Visaññī*), their eyes slit out, the bodies (*kalebaraṇi*) cut open, and the entrails taken out, and the carcases thrown into the river. The entrails are hung as garlands on the tree, which is marked with spread hands dipped in the blood of the victims (*lohitapañcaṅgulikāni*).[10] Quite a similar description occurs at another place also.[11] One does not find the slightest reason to doubt these detailed descriptions : though the custom may not have been widely prevalent. The spirit of the tree was obviously looked upon as having an insatiable craving for human and animal flesh and blood. "The present custom of daubing the tree with vermilion is most probably a reminiscence of far more sinister rites."[12]

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1. *Cf.* "there is scarcely one tribe of Indo-European stock that did not worship and even offer sacrifices to trees and tree-spirits." Jarl Charpentier on the *Naicāśākha of the Ṛgveda* in *J. R. A. S.*, 1930, pp. 335 *ff.*, which he has tried to explain as "worshipper of the banyan tree."

2. See Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, p. 227 : J. IV, p. 154.

3. J., I, pp. 169 ; 259 *ff.* 344 *ff.* G. 76, 423-G. 8, 425-6 ; III, p. 23 *ff* G. 26, 146 *ff.* IV, p. 153.

4. J., III, p. 160 ; V, pp. 472, 474, 488.

5. J., I, pp. 259, 404-5 (a tree spirit is asked to settle the dispute between the two merchants) ; 423 ; III, p. 23 (*sukhaseyyaṁ pucchati*) ; IV, p. 351, *ff.* G. 179-197 ; 456 ; 474 ; this idea is fully alive to-day and is of a particularly primitive trend.

6. J., IV, pp. 210, 353.

7. J., III, p. 23.."*gandhapañcaṅgulikāni datvā mālāgandhadhūpehi pūjetvā dipaṁ jāletvā sukhaṁ saya ti vatvā rukkham padakkhiṇaṁ katvā pakkamati.*" IV, p. 153 ; *Cf.* VI, p. 327-G. 1441-3 ; *Cf.* Barua, *Barhut Stone as a Story-teller*, for an interpretation of the Barhut Scenes of worship of the Bo-trees.

8. J., I, p. 259.

9. J., III, pp. 157 ff.

10. On the *lohitapañcāṅgulika, etc. cf.* Vogel in *Verslagen en Mededeelingen der Kon. Akademie von Wetenschappen, afd. Letterkunde*, 5 ; J., IV, p. 218 *ff.* referred to by Jarl Charpentier, *J. R. A. S.*, 1930, p. 343.

11. J., V, p. 456.

12. J. Charpentier, *op. cit.*, p. 344.

No doubt, these horrible practices of animal sacrifices[1] held sway among the people.[2] The doctrine of *ahiṁsā*, though preached from long before, was only now beginning to bear fruit. People were beginning to realise, partly through humanitarian sense and partly through fear of something, the utter uselessness of animal-slaughter and to develop a bold and a questioning spirit:

> "Why, brahmin, though thyself with reason blest,
> Hast thou this dull insensate tree addressed ?
> Vain is thy prayer, thy kindly greeting vain,
> From this dull wood no answer wilt thou gain,"[3]

and the scathing arguments in the *Bhūridatta Jātaka*[4] vividly express this questioning spirit.

However, the dread of the evil spirits was hard to kill. The simpler and unsophisticated mind looked to easier ways of deliverance, other than sacrifice and prayer to gods. Innumerable superstitions and charms grew up. Magic (*dibbamāyā*) and witch-craft were prominent.[5] Signs and portents (*nimittāni*) were also believed in.[6] And for all these, there were the soothsayers, under the designation *lakkhaṇapāṭhakas* or *aṅgavijjāpāṭhakas*,[7] *supinapāṭhakas*,[8] *nemittikas*[9] and the *nakkhattajānanakas*[10] already referred to. Fortune-telling and interpretation of dreams were part of their profession. To the same class belonged the professors of *bhūtavijjhā*.[11] All these were believed to exercise power over evil spirits and demons, and to interpret and avert bad omens, by their magic incantations (*mante*); charmed sand (*parittavālikaṁ*) to be kept on the head and the charmed thread (*parittasuttakaṁ*) to be twisted round the brow were believed to ensure safety from dangers.[12] Places were supposed to be haunted by supernatural beings (*amānussapariggahita*), and charms were employed to counteract their evil effects.[13] The idea of washing away the sins in the sacred bathing-places like *Payāga* on the Yamunā river, Doṇa, Timbaru and others[14] was prevalent. Oaths were taken on various occasions and for various purposes, specially the '*saccakiriyā*' or an act of

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1. J., VI, p. 133 describes thus : a sacrificial pit (*yaññāvāṭa*) was dug with a level floor, surrounded with a fence (*vāṭiparikkhapanaṁ*) for ancient brahmins had enjoined that this fence should be made, lest some righteous ascetic or brahmin might come and stop the rite : some specimens of the hymns sung : *Udetā ayaṁ cakkhumā-ekarājā* : II, p. 33; G. 17 ; *Apetā ayaṁ ca* : II, p. 35-G. 17 ; *ayaṁ te yūpo kāmaduho paratthā* : VI, p. 211-G. 906.
2. See also J., I, pp. 150 (neck of the deer placed on the block—*dhammagaṇḍikaṁ*) ; III, p. 45 (*sabbacatukkayañña*) also VI, p. 133 : IV, p. 115 ; the custom of offering feasts to the departed also seems to have been prevalent , J, I, p. 166 *ff*.
3. J., III, p. 24-G. 25.
4. J., VI, pp. 210-14-G. 904-930.
5. J., I, p. 456. VI, p. 458-G. 1623-4.
6. J., I, pp. 120 : 154 (a bird strikes a hunter while he is starting for hunting thinking this to be an ill omen he stays for a while) ; VI, p. 10.
7. J., I, p. 290 ; II, p. 21 ; V, pp. 458, 484.
8. J., V, p. 443 ; VI, p. 10.
9. J., IV, p. 124 ; V, p. 296 ; VI, p. 5.
10. J., I, pp, 120, 133, 257 ; III, p. 59 ; V, pp. 127-30.
11. J., III, p. 511.
12. J., I, pp. 396-399.
13. J., II, pp. 15-6.
14. J., V, p. 388-G. 199 ; VI, pp, 197-8-G. 857.

truth.[1] In the ideas relating to cosmology, the explanation of the doctrines of *Karma* and of transmigration of soul modified the old ideas ; yet people continued to believe in the existence of Heaven as the place of rewards for the good done in life, and of Hell as the abode of punishment.[2] And in this way this religion of the people, beliefs and superstitions of the people, animistic hocus-pocus, all existing among the people, the simple folk, naturally gave rise to a questioning spirit that would take nothing for granted.

THE NEW AWAKENING.

There comes a time in the life of every race, as it does in the life of every thoughtful individual, when it is felt that the ordinary interpretation of the world we live in, and the standard of values by which we estimate the ends or ideals we pursue in life, should be revised, reconstructed or overhauled. And it was such an awakening that began to see the light in the period of which we are speaking. This is not to say that it was a sudden revolution : in fact at all times and in all ages orthodoxy has always been shadowed by heterodoxy : only the degree changes, the extent differs. The whole of the popular animistic notions mentioned before, and no doubt many others, survived in full force. But no one man believed in them all. Gradually the sphere of the questioning, the revolting, spirit widens. And then during this period, as Prof. Rhys Davids[3] has rightly observed, suddenly there is evidence of a leap forward in speculative thought, of a new birth in ethics, of a religion of conscience threatening to take place of the old religion of custom and magic.' And the marvel of it is, that the same process of regeneration was taking place simultaneously in other centres of civilisation—in China, Persia, and Egypt, in Italy and Greece.[4] It was a time reverberating, more vigorously than ever before, with the conflicts of ideals and of practices. The old order of things had had its day. New orders were springing up on the horizon. In short, Ritual had yielded place to self-introspection (*paṭivekhā* of Aśoka, P. E. III) and to asceticism (*tapas*). Dr. Barua in his *History of Pre-Buddhistic Indian Philosophy*[5] has rightly designated this period as neo-*Vedic* and Sophistic or the period of Śramaṇas and Brāhmaṇas. Yājñavalkya was the great landmark

1. J., III, pp. 138-9 GG. 169-172 ; *Saccakiriyā* was an Act of Truth a formal declaration of fact, accompanied by a command and resolution or prayer that the purpose of the agent shall be accomplished. The formula of the Act is with slight changes of words, '*etena saccena*.. or *etena saccavajjena* J., I, pp. 294, 331; IV, pp. 31-G. 47 ; 142-G. 117 ; 320-G. 103-115 ; 410-G. 75-7 ; V, pp. 29-G. 80-2 ; 87-G. 260 ; 95-G. 296 ; VI, pp. 1, 91-G. 376-82 ; 154-G. 729 ; 242 ; it is used for so many purposes : to obtain water to drink : J., pp. 170 *ff*-G. 19 ; to cause a forest fire to turn back : J., I, pp. 213 *ff*, G. 34 : J. I, pp. 331 *ff*. G. 74 ; to counteract the effect of poison : J. IV, pp. 28 *ff*-G. 47 ; to avert ship-wreck ; J. IV, p. 137 *ff*-G. 117 ; to obtain a son: J., IV, pp. 315 *ff*-G. 103-113 ; VI, pp. 1 *ff* ; to deliver animals ; J., IV, pp. 333 *ff* ; to deliver a man from captivity : J., V, pp. 21 *ff*.-G. 80-2 ; to avenge a wrong : J. V, pp. 75 *ff*-G. 260 : to cure leprosy. J., V, pp. 88 *ff*. G. 206 ; to heal wounds: J., V. pp. 457 *ff*; to refute a false charge; J., VI, pp. 30 *ff*; to avert human sacrifice: J., VI, pp. 131 *ff*. G. 729; See for a detailed treatment of the subject, as a psychic motif in Hindu fiction : E. W. Burlingame in *J. R. A. S.*, 1917, pp. 429 *ff*. also *J. A. O. S.*, 52, pp. 316-7.

2. J., I, p. 168, 174, 232, 490 ; II, pp. 86, 202 ; III, pp. 42, 45, 185, 206 ; IV, pp. 3; V, pp. 266-7; VI, pp. 105-6, 246, 354 ; belief in the earth's swallowing a wicked man. J., I, p. 322.

3. *Buddhist India*, p. 239.

4. *Buddhist India*, pp. 238 *ff*.

5. pp. 191, 416.

between the post-*Vedic* and the neo-*Vedic* and later ages. In point of fact, as the learned Doctor says, we can regard this period as that which shows the germs, the beginnings, of all that we find later, a period which saw the existence of various orders of teachers, both *Vedic* and anti-*Vedic*, representing different groups or schools of thought, which again may roughly be divided into either Śramaṇas and Brāhmaṇas or Hermits and wanderers.[1]

Before returning to these two orders of asceticism, let us very briefly have an idea as to the philosophical speculations that were uppermost in those days.[2]

ANTI-*VEDIC* MOVEMENT.

Of course the most remarkable trend of philosophic speculation was anti-*Vedic*. The thinkers had, in course of time, ceased to feel the fascination of, and cherish admiration for, *Vedic* learning and *Vedic* rites: the self (*ātman*) is not obtainable by the study of the *Veda*, the sacrifices and all gifts and oblations are inefficacious: the observance of moral precepts (*sīlaṁ*) and the contemplation, knowledge, and realisation of the nature of *Brahman* are far superior to the performance of *Vedic* sacrifices and the acquisition of *Vedic* learning:[3] this, in general, was the trend of thought. Not going deeper into details, we shall just reproduce this anti-*Vedic* feeling as it is presented in our stories.

UDDĀLAKA AND SETAKETU.

We are, first of all, reminded of the two most prominent figures of the *Upaniṣadic* times, *viz.*, Uddālaka Āruṇi and his son Śvetaketu. With Uddālaka Āruṇi, Indian wisdom seems to have taken a new turn,[4] as we can see from his biological speculations and his conception of Matter and Spirit in which he shows a close resemblance to Anaxagoras.[5]

Both the *Setaketu* and *Uddālaka Jātakas*[6] preserve the traditional information about these two celebrities, but in a very confused and corrupted form. We must note that the *Pāli* name *Uddālaka* is equivalent to the *Saṁskṛta Auddālaka i.e.*, the son of Uddālaka. And obviously the two *Jātakas* speak of one and the same person, *viz.*, Śvetaketu Auddālaka, though they unknowingly give different incidents regarding his life. The *Setaketu Jātaka* describes him as one born of a Brāhmaṇa family from the north and studying at Takkasilā, where he is stated to have met a Caṇḍāla who asked him a question about the quarters (*disā*). On the other hand, the *Uddālaka Jātaka* associates

1. Barua, *op. cit.*, p. 191.

2. The *Brahmajāla Suttanta* (See *Dialogues of the Buddha*, I, pp. 26-55) and the *Ācārāṅga Sūtra*, I, 7, 1, 3, describe at length the various metaphysical and ethical speculations current at the time among the Brāhmaṇas and the Śramaṇas.

3. Barua, *op. cit.*, p. 193. It is true that such a revolt goes back to ancient times: it can be traced as far back as the celebrated hymn on Frogs, *Ṛgveda*, VII, 103; see Barua, *op. cit.*, p. 194; but it begins to be more sharped, and clearly defined during this period.

4. In fact the whole family of the Āruṇis is distinguished in history for *Vedic* learning, 'The most divergent lines of tradition meet in the person of Uddālaka Āruṇi' Oldenberg, *Buddha*, p. 396.

5. Barua, *op. cit.*, p. 124.

6. J., III, pp. 232-7. GG. 8-12; IV, pp. 297-304-GG. 62-76; *cf.* J., I, p. 401-GG. (?)

the origin of the name Uddālaka (Auddālaka) with the *Uddālaka* tree under which he was conceived, and describes him as the fruit of an illegal union of his mother—a *gaṇikā*—with a wise *purohita* of a Brahmadatta king of Benares. In both these accounts, the *Jātaka*-historian has evidently confounded Śvetaketu Auddālaka with Philalethes Satyakāma Jābāla.[1]

But as to the general views—social and ethical—of Śvetaketu Auddālaka and his father (*i.e.*, Uddālaka), both the *Jātakas* agree. The conversation between the Father and the Son shows some resemblance to the one embodied in the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*,[2] the latter setting forth the philosophical views much more elaborately. In the former the son inquires: What makes the Brāhmin? how can he be perfect? tell me this. What is a righteous man, and how he wins *Nirvāṇa's* bliss?[3] The father replies:

> "He has no field, no goods, no wish, no kin,
> Careless of life, no lusts, no evil ways.
> Even such a Brāhmin peace of soul shall win,
> So as one true to duty men him praise."[4]

Setaketu again asks:

> " Khattiya, Brāhmin, Vessa, Sudda and Caṇḍāla Pukkusa,
> All these can be compassionate, can win *Nirvāṇa's* bliss:
> Who among all the saints is there who worse or better is?"[5]

Uddālaka replies:

> "None among all the saints is there who worse or better is."[6]

Then Setaketu retorts:

> "You are Brāhmin, then, for nought: vain is your rank I wis."[7]

At last his father, in his further reply, strikes the keynote of Uddālaka's philosophy:

> "With canvas dyed in many a tint pavilions may be made:
> The roof, a many-coloured one: one colour is the shade.
> Even so, when men are purified, so is it here on earth.
> The good perceive that they are saints, and never ask their birth."[8]

In the earlier part of the story, Setaketu is represented as doubtful about the efficacy of *Vedic* Learning and favouring self-control. And his father, Uddālaka, maintains the usefulness of the *Vedas*, but at the same time accepts,

1. See *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*, IV, 4-9; Barua, *op. cit.*, p. 125.
2. VI, 4.
3. J., IV, p. 302-G. 70.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 303-G. 71.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 303-G. 72.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 303-G. 73.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 303-G. 74.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 304-G. 75-6; for fuller details regarding the philosophic views of Uddālaka see Barua, *op. cit.*, pp. 124 *ff.*

right conduct as the means to attain bliss: "The *Vedas* will bring only fame but right conduct will give us bliss."[1]

It is not impossible, as Dr. Barua says,[2] that the Sophistic movement, characteristic of Indian philosophy before Mahāvīra and the Buddha, had originated with Uddālaka Āruṇi. He may well be regarded as the pioneer of the *paribbājakas* or the Wanderers. As years passed the Sophist mind gradually became more and more antagonistic to the *Vedic* theology. We find this in our stories, as the following quotations will show:

"These *Veda* studies are the wise man's toils,
The lure which tempts the victims whom he spoils;
A mirage formed to catch the careless eye,
But which the prudent passes safely by.
The *Vedas* have no hidden power to save
The traitor or the coward or the knave";

And what are the sacrifices ?

"The fire, though tended well for long years past,
Leaves his base master without hope at last...
If he wins merit who to feed the flame
Piles wood and straw, the merit is the same
When cooks light fires or blacksmiths at their trade,
Or those who burn the corpses of the dead...

These Brāhmins, all a livelihood require;
And so they tell us Brahmā worships fire;
Why should the increate, who all things planned,
Worship himself the creature of his hand ?
Doctrines and rules of their own, absurd and vain,
Our sires imagined wealth and power to gain."

What are the Brāhmaṇas then ?

"These greedy liars propagate deceit,
And fools believe the fictions they repeat;
He who has eyes can see the sickening sight;
Why does not Brahmā set his creatures right ?"

'Where is your Brahmā ?' they ask.

"If his wide power no limits can restrain,
Why is his hand so rarely spread to bliss ?

1. J., III, pp. 236-7-GG. 10-3; IV, pp. 299-301-GG. 62-65: *Kittiṁ hi pappoti adhicca Vede Santiṁ, pueṇti caraṇena danto.*

2. *op. cit.*, p. 130; also Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, p. 247.

Why are his creatures all condemned to pain ?
Why does he not to all give happiness ?
Why do fraud, lies, and ignorance prevail ?
Why triumphs falsehood—truth and justice fail ?
I could your Brahmā one th'Unjust among,
Who made a world in which to shelter wrong."[1]

FREEDOM OF THOUGHT.

And thus, with robust faith in their doctrines, and with a powerful mastery over thoughts, dispelling doubts (*samsaya*) by reasoning (*naya*), logic (*nāya*) and proofs (*hetu*),[2] and with appeal to precedents (*nippadesa*)[3] and common sense, these thinkers, and more correctly propagandists, imbued the whole people with a new ideal and a new way of living. The philosophers were left free to indulge in any amount of speculation. In the tradition of the time there was only one sage, Māṇḍavya, a contemporary of Kaṇha Dīpāyana (*i. e.*, Vyāsa) who was impaled, for reasons other than his bold theories.[4]

SPECULATIVE FERMENT.

And, as we come nearer to Mahāvīra and the Buddha, we feel the whole atmosphere surcharged with philosophic mood. It was a time 'seething with speculative ferment.' But, as Dr. Barua rightly observes, "we have to imagine a time when there was no organised religion or established Church in the country to interfere with the freedom of speculation by imposing upon its adherents its professed dogmas, and when conversion implied, in the case of a learner or truth-seeker, no more than a transition from one mode of self-training to another which he deemed more suitable to his temperament. Nor even in the case of a layman did it ever demand that unflinching devotion or that profession of blind faith which leads men by imperceptible steps to harbour bigotry, to become religious fanatics, and to shut the gates of benevolence upon every fellow-being who is a stranger."[5]

Several *Jātakas* give us a glimpse of some of the speculations that were going on at this time. They are given just to show their uselessness and wrongfulness in the eyes of others, like the Buddhists, who considered these as false doctrines (*micchāvādaṁ*).

THE *MICCHĀ-DIṬṬHIKAS.*

The *Mahābodhi Jātaka*,[6] for instance, presents before us five thinkers of five different philosophic doctrines, *viz.*, *Ahetuvādī*, *Issarakāraṇavādī*, *Pubbekatavādī*, *Ucchedavādī* and *Khattavijjāvādī*. An interesting subject is introduced in order to refute their arguments. The Bodhisatta attributes the acts of a monkey to the monkey-skin he wears, and so the five 'heretics' (*micchādiṭṭhikā*) charge him with murder of a monkey.

1. J., VI, pp. 206-8-GG. 883-902.
2. J., VI, p. 244-G. 1092.
3. J., VI, p. 227.
4. J., IV, pp. 28-9.
5. Barua, *op. cit.*, p. 365.
6. J., V, pp. 228 *ff.*

THE FORTUITOUS ORIGINIST.

The *Ahetuvādī* denied the existence of cause, that is to say his philosophy was the doctrine of non-causation or the hypothesis of chance. He taught the people that beings in this world were purified by rebirth (*ime sattā saṁsārasuddhikā*). To him the Boddhisatta says: 'if you say that all acts of men, good or base (*akaraṇīyaṁ karaṇīyaṁ vā*), spring from natural causes (*udīraṇā ca saṁgatyā bhāvāyamanuvattati*), how can you find sin in involuntary acts? My deed should be blameless, according to your doctrine.'[1]

THE THEIST.

The *Issarakāraṇavādī* believed and taught that everything was the act of a supreme being (*ayaṁ loko issaranimmito*). The argument put forward against him is: 'if there is some Lord who fulfils in every creature, weal or woe and good or bad actions, the sin lies with him, man only works his will. I must be then blameless.'[2]

THE FATALIST.

The *Pubbekatavādī* professed the doctrine of previous actions, *i.e.*, *Karman*: sorrow and joy, that befalls man here, is, according to him, the result of some previous action (*sattānaṁ sukhaṁ vā dukkhaṁ vā pubbekatin 'eva uppajjati*). To him the answer was: 'why, sir, do you blame me if you believe in the truth of the doctrine that everything is the result of former action! each act's a debt discharged (*porāṇako iṇamokkho*) and the monkey pays his debt.'[3]

THE ANNIHILATIONIST.

The *Ucchedavādī* was an Annihilationist. He believed in annihilation at death. In his view, no one passes hence to another world, but this world is annihilated (*ito paralokagatā nāma n'atthi, ayaṁ loko ucchijjati*). To him the Bodhisatta replies: 'You, sir, maintain that each living creature's form (*rūpaṁ*) is composed of four elements (*i.e.*, earth, water, air and ether): to these component parts each body, when dissolved, goes. The dead exist no more, the living still live on; should this world be destroyed, both wise and fools are gone: none then is defiled by a guilt, stain amidst a ruined world. If this is true, I am blameless.'[4]

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1. *Ibid.*, pp. 237-G. 139-41. This apparently corresponds to the doctrine attributed to Purāṇa Kassapa, one of the six rivals of the Buddha, in the *Aṅguttara Nikāya*, III, pp. 383 *ff*. The same is again termed *Akiriyā-vāda* or the theory of non-action, according to which, when we act or cause others to act, it is not the Soul that acts or causes others to act. The Soul is passive (*niṣkriya*). Therefore whether we do good or bad, the result thereof does not affect the Soul in the least: *Sāmaññaphala-sutta* (*Dialogues*, I, pp. 69 *ff*); *Sūtrakṛtāṅga*, I. 1, 13. See Barua, *op. cit.*, pp. 278-9. *Cf.* the *Pariṇāmavāda* of Maskarin Goṣāla: *Ibid.*, pp,304 *ff*. Ārya śūra identifies the doctrine of non-causation with that of Nature-*svabhāva-vāda*: *Jātakamālā*, pp. 148-9.

2. J., V, pp. 238-G. 142-4: This, to a certain extent, resembles the Theistic doctrine (*Īśvara-vāda*), which is as old as the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, if not earlier, and the best exponent of which was Āsuri: See Barua, *op. cit.*, pp. 213 *ff*., 266.

3. J., V, pp. 238-9-G. 145-7: This is of course the well-known doctrine of *Karma*, or Fate (*niyati*), fully developed by Yājñavalkya: "A man is of desire: As is his desire, so is his will. As is his will, so is his action. And as he acts, so he attains." *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, IV, 4,-5; See Barua, *op. cit.*, pp. 161 *ff*., 175, 310-1.

4. J., V, pp. 239-G. 148-51. This of course corresponds to the famous doctrine of Materialism of the mythical Cārvāka who teaches us to eat *ghee* even though we run into debts. It was fully developed at this period by Ajita Keśakambalin, one of the six famous rivals of the Buddha. *Cf. Sāmaññaphala Sutta* (*Dialogues*, I, pp. 73 *ff*). The *Keśakambalins* are compared to the Epicureans of Greece: Barua, *op. cit.*, pp. 287 *ff*. The doctrine is popularly known as *lokāyatikaṁ*: see J., VI, pp. 286-G. 1245.

THE MILITARIST.

Lastly, the *Khattavijjāvādī* professed the Militarist doctrine, according to which a man ought to seek his own advantage even at the cost of killing one's parents (*mātāpitaro pi māretvā attano va attho kāmetabbo*). To him the direct reply was: 'You, sir, maintain that a man may kill his parents or any other person if occasion justifies. Why, then, do you blame me ?[1]

It is evident that all these philosophies, those of the Fortuitous Originists, the Theists, the Fatalists, the Annihilationists and the Militarists, are discussed and stubbornly hated and refuted by both Mahāvīra[2] and Gotama Buddha.[3]

THE DOCTRINE OF TIME.

There may be discerned a few more philosophical reflections in the stories here and there, garbed in a confused and indistinct form. But we need not go much deeper. One doctrine, *viz.*, the doctrine of Time (*Kālavāda*), as presented in the *Mūlapariyāya Jātaka*,[4] however, deserves our notice. The Doctrine of Time,[5] in its embryo, can be traced in Aghamarṣaṇa's hymn in the *Rg Veda.*[6] Passing through the minds of Post-*Vedic* teachers, such as Bāḍhva and Yājñavalkya, it was highly elaborated in the *Mahābhārata.*[7] The *Jātaka* offers a criticism of the Epic doctrine of time : A well-versed Brāhmaṇa taught five hundred pupils. In course of time they began to think : "We know as much as our teacher : there is no difference." When the teacher knew this, he put to them a question—a paradox—in order to tame them, proud and stubborn as they had all become. He asked : Time consumes all things, including even itself. Can you tell me who consumes time—the all-consumer?[8] No one could answer. It came to them as a riddle of the Sphinx. So the teacher said in a bitter tone of irony : "Do not imagine that this question is in the three *Vedas*. You think that you know all that I know !"

Here the Brāhmaṇa is represented, as usual, as a *Vedic* thinker, but he was rather a Bodhisatta or a pre-Buddhistic thinker on Buddhist lines who opposed the *Vedic* or Epic doctrine of time. As Dr. Barua puts it, according

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1. J., V, pp. 240-G. 152 ; also p. 490 ; The term *Kṣatravidyā* occurs in a list of sciences given in the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*, VII, 1, 2, and is explained by Śaṅkara as the science of archery (*Dhanurvidyā*). But that seems to be a general meaning. Buddhaghoṣa and Āryaśūra are probably more correct in understanding by it the science of government (*nītisatthaṃ*) : *Dialogues of the Buddha*, I, p. 18 n ; also Barua, *op. cit.*, pp. 292-3.

2. Mahāvīra, as his disciples inform us, broadly divided the philosophical views of his time into three groups : *Akiriyaṁ* or metaphysics, *Aññānaṁ* or Scepticism, and *Vinayaṁ* or morals; see *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra*, XVIII, 23 ; *Sūtrakṛtānga*. X, 12, 4 *ff*. *Sthānānga Sūtra*, IV, 4.

3. See *Brahmajāla-Suttanta*, *Dialogues of the Buddha*, I, pp. 27 *ff*.

4. J., II, pp. 260-1-G. 188.

5. See Barua, *op. cit.*, pp. 199 *ff*.

6. X, 190.

7. Schrader, *Indischen Philosophie*, pp. 21-7.

8. J., II, pp. 260-G. 188 : *Kālo ghasati bhūtāni sabbaṁ eva sah' attanā, yo ca kālaghaso, bhūto sa bhūtapacaniṁ paci.*" *Cf.* note on this *Jātaka* in *Matriculation Pāli Selections* Calcutta University.

to the *Vedic* theory, Time not only consumes everything, but also itself in the sense, as the *Jātaka* commentator points out,[1] that even the time-before-meal (*purebhattakālo*) and the time-after-meal (*pacchābhattakālo*) do not abide (*na pāpunāti*). According to the Bodhisatta's view, an *Arhat* is the consumer of Time (*Kālaghaso*) inasmuch as he is not bound to be reborn. Having completely rooted out the inherent tendencies to sensuality, eternalism, orthodoxy and ignorance, he is released for ever from metempsychosis.[2]

THE *ĀJĪVIKAS.*

The most pronounced antagonism that the *Jātaka* stories seem to show is towards the *Ājīvikas*, who, under Maskarin Gosāla, formed a stubborn sect in the time of the Buddha who opposed them.[3] The order of the *Ājīvikas* is decidedly of older standing than that of the Jainas or the Buddhists,[4] and is thrice mentioned in the edicts of King Aśoka whose grandson Daśaratha gave them some cave-dwellings at the Nāgārjuṇī and Bārābār hills.[5]

In the *Lomahaṁsa Jātaka*,[6] an interesting, though biased, life of an *ājīvika* is portrayed. "Unclothed (*acelako*),[7] and covered with dust, he remained solitary and lonely (*ekavihārī*), fleeing like a deer from the face of men; his food was small fish, cow-dung, and other refuse ; and in order that his vigil might not be disturbed, he took up his abode in a dread thicket in the jungle. In the snows of winter, he came forth by night from the sheltering thicket to the open air, returning with the sun-rise to his thicket again, and as he was wet with the driving snows by night, so in the daytime he was drenched by the drizzle from the branches of the thicket. Thus day and night alike he endured the extremity of cold. In summer, he abode by day in the open air, and by night in the forest, scorched by the blazing sun by day, and fanned by no cooling breezes by night, so that the sweat streamed from him :

Now scorched, now froze, lone in the lonesome woods,
Beside no fire, but all afire within,
Naked, the hermit wrestles for the Truth."[8]

In the eyes of the Buddhist story-teller, who deliberately and probably with exaggeration, gives such minute details, these austerities were worthless and delusive. And so he makes him discard this delusion (*laddhiṁ*) and lay hold of the real truth (*samadiṭṭhi*).

1. J., II, pp. 260-1.
2. Barua, *op. cit.*, p. 204.
3. For a complete treatment of the subject see Dr. Barua's beautiful monograph on *The Ājīvikas*, Calcutta University Publication : also his *History of pre-Buddhistic Indian Philosophy*, pp. 297-318 ; *I. H. Q.*, III, pp. 235 *ff* ; Bhandarkar, *I. A.*, 1912, pp. 286*ff*. Hoernle's appendix to *Uvāsagadasāo*.
4. Barua, *op. cit.*, p. 300.
5. See Senart, *Inscriptions de Piyadasi*, II, 82, 209.
6. J., I, pp. 390-1.
7. *Acelakas* as an order of ascetics are also mentioned at J., V, pp. 16-G. 39 ; 75.
8. *Ibid.* G. 93 : *Majjhima Nikāya*, 1, 79.

The *Mahānāradakassapa Jātaka*[1] again brings before us another naked (*acclako ; naggo*) *ājīvika*, Guṇa Kassapa by name, whose views remarkably agree with those of Maskarin Gosāla. He lived in a deer park adjoining Mithilā, was approved by all as wise (*dhīrasammato*), famous, a man of varied discourse (*Citrakathī*), and with a large following of disciples (*gaṇī*).[2] King Aṅgati of Videha, with his ministers, went to him and asked him many questions in reply of which Kassapa said : 'There is no fruit, good or evil, in following the law ; there is no other world, O king,—who has ever come back hither from thence ? All beings are equal and alike, there are none who should receive or pay honour : there is no such thing as strength or courage,—how can there be vigour or heroism ? All beings are predestined (*niyatāni*), just as the stern-rope must follow the ship. Every mortal gets what he is to get, what then is the use of giving ? There is no use in giving—the giver is helpless and weak: gifts are enjoined by fools and accepted by the wise.'[3]

Then the following exposition describing the powerlessness of sin to produce consequences hereafter is much more important :

"There are seven aggregates (*Kāyā*), indestructible and uninjuring : fire (*tejo*), earth (*paṭhavī*), water (*āpo*), air (*vāyo*), pleasure and pain (*sukhadukkhaṁ*) and the soul (*jīvo*) ; of these seven, there is none that can destroy or divide, nor are they to be destroyed : Weapons pass harmless amongst these aggregates. He who carries off another's head with a sharp sword does not divide these aggregates : how then should there be any consequence from evil doing? All beings become pure by passing through eighty-four great aeons (*mahākappe*) : till that period arrives, not even the self-restrained (*saññato*) becomes pure. Till that period arrives, however much they have followed virtue, they do not become pure, and even if they commit many sins, they do not go beyond that limit. One by one we are purified through the eighty-four great aeons : we cannot go beyond our destiny, any more than the sea beyond its shore."[4] This doctrine of Guṇa Kassapa, the *ājīva*, which is also termed *Ucchedavādo*, annihilation, is made clearer by this : 'There is no door to heaven (*sugati*) : only wait on destiny (*niyati*). Whether thy lot be happiness or misery, it is only gained through destiny : all will at last reach deliverance from transmigration (*saṁsārasuddhi*) ; be not eager for the future.'[5] The views embodied in these extracts clearly show resemblance partly to the views of Purāṇa Kassapa, the Annihilationist, partly to those of Pakudha Kaccāyana, the Eternalist, and Maskarin Gosāla, the Determinist, all of whom seem to be akin to Greek Stoics.[6] These views of Guṇa Kassapa are stubbornly

1. J., VI, pp. 220-255. The text is confused and indistinct : many of the *gāthās* are placed in the Buddha's (*Satthā*) mouth so that it becomes very difficult for us to ascertain the exact value of the presentation.

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 222-G. 961-2.

3. *Ibid.*, pp. 225-G. 980-984.

4. *Ibid.*, pp. 226-G. 985-90 : *Cf. Sāmaññaphalasutta*, *Dialogues of the Buddha*, I, p. 74, where the same doctrine, with the same simile is attributed to Pakudha Kaccāna, the Eternalist, the Empedocles of India.

5. J., VI, pp. 229-G. 1007-8.

6. See Barua, *op. cit.*, pp. 282 *ff.* 297 *ff.*

refuted in the story, firstly by Rūjā, Aṅgati's daughter who says: "If a man is purified by the mere course of existence, then Guṇa's own asceticism is useless: like a moth flying into the lighted candle, the idiot has adopted a naked mendicant's life. Having accepted the idea that all will at last be purified through transmigration, in their great ignorance many corrupt their actions; and being fast caught in the effects of former sins, they find it hard to escape, as the fish from the hook";[1] and secondly by the great sage Nārada, the *Kassapa,* who also supporting Rūjā, establishes the popular Indian belief that action has its reward and retribution (*Kammaphala,*) and that heaven and hell are the inevitable consequences hereafter of merits and demerits of this life,[2] and preaches righteousness with the famous simile of a chariot.[3]

And here we reach our point. From all these philosophical speculations, the *Kammaphala* doctrine, together with its corollary, morality—*dhamma, sīla* or *vinaya*—, stands out as permanent idea destined to be deep rooted in the minds of the Indian people.[4]

ASCETICISM.

Ascetic practices are found in very early stages of society. But their aims have been changing ever since. With the rise of the doctrine of rebirth,[5] actions and their consequences (*Kammaphala*),[6] human life and its value, began to appear in a different aspect. Life with an unending chain of repeated existences became something to be escaped.[7] Philosophic thoughts turned towards asceticism, more vigorously than before, but with a different aim. The ascetic ideal slowly but steadily permeated through the whole mass of people in those days.

There were two groups of ascetics *viz.*, the *Samaṇas* and the *Brāhmaṇas* or the Recluse-philosophers and the Hermits. The order of the *Paribbājakas,* or the Wanderers strictly so-called, was yet to come. At any rate its existence is not as clear in the stories as in the Buddhist *Nikāyas.*

THE OLDER HERMITS.

The institution of Hermits (*isis : tāpasa*) is of course very old. In course of time, however, in the days of Yājñavalkya who alludes to both *Śramaṇas* and *Tāpasas,* and also perhaps not long before the rise of Buddhism, a new order of *religieux* was formed, who called themselves *Brāhmaṇas*—to distinguish themselves both from the hermits who practised penance and sacrifice in the wood, and

1. J., VI, pp. 234-G. 1035-6.
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 244-54-GG. 1090-1136.
3. *Ibid.*, pp. 252-3-GG. 1127-36.
4. See especially J., II, pp. 202-G. 143. The field on which Gotama Buddha appeared in nicely described by Oldenberg: "At this time of deep and many-sided intellectual movements which had extended from the circles of Brāhmanical thinkers far into the people at large, when amateur studies of the dialectic routine had already grown up out of the arduous struggles of the past age over its simple profound thoughts, when dialectic scepticism began to attack moral ideas,—at this time when a painful longing for deliverance from the burden of being was met by the first signs of moral decay, Gotama Buddha appears upon the scene." *Buddha*, p. 71.
5. *Cf.* J., II, p. 17; VI, pp. 189-G. 828 (*Cavanti Upapajjanti es' esa pariṇāmitā*); 239-G. 1075 (*asaṁkheyyāpi jātiyo*).
6. *Cf.* J., I, p. 350; II, pp. 202-G. 143; III, pp. 158-G. 15; IV, pp. 397-G. 39.
7. J., III, pp. 434-G. 17; *Cf.*, the pathetic words of Vessantara who addresses his son and daughter:

'Be thou my ship to ferry me safe over existence's sea,
Beyond the world's men and gods I'll cross, and free I'll be.' J., VI, pp. 546-G. 2144-6.

the Brāhmaṇas who were householders.[1] The institution of hermits or *isis* was not completely wiped out. And people still cherished the fond memory of old sages—Yāmahanu, Somayāga, Manojava, Samudda, Magha, Bharata, Kālikara and Kassapa Aṅgirasa, Akitti and Kīsavaccha[2]—who by practising *tapassā* attained to *Brahmaloka*. These hermits (*pabbajitas*) of the stories, as Prof. Rhys Davids puts it,[3] lived in the forests adjoining the settlements; the disciples of various schools occupied themselves according to the various tendencies of the schools to which they belonged, either in meditation or in sacrificial rites, or in practices of self-torture, or in repeating over to themselves and in teaching to their pupils, the *Suttas* containing the tenets of their school. Much time was spent in gathering fruits and roots for their sustenance...And there was difference of opinion and of practice, as to the comparative importance attached to the learning of texts. But the hermitages where the learning, or the repeating of texts was unknown, were the exceptions.

Usually the *pabbajitas* retired to the sylvan and lonely forests of the Himālayas.[4] There they built small suitable huts of grass and leaves.[5] Footpaths (*padikamagga*) led to these hermitages (*assamaṁ*).[6] There were also separate marked-out places where the hermits had their daily walk (*caṅkamanakoṭi*).[7] The usual requisites of an ascetic (*pabbajitaparikkhāre*) were: robes, inner and outer, dyed in bark (*rattavakaciraṁ*), antelope's skin (*ajina*), thrown over the shoulder, a walking staff in hand (*daṇḍa*), shoes (*upānaha*), umbrella (*chattaṁ*), hook (*aṅkusa*) for gathering fruits *etc.*, and a bowl (*pattaṁ*).[8] The hermits, unlike the *Samaṇapabbajitas*, kept long locks of matted hair and tied them in a coil (*jaṭāmaṇḍalaṁ*) and, if need be, thrust needles in them.[9] They wore a girdle of *muñja* grass.[10] A wooden bedstead (*kaṭṭhattharaka*) was kept in the hut.[11] As to their food, they generally lived upon wild bulbs, and radishes, catmint and herbs, wild rice, black mustard (spread out to dry), jujubs, herbs, honey, lotus-fibres, myrobolam, scraps of meat.[12] The daily routine in the hermitages was something like this: the hermitage was swept clean in the morning, water was brought

1. Barua, *op. cit.*, pp. 239-40.
2. J., VI, pp. 99-G. 422-3.
3. *Buddhist India*, pp. 140-1.
4. *e.g.*, J., I, p. 140 : II, pp. 103, 269 ; III, p. 515 ; IV, p. 221.
5. J., I, p. 375 ; VI, p. 75.
6. J., IV, p. 489 ; V, p. 132 ; VI, pp. 74, 532-G. 2037.
7. J., IV, p. 329 ; VI, p. 232.
8. J., I, p. 304 ; III, p. 82 ; IV, pp. 25, 129, 476-G. 294-5 ; V, pp. 312, 332-G. 124 ; VI, pp. 21, 73, 528-G. 2011.
9. J., I, pp. 304-375 ; V, p. 132; VI, pp. 21,73, 528-G. 2011, 242 ; *Jaṭilo*, IV, p. 476; V., pp. 202-G. 28.
10. J., V, pp. 202-G. 32 : The stock description of a hermit is : with uncleansed teeth (*paṅkadantā*), and goatskin garb (*kharājinā*) and hair all matted (*jaṭilā*) and muttering holy words in peace (*japanti*) : J., III, pp. 236-G. 10; IV, pp. 299-G. 62 : VI, pp. 536-G. 2037-8.
11. J., II, p. 41; VI, pp. 21, 158.
12. J., I, p. 450; IV, pp. 221, 306; 371-2-G. 269-86; *ālukalambāni, bilālitakkalāni, sāmā kaṅivāraṁ, sākaṁ, bhisaṁ, madhuṁ, maṁsaṁ badarāmalakāni* ; hermits taking strong drink and even meat was not a common thing : J., I, pp. 361-2; II, pp. 262, 382 ; V, p. 235 ; VI, p. 63; *Cf. Dialogues of the Buddha*, I, p. 230.

from the near-by river, wild roots and fruits were collected, wood chopped for fuel, food prepared and eaten, little rest at noon, study and discussion in the afternoon, evening meal, and rest at night.[1] They constantly tended the holy fire (*Jātaveda*).[2] When a stranger approached a hermit dwelling in the forest, he would first of all inquire as to his welfare in the usual formal words :

'O holy man, I trust that you are prosperous and well,
With grain to glean, and roots and fruit abundant where you dwell,
Have you been much by flies and gnats and creeping things annoyed,
Or from wild beasts of prey have you immunity enjoyed ?'

and the same sweet reply was given by the hermit with an affectionate reception :

'I thank you, brāhmin—yes, I am both prosperous and well,
With grain to eat and roots and fruit abundant where I dwell,
From flies and gnats and creeping things I suffer not annoy,
And from wild beasts of prey I here immunity enjoy.
In all the innumerable years I've lived upon this ground,
No harmful sickness that I know has ever here been found.
Welcome O brāhmin ! bless the chance directed you this way.
Come, enter with a blessing, come, and wash your feet I pray.
The *tindook* and the *piyāl* leaves, and *kāsumāri* sweet,
And fruits like honey, brāhmin, take the best I have, and eat.
And this cool water from a cave high hidden on a hill
O noble brāhmin, take of it and drink if it be your will.'[3]

In the rainy season the recluses came down from the mountains. For, as it is said, in the Himālayas, during the rainy season, when the rains are incessant, as it is impossible to dig up any bulb or root or to get any wild fruits and the leaves begin to fall, the ascetics for the most part come down from the Himālayas and take up their abode amidst the haunts of men.[4] After the rains were over, they returned to the mountains, for then the flowers and fruits began ripening.[5] And they thus lived on in peace and solitary calmness, thinking out the mysteries of this and the 'other' world and deep problems for humanity at large, with hundreds of disciples around them, freed of all desires and fetters. These silent recluses, though living far from the mundane world, did no doubt influence the existing society. *Dhamma* was recognised

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1. J., IV, pp. 221-G. 40 ; V, pp. 313 *ff* ; VI, p. 75.
2. J., I, pp, 285 ; 494 ; II, pp. 43-4, V, p. 476 (*aggisālā*); VI, pp. 201-G. 872 ; *Cf. Mahāvagga*, 1. 15. 2.
3. J., IV, pp. 434-G. 150-3 ; V, pp. 323-G. 130-9 ; VI, pp. 532-G. 2041-8. *Cf.*, sweet words of Vāsanti in Bhavabhtui's *Uttararāmacharitam*. II, 1.
4. J., II, p. 85 ; III, p. 37.
5. J., II, p. 72.

to be the 'standard' of the *isis* :[1] to injure the *isis* in any way was a great sin.[2] Men besought these sages for the solution of intricate problems and the way to peace, order and happiness.[3]

THE IDEAL ASCETIC.

The virtues of an ideal ascetic are thus enumerated: he has no anger towards anyone, even when angered, does not allow it to be seen, bears hunger with a pinched belly, restrained in eating and drinking, has abandoned all sport and pleasure, utters no falsehood, is averse to all pomp and carnal desire, has nothing as his own, is resolute, unselfish, has forbearance and freedom from all hindrances to religious perfection—all properly fitted in him like the spokes in the nave of a wheel.[4]

SHAM ASCETICS.

But, as always, there may have existed sham ascetics (*Kūṭa-tāpaso : Kūṭa-jaṭilo*) as well. We must not, however, be misled by the descriptions of these ascetics in the *Jātakas* which, averse as they are to all kinds of penance and austerities, paint them in very bad colours. We may, nevertheless, note them in order to discern some reality.[5]

We have seen that gradually the *Samaṇas*—the newly-risen ascetic order—broke away from past traditions, revolted against the older *Vedic* system of sacrifice and self-mortification.[6] The *Jātakas* show particular hatred against austerities and false practices (*samādānaṁ*),[7] many of which are enumerated. Some did the swinging penance (*vaggulivataṁ*),[8] some lay on thorn-beds (*kaṇṭakaseyyaṁ*),[9] some underwent the five-fire penance (*pañcatapaṁ*).[10] Some practised the mortification by squatting (*ukkuṭikappadhanaṁ*).[11] Some the act of diving (*udakagāhanaṁ*), some repeated texts—(*mante sajjāpenti*).[12] Various and many are the instances, in these stories, wherein hypocritical, lewd, sham and many other types of ascetics are portrayed. Quite consistently with their aversion towards ascetic appearances, and with their character as folk-tales, these stories occasionally cast slur and bitter satire on outward show of hypocritical saintliness. In the *Kāsāva Jātaka*[13] a sham ascetic clothes himself in a yellow robe, puts on the guise of a *Paccekabuddha*, with a covering

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1. J., V, pp. 509-G. 490......*dhammo hi' isinaṁ dhajo.*
2. J., II, pp. 172-G. 124 ; IV, pp. 383-G. 9; V, pp. 143-4-G-69. 73.
3. J., IV, pp. 134-G. 97-9; *samaṇā anusāsanti isi dhammaguṇe ratā ;* pp. 395-G. 31.
4. J., VI, pp. 257-61-GG(?). *Cf. Ācārāṅgasūtra*, 1, 1, 3.
5. For an exhaustive treatment of the subject from various sources see Maurice Bloomfield, "*On False Ascetics and Nuns in Hindu Fiction:*" *J. A. O. S.*, 44, pp. 202 *ff*.
6. See Barua, *op. cit.*, p. 242.
7. J., I, p. 391.
8. See *J. P. T. S.*, 1884, p. 95.
9. Pictures of ascetics doing penance on thorns may be seen in *The National Geographic Magazine*, 24, pp. 1268, 1269, 1270, 1279.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 1286 : the penance consists of sitting between four fires, the sun burning down upon the head as the fifth : Richard Schmidt, *Fakire und Fakirtum in alten und modernen Indien*, pp. 17, 158, 168, 181.
11. As though they had remained so for years.
12. J., III, p. 235; IV., p. 299; V, pp. 241-G. 160. *Cf. Dialogues of the Buddha*, 1, pp. 226-32.
13. J., II, pp. 197-8-G. 140-1.

about his head (*paṭisīsakaṁ*). Elsewhere[1] a sham ascetic misconducts himself in the royal chamber at night, and stands by day in a cemetery on one foot worshipping the sun. But the satire bites most pungently in the beast-fable. *Bilāra Jātaka,*[2] for instance, presents before us a jackal-unaccountably substituted for the cat which is clearly the original subject as is indicated by both the title and the *gāthā*—which shams asceticism to beguile the troop of rats: morning and evening the rats come to pay their respects to the saintly jackal. 'Godly is my name' says the jackal. 'Why do you stand on one leg ?' 'Because, if I stood on all four at once, the earth could not bear my weight. That is why I stand on one leg only.' 'And why do you keep your mouth open ?' 'To take the air. I live on air: it is my only food.' 'And why do you face the sun ?' 'To worship him.' The saintly jackal always seizes and devours the last of the troop, as they depart, wipes his lips and looks as if nothing had happened. At last he is caught. And the Bodhisatta has to declare:

"Where saintliness is but a cloak,
Whereby to cozen guileless folk
And screen a villain's treachery
The cat-like nature there we see."[3]

In the *Aggika Jātaka,*[4] again, the jackal happens to have all the hair singed off his body by a forest-fire so that he is left perfectly bald, except for a tuft like a scalp-knot where the crown of his head is pressed against a tree. Drinking from a pool he catches sight of his top-knot reflect in the water and exclaims: 'At last I've got wherewithal to go to market.'..He then poses as Bhāradvāja, votary of the God of Fire (*Aggiko*) and does the same mischief as in the previous instance.[5] In the *Vaka Jātaka*[6] a wolf living on a rock is surrounded by the winter-floods (*himodakaṁ*), and, to make the best of a bad business, decides to keep the fast (*nikkammassa pana nipajjanato uposathakammaṁ varaṁ*), but when he sees a goat, he at once tries to catch him, thinking to keep the fast on another day. And as he cannot get at the goat, he still maintains: 'Well, my fast is not broken after all,' thus revealing his hypocritical nature.[7] Similarly we read of a monkey, in order to obtain food, putting on the airs of a holy man—bark dress, lifting a basket and a crooked stick, seeking alms and worshipping the sun.[8] In the bird-world, we find a shore sighting crow (*disākāka*) as a typical sham ascetic. After the wreck of the merchant-ship, he reaches an island and is happy at seeing a great flock of birds whose eggs and young he can eat. Very elaborately he shams asceticism and preaches a sermon to the birds. The birds put their young ones in his charge. When they go to their feeding ground, the crow eats away their eggs and young.

1. J., III, pp. 303 *ff.*
2. J., I, pp. 460-1.
3. *Ibid.*, G. 124.
4. J., I, pp. 461-2.
5. *Ibid.*, G. 125.
6. J., II, pp. 450-1.
7. *Ibid.*, G. 148-50.
8. J., II, pp. 68-9-G. 44; also J., II, pp. 72-3-G. 48; 269-70-G. 190.

He is, at last, caught red-handed and killed.[1] And thus, with distinct ironic intention and a humorous touch, these stories expose the hypocrisy that is sometimes found in asceticism. As Maurice Bloomfield, writing on the subject,[2] has said, 'both with man and animal these mock descriptions of ascetic get-up figure so largely as to show them to be the reflex of a settled scepticism as to the sincerity or efficacy of such professions in general, dashed strongly with contempt, in the mind at least of the intellectual story-teller if not altogether in the mind of the average listener, to such stories. It must be understood, however, that this attitude of mind does not exclude faith in really sincere professors of these practices. In spite of their evil ways, the populace stands in awe and shows honour to the profession.'[3]

The *Jātakas* make no secret of the vices that attended on sham ascetics. As hypocrisy, so lust, greed, gluttony and sundry other vices are standard qualities attributed to ascetics, monks and other religious folk. We have instances of lewd ascetics who lead a corrupted life in the darkness of night and pretend asceticism by day, as we saw in the *Dhajavihetha Jātaka.*[4] "Being, in theory, immune to the lure of women, and therefore ineligible as lovers and husbands, they are driven by their evil instincts to resort to some crafty device to obtain their end."[5] After all, biological instincts and moral forces have always been in conflict, and are perhaps destined to remain so for ever.

We also find covetous ascetics, where the ideal is of complete renunciation. One of the ascetics under Mahārakkhita in the *Somanassa Jātaka*[6] comes back, pleases the king who assigns to him a place in his park, as one of his own household. The ascetic plants vegetables, pot-herbs, and runners, sells them in the market, and amasses wealth. Elsewhere[7] we find a shifty rascal of an ascetic (*Kūṭajaṭilo : kuhakatāpaso*) who carries away the money given to him by a village squire to keep safely, and still shows himself the most innocent and pure-minded ascetic ever born on earth, bringing back even a straw of the roof of the squire's hut, which has stuck in his hair. Instances may be multiplied to show the weak and viscious character of ascetics.[8] But

1. J., III, pp. 267-70-G. 64-9.
2. *op. cit.*, p. 206.
3. *Cf.* Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, pp. 245-6.
4. J., III, pp. 303 *ff.*
5. *J. A. O. S.*, 44. p. 218. The following remarks, which would have been more appropriate in regard to the wickedness of woman as described before, *Supra*, p. 289, will yet be found interesting :"...It is because of this that the ascetics, those erratic and abnormal examples of the 'variational tendency' have hated women with hatred so bitter and intense that no language could be found strong enough to express their horror. They knew that every natural impulse of a woman (woman is more in harmony with Nature than man) is the condemnation of asceticism. All true lovers of the artificial and perverse find women repulsive; 'woman is natural,' it is written among the sayings of Baudelaire, 'that is to say abominable'. But for most men and women this sexual difference has added to the charm of life; it has also added to the everlasting difficulty of life." Havellock Ellis, *Man and Woman*, London 1934, p. 441.
6. J., IV, pp. 444 *ff.*
7. J., I, p. 375.
8. *Cf.* for glattonous nature and rude manners : J., I, pp. 480 *ff*. II, pp. 382 *ff*; 447 *ff*; III, pp. 84, *ff*-G. 97-8; 137 *ff*; 537 *ff*., treachery upon a confiding friend : J. V., pp. 75 *ff*. G. 226-7 "*acelo samaṇo ayam sammato bhāvitatto.*"

we should not tarry too long on the subject. The impression is unavoidable that there was a distinct move towards scepticism over older methods of asceticism, for which the ascetics themselves, more than anybody else, were responsible.

THE *SAMAṆAS.*

And here, in the course of our discussion, may well step in those other ascetics, the *Samaṇas*, who undoubtedly played a very important part in moulding the material as well as the spiritual life of the people, a little earlier than the time of the Buddha, and whose representative philosophies have been noticed before. This important body or order of teachers, like the *paribbājakas*, was not known in India much before the rise of Buddhism. The remarks of Prof. Rhys Davids[1] regarding the wanderers may well apply to the *Samaṇas* in general: "Besides the Hermits there was another body of men, greatly respected throughout the country. . .They were teachers or sophists who spent eight or nine months of every year wandering about, precisely with the object of engaging in conversational discussions on matters of ethics and philosophy, nature-lore and mysticism. Like the Sophists among the Greeks, they differed very much in intelligence, in earnestness and in honesty." The time had already come for the earnest thinkers, like Satyavāha Bhāradvāja who represents the common case of all who called themselves *Śramaṇas* against worldly Brāhmaṇas, to uphold transcendentalism against both ascetism as largely practised by the *Vedic* ascetics and worldly life as regulated with Puritanic strictness by the Brāhmaṇa priests and jurists, and thus to prepare the way for the rationalism of the Buddha who enunciated the Middle-path (*majjhima-paṭipadā*) and sought for a *via media* of thought, conduct, and intellectual training.[2]

It is difficult to distinguish exactly between the wanderers (*paribbājakas*) strictly so-called, and the Recluse philosophers (*samaṇas*) who were also in a sense a class of wanderers.[3] The most outstanding factors which distinguished the new order or *religieux* (*samaṇas : Paribbājakas*) from the older one were that they shaved their head clean,[4] and begged their food (*bhikkhācariyaṁ*),[5] instead of feeding, like the *tāpasas* or *isis*, on pot-herbs and fruits. It was perhaps from the practice of begging that they became known as *Bhikkhus*-mendicants. The origin of this order of *religieux* is now obscure. But it is probable, as Prof. Rhys Davids has said,[6] that the *Bhikkhu* order of homeless persons evolved originally from the *Brahmacārins* who did not enter upon the stage of the householder and who customarily begged their food.

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1. *op. cit.*, p. 141.
2. Barua, *op. cit.*, p. 244.
3. In fact there are many points of resemblance between the two orders—the Recluse philosophers (*samaṇas*) on the one hand, and the Wanderers (*paribbājkas*) on the other. Both sought to build up a system of moral philosophy entirely upon a human or rational ground, rather than on a theocratic basis. The Wanderers proper, by their views and ways of life, furnished a connecting link between the Recluses on one hand and the Brāhmaṇas on the other..." Barua, *op. cit.*, pp. 349-50..
4. *e.g.*, J., III, p. 371; V, pp. 187-G. 222; VI, p. 52.
5. J., I, pp. 333, 361, 373, 406, 505; III, pp. 39, 79, 143, 238; IV, p. 299.
6. *Dialogues of the Buddha*, I, pp. 215 *ff.* Barua, *op. cit.*, pp. 240-2. Later on both the words—*bhikkhu and Samaṇa*—came to be applied specially for the Buddhist monks.

The outer appearance of a *samana* was also distinctive. He did not keep hair and beard: he wore three yellow (*Kāsāya*) robes (*ticīvaraṁ*): one as underdress, the other as upper, and the third he wrapped round his shoulders, his earthern vessel (*patto*) he put in a bag and fastened it on his left shoulder: he held a walking staff (*kattaradaṇḍaṁ*) in his hand: and he also kept with him a razor (*vāsi*), a needle (*sūci*) a strainer (*bandhanaṁ*) and a zone (*parissavana*).[1] He had to stitch his own robe.[2]

The *Samaṇas*, whether Brāhmaṇas or not by birth, were highly respected by the common folk as well as by kings and the nobility. These homeless ascetics, as we saw before, wandered about the country precisely with the object of engaging in conversational discussions and preaching the *dhamma* or the ethical code of the laity. They are sometimes represented as meeting one another at the parks outside the royal cities or at rest-houses (*sālā*) set up by the villagers on the roadside for the common use of the travellers. Usually they took their abode in the royal park (*rajjuyyānaṁ*) outside the city, and went abegging in the city where they invariably were received and respected with greetings (*paṭisanthāraṁ*) by the king.[3] It was a common custom with the common people to respect these ascetics, give them food, place for residing and other necessaries of life, and to ask them questions pertaining to *dhamma*.[4] In their eyes these ascetics were dear (*piyā*) and venerable (*mānāpā*) and their words worthy to be received.[5] To kings they advised on matters of polity and administration, to the common folk they showed the right way of living from which the ethical *dhamma* began to grow and develop. Thus they became real reformers, whose vehicle of expression was the language of the people.

CAREER OPEN TO ALL.

The career of such a wandering teacher or a homeless ascetic seems to have been open to anyone, and even to women. "Not only did world-sick old people renounce the world but even kings who were in undisputed possession of sovereignty and in the fullness of their power; young princes preferred the severe life of the ascetic to the glitter of sovereign power; rich tradesmen gave away their riches and heads of families their wives and children in order to build a hut in the forests of the Himālayas and to live on roots and fruits or to eke out an existence by begging alms."[6]

WAVE OF ASCETICISM.

But why did people turn towards asceticism? The philosophy of life, then prevalent, was no doubt largely responsible for this. The political conflicts with war, tyranny, lawlessness and general immorality in their train, and corrupt social practices such as the domination of one class over another, of men over women, and of masters over slaves and servants, the ruthlessness of criminal

1. J., III, p. 377—G(?); IV, p. 342; V, p. 187; VI, p. 52.
2. J., IV, p. 25.
3. J., I, pp. 140, 333, 361, 373, 406, 505; III, pp. 39, 79, 119, 143, 238, 352, 440; V, p. 482.
4. J., I, pp. 187, 298, 480; III, pp. 304 *ff.* IV, pp. 28-30; 178-G. 46,299; 320; VI, pp. 287-G. 1247; 296-G. 1298-8; 378-G (?)
5. J., V, p. 315; VI, pp. 190; 242.
6. Fick, *op. cit.*, pp. 67-8; see specially J., IV, p. 238; a barber in III, p. 452 ,*Caṇḍālas* IV, p. 392; *Kulaputtas* V, p. 263.

laws and, in the economic field, the system of usury—all combined to bring the problem of misery to the forefront. "There is suffering: this is the inexhaustible theme which, now in the strict forms of abstract philosophical discussion and now in the garment of poetical proverb, evermore comes ringing in our ears from Buddhist literature."[1] The doctrine of *Karma* and Rebirth was far deeply rooted in the people. "And the philosophers, of every shade and opinion, in spite of their speculations and discu sions, could only produce extravagant theories, pernicious in their moral consequences and detrimental to the source of distinctions between truth and falsehood, vice and virtue, beauty and deformity."[2] In consequence, the people at large were worried at the thought of the transitoriness of earthly goods, of the unworthiness of human existence. And this supplied generally the impulse (*ārammaṇaṁ*) to renounce the world.

> "How transient are all component things!
> Growth is their nature and decay;
> They are produced, they are dissolved again:
> And then is best—when they have sunk to rest:"[3]

This is the keynote of the whole pessimistic philosophy. The prince of the *Yuvañjaya Jātaka*[4] sees some dew-drops (*ussavabindu*), which sparkled in the early morning like pearls in a necklace, on the leaves of the trees, on blades of grass and in the webs of the spiders, disappearing in the evening, and he says to himself: "Even this life, this being, is like the dew-drop which hangs from the top of the blade of grass. . . I will become an ascetic before disease, age and death overcome me."[5] As in this case a dew-drop, so in other cases a grey hair is the *ārammaṇaṁ*, the cause of renunciation.[6] Sometimes[7] it is the signs of the heaven, such as the capture of the moon by Rāhu, that bring the transitoriness of things. At another time[8] a rich Brāhmaṇa reads, on a golden tablet in his jewel-room, the name of his ancestors who left the property, and he thinks: 'Those who won this wealth are seen no more, but the wealth is still seen: not one of them could take it where he is gone; we cannot tie our wealth in a bundle and take it with us to the next world!' He then goes away to the Himālayas amid the lamentations and tears of a great multitude. Once, owing to the unwillingness of the two sons to set up a household, the whole Brāhmaṇa family renounces worldly life.[9] Similarly a Brāhmaṇa, seeing his wife dead leaving a son, thinks of the impermanence of life, and goes

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1. Oldenberg, *Buddha*, pp. 212-3, 221.
2. Barua, *op. cit.*, p. 371.
3. J., I, pp. 392-G. 94: *Aniccā vata saṅkhārā uppādāvayadhammiṇo, uppajjitvā nirujjanti, tesaṁ vūpasamo sukho:* See also J., I, pp. 168-G. 17; 406; III, pp. 98-G. 114; 163-7-G. 19-28; 239; IV, p. 120.
4. J., IV, pp. 119 *ff.*
5. *Ibid.*, p. 120: *Sattānaṁ jīvitasaṅkhārāpi tiṇagge ussavabindusadisā, mayā vyādhijarā maraṇehi apīliten 'eva....pabbajituṁ vaṭṭati,* also G. 76.
6. J., I, p. 138; III, p. 393; V, p. 177.
7. J., III, p. 364.
8. J., IV, pp. 7-8.
9. J., V, p. 313.

away to the Himālayas with his son.[1] Thus this tendency of renunciation appears to have been widely prevalent in the *Jātaka* times. But it was surely no *en masse* exodus to the Himālayas as the stories, with their inherent tendency to generalise, would seem to suggest. As a matter of fact, it was not the thought of higher metaphysical speculations that led the ordinary people, the masses, to look to the forest life. It seems, on the contrary, that generally failures in life and experience of its miseries and treachries[2] would lead men to run away from the world, and that too amid the lamentations and beseechings of their near and dear.[3] Naturally the relations, who may have to suffer in consequence of their supporter going away, try to dissuade him in every way. Everywhere we hear about these conflicts. For instance, in the *Bandhanāgāra Jātaka*,[4] we read of a poor *gahapati* supporting his mother by working for hire. His mother, quite against his will, brings a wife for him and dies soon after. Then his wife becomes pregnant: he knows nothing of her condition, and one day says to her: "my wife, you must earn your living: I will renounce the world." "But I am pregnant, wait and see the child that is born of me, and then go and become a hermit." He agrees. And when she is delivered, he says: "Now, wife, you are safely delivered and I must turn hermit." "Wait," says she, "till the time when the child is weaned (*thanapānato apagamanakāle*)." And after that she becomes pregnant for the second time. "If I agree to her request," he thinks, "I shall never get away at all." And so without informing her he gets up at night and flees away. And he is simply protesting against the general mentality when he utters:

> "Not iron fetters—so the wise have told—
> Not ropes, or bars of wood, so fast can hold
> As passion, and the love of child or wife,
> Of precious gems and earrings of fine gold.
> These heavy fetters—who is there can find
> Release from such ? —these are the ties that bind:
> These if the wife can burst, then they are free,
> Leaving all love and all desire behind."[5]

The *Cullasutasoma Jātaka*,[6] presenting before us a typical and a very pathetic scene, shows what a tremendous force may have been acting against the spirit of renunciation. The king, seeing grey hair on his head, thinks of renouncing the world. He gathers the whole townsfolk (*mahājano*), and informs them about his intention. One by one, the ministers, much grieved to hear this, dissuade him. The mother comes: the king does not mind her tears; the father laments and asks: "What is this Law that leads thee to

1. J., IV, p. 220; see also I, p. 245; II, p. 422; III, p. 300.
2. *e.g.*, J., II, p. 422; III, p. 540.
3. J., I, p. 440; V, pp. 177 *ff*-GG. 192-241; also III, p. 396; IV, p. 8.
4. J., II, pp. 139-41.
5. *Ibid.*, pp. 140-G. 97-8; *Dhammapada*, 345; also J., III, pp. 395-6 G. 117-20.
6. J., V, pp. 177-92-GG. 191-241.

become eager to quit thy kingdom and thy home ? With thy old parents left behind to dwell, here all alone, seek'st thou a hermit's call ?" The Great Being is silent : he is not moved even at the reference of his children of tender years. His wives come and, embracing his feet, bewail most piteously. He does not hear his queen-consort's heart-rending request. The eldest son comes and most stubbornly resists : but the father only thinks the ways and means to get rid of him. The state-officials come and request his presence in the kingdom. He is unmoved. To all who try to dissuade him, his one answer is : "But holy orders I must take, that I may heavenly bliss attain (*saggaṅ ca patthayāno*)." He goes away at last and the people frantically search for him, but of no avail.[1] The whole idea behind this story is of course to show the invincible determination of those who are bent upon renunciation. But, giving every latitude to poetic and legendary exaggerations and objective colouring, the fact remains that it was a hard conflict, that between home-life and ascetic ideal.

Glories of worldly life have not remained unsung :

GHARĀVĀSA PRAISED.

"Houses in the world are sweet,
Full of food, and full of treasure :
There you have your fill of meat--
Eating drinking at your pleasure.[2]

This simple praise of householder's life (*gharāvāsa*) must have impressed more upon the minds of the people than the following unconvincing argument in favour of renunciation (*pabbajjā*), or rather against *gharāvāsa* :

"He that hath houses, peace can never know,
He lies and cheats, he must deal many a blow
On others' shoulders : nought this fault can cure :
Then, who into a house would willing go ?"[3]

Similarly the bold ascertion that :

"In lonesome forest one may well be pure,
'Tis easy there temptation to endure ;
But in a village with seductions rife,
A man may rise to a far nobler life,"[4]

must have produced not an insignificant appeal to the masses.

1. *Cf.* "From the unprofitableness of a state of being to which they had not learnt to give stability by labours and struggles for ends worthy of labour and struggle, men fly to seek peace for the soul in a renunciation of the world. The rich and the noble, still more than the poor and the humble, the young wearied of life before life had well begun, rather than the old who have nothing more to hope from life, women and maidens abandon their homes and don the garb of monks and nuns. Everywhere we meet pictures of those struggles which every day must have brought in that period between those who make this resolution and the parents, the wife, the children who detain those eager for renunciation ; acts of invincible determination are narrated of those who in spite of all opposition have managed to burst the bonds which bound them to a home life." Oldenberg, *Buddha*, p.66.
2. J., II , pp.232-G. 168.
3. *Ibid.*, pp. 233-G. 169.
4. J., III, pp. 524-G. 79.

NOT A MASS-WIDE PHENOMENON.

The fact of the matter seems to be, and we may find support in Fick,[1] that "it is in the spiritual region that we have to seek the cause of this asceticism ; the practice of world-renunciation is only an outward expression of the striving for knowledge and for emancipation, *mokṣa*, or to use the Buddhist term *nirvāṇa*. Neither the spiritual yearning nor the striving after knowledge or emancipation could have been so intense and all-embracing as to render the practice of renunciation a mass-wide phenomenon. Even in the hey-day of Buddhism and even of Jainism, it was not so. It could not be, for the simple reason that the masses were, as they always are, psychologically, too preoccupied with their daily struggles for existence to look to anything beyond this world. And it is for this reason that ethics, the religion of the lay-man, the rules and principles for life as it should happily be lived in the mundane world, found the best favour with the ordinary mass of the people.[2]

ETHICS OR THE *DHAMMA*

But, so far as these ethics are concerned, there is nothing strikingly original in the stories. The same rules, principles, admonitions and wise sayings which run throughout Indian Literature are to be found here. Only that they give very apt and charming instances, in their own, of course original, way, which, taken as they are from the ordinary local surroundings, lively characters and actions, greatly impress upon the minds of the common people. It would be tiresome, and unnecessary repetition indeed, to discuss this ethical character of the *Jātakas*. We may briefly take notice of some of the beautiful and bold reflections on life and its activities, which must have gone a long way to ennoble the everyday thoughts and actions of the people at large, before whom these were constantly placed, and over and over again.

The five *Kurudhammas* appear frequently, as do the *Dasarājadhammas*: Slay not the living, take not what is not given, walk not evilly in lust, speak no lies and drink no strong drink.[3] Four virtues are constantly preached : Truth Wisdom, Self-control and Piety ;[4] and four vices are similarly mentioned as to be shunned : hatred, malice, covetise and lust.[5] There are four things which, if circumstances arise, prove injurious : never lend cow, ox or car to your neighbour, nor trust your wife to the house of your friend : the car they break through want of skill, the ox by over-driving kill, the cow is overmilked ere long, the wife in kinsman's house goes wrong.[6] A wise man should not dwell near his foe. And who is his worst foe ? A fool. A foolish chief, wise in his own conceit, comes ever, like the monkey, to defeat. A strong fool is not good to guard the herd. Wisdom is required,[7] keeping to one's own ground is

1. *op. cit.*, p. 78.
2. *Cf.* for the Conflicts of worldly-life and renunciation of it, the Jaina *Ācārāṅgasūtra* 1, 2, 3, 3-6 : "Life is dear to many" : *Sūtrakṛtāṅga*, 1, 3, 3-6-8.
3. *e.g.*, J., II. pp. 372-3.
4. *e.g.*, J., II, pp. 206-G. 146-7.
5. *e.g.*, IV, pp. 11-G. 15-19; also II, p. 192-G (?)
6. J., V, pp. 432-3-G. 293-4.
7. J., III, pp. 357-G. 61-7.

helpful, as the Quail says, triumphant over his victory over the Falcon.[1] It is always good to guard against the coming danger.[2] Weeping for the dead and gone is constantly and repeatedly denounced: it is useless to weep over the dead. All creatures taking a mortal form tread the same path. That which has the quality of dissolution must dissolve. A man may be standing, sitting still, moving or resting, but in the twinkling of an eye, in a moment, death is nigh. Our tears won't prevail against the grave. Nor mystic charm, nor magic roots, nor herbs, nor money spent, can bring the dead to life again. Weep for the living rather than the dead: cherish all that are alive.[3] Happiness and misery ever on each other's footsteps press.[4] Hope on, my man. The fruit of hope is sweet. Feelings of joy and woe, there are many. But thought alone does not avail. Toil on, my brother, nor let thy courage tire.[5] The fool may watch for lucky days, yet luck shall always miss: it is luck itself is luck's own star, what can mere stars achieve?[6] To succeed in worldly affairs one must be ever ready, as the monkey says to the crocodile. He that to great occasion fails to rise, lies prostrate in sorrow beneath foeman's feet.[7] Endure troubles bravely. But for love of lusts, for hopes of gain, for miseries great and small, do not undo your saintly past.[8] You must say, "Let my hearer scatter chaff or let him take offence or not, Righteousness when I am speaking, sin on me can leave no spot. I'll speak the truth and the only Truth, no matter what consequence.[9] Man's duty in the world is to strive his utmost while he can: failure or success, he should not care for.[10] "Over the past I do not moan," says Prince Temiya, "nor for the future weep: I meet the present as it comes, and so my colour deep."[11] Content of mind and happiness with little care of heart: a standard easily attained that life's the better part.[12] The beauty that from purest hearts doth shine is marred by lust, born of this mortal frame.[13] Too much familiarity indeed breeds contempt (*aticiranivāsena piyo bhavati appiyo*).[14] There are grave dangers in paying honour to the unworthy, as we see the wise Brāhmaṇa pulled down by a ram, for honouring.[15] Change is this world's law: sorrow should not cause pain: even joy itself soon turns to woe.[16] All quarrelling should be eschewed.[17]

1. J., II, pp. 60-G. 36.
2. J., III, pp. 35-G. 44; 210-G. 104: 399-G. 127.
3. J., III, pp. 57-G. 65-8; 95-G. 109-12; 157-G. 10-3; 214-G. 113-7; 390-G. 109-13; IV, pp. 86-G. 147-8.
4. J., III, pp. 464-G. 61.
5. J., I, pp. 267-G. 50; 450-G. 120; III, pp. 251-G. 26-8; IV, pp. 269-70. 134-9; VI, pp. 43-G. 134-9.
6. J., I, pp. 258-G. 48.
7. J., III, pp. 133-4-G. 161-4; 266-G. 62.
8. J., III, pp. 465-G-. 62-3.
9. J., III, pp. 368-G. 80-2; 499.
10. J., VI, pp. 35-6-G. 121-9.
11. J., VI, pp. 25-G. 89.
12. J., III, pp. 313-G. 134-5.
13. J., III, pp. 500-G. 47.
14. J., II, p. 28; IV, p. 217; V, p. 223.
15. J., III, pp. 82-3; 231-2; also II, pp. 449-G. 147.
16. J., III, pp. 154-4-G. 1-5.
17. J., III, pp. 177-G. 43.

Strength of mind (*ñānabalaṁ*) is much more helpful than that of body,[1] knowledge of every kind be apt to learn : any time it will help you.[2] But do not follow blindly (*parapatti*) : a ripe bel fruit fell on a palm leaf, and a hare thought that the earth was collapsing, and scampered off. Seeing him flee, all the animals joined in the head-long flight, till a lion enquired the reason and scolded them for idle gossip and foolish fear.[3] Wisdom is more than you have seen or heard.[4] Were not wisdom (*buddhi*) and good conduct (*vinaya*) trained in some men's lives to grow, many would go wandering idly like the blinded buffalo.[5] A virtuous man (*sīlavanto*) is he who refrains from thievish act, speaks the truth, and searching dizzy heights of fame still keeps his head, pursues honest wealth, eschews riches gained by fraud (*nikatyā*), shuns gross excess in pleasure, never swerves from his purpose (*cittaṁ ahāliddaṁ*), and preserves his unchanging faith (*saddhā avirāginī*) and fulfils indeed all that he says.[6] Power that is attained by a man of violence is short-lived : when his power is gone from him, he is like a ship that is wrecked at sea (*bhinnaplavo*).[7] Sacrifice and such other things won't give you release. Take thought of life hereafter when you seek release : for this release is strict bondage, it is a fool's release.[8] Whoever for his pleasures would kill harmless creatures, would only pine away himself : on the other hand, those who never do any harm are happy, vigorous and charming.[9] Not hate, but love alone makes hate to cease : this is the everlasting law of peace.[10]

BOLD PHILOSOPHY.

The above are only a few drops from the great storehouse of ethical teachings of the *Jātakas*. We have only tried to reproduce some of the selected passages in order to represent the general tone of the ethics of the stories, the general attitude of mind which they reflect. This tone, as we have felt it, is decidedly bold and practical : it rings amidst the daily life of the people, and it is meant for the people ; the attitude of mind, as we grasp it, is not at all pessimistic ; it takes for granted the transitoriness of the world and recognises its ills, but it, nevertheless, sticks to this earth, strives to find a way out of the miseries and preaches the ennobling—may be rather incomprehensible—ideals of *satya* and *ahiṁsā*, to attain the everlasting bliss, to reach *nirvāṇa*. And the people tried their best to follow

1. *Ibid.*, p. 175.
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 218-G. 122.
3. *Ibid.*, pp. 75 *ff*; V, p. 414.
4. J., III, pp. 233-G. 8.
5. J., III, pp. 368-G. 81.
6. *Ibid.*, pp. 87-9-GG. 101-4.
7. J. , III, pp. 158-G. 14.
8. J., I, p. 169-G (?)
9. J., III, pp. 523-GG. 77-8.
10. J., III, pp. 212-G. 110; 488-G. 14 ; *nahi verena verāni sammantīdha kudācanaṁ, averena ca sammanti, esa dhammo sanantano*—a principle which is the very life-breath of one of the greatest personalities of our times, Mahātmā Gāndhī, who may well be regarded as the Buddha of the twentieth century.

these ideals, to put them in practice.[1] This mentality had come to stay when Lord Buddha arrived on the scene. His *majjhima paṭipadā* or the *via-media* really brought about a rapproachment between the two different sections of the people, between those on the one hand who were solely devoted to spiritual quests unmindful of worldly affairs, and those others who were wholly steeped into worldly affairs not striving after some noble ideals of conduct. The rapproachment indeed brought about a mass-mentality which tried to lead the people, through all their worldly joys, sorrows, hopes, fears, cares and anxieties, to a noble way of living which did satisfy their spiritual consciousness and yearning.

1. And Aśoka's *dhamma*, preserved through all these dreary centuries, is nothing else but pure ethical code : See *Rock Edicts*, II and VII : Bhandarkar *Aśoka*, pp. 101 *ff* ; *Cf.* Gokuldas De "...In all walks of life—social, political and religious—a new spirit was infused into the body-politic making every soul alive to its pulsation which vibrated in perfect harmony with the note that once rang through the religious sky of ancient India accepting the doctrine of God in everything and feeling oneness in all."—*Significance of Jātakas* (*Calcutta Review*, Feb. 1931 p. 281).

CHAPTER VIII

MANNERS AND CUSTOMS

"THE object of composing the Birth-stories," said I-Tsing in the seventh century A.D., "is to teach the doctrine of universal salvation in a beautiful style, agreeable to the popular mind and attractive to readers."[1] This shows the universal popularity of the stories. There can therefore be no doubt that the teachings and instructions embodied in them had a wide appeal, and, as we just said, people tried to put into practice the ethical ideals placed before them.

CHARITY.

Above all, charity (*dānaṁ*) was the most widely practised of these ideals. Giving of alms is everywhere extolled.[2] Almost every householder, from the king down to the poorest villager, performed this charitable act, and believed it an ancestral practice (*kulavattaṁ*).[3] Rich people and the kings built alms-houses (*dānasālā*): at the four city-gates, in the centre of the city, and at their own house-doors, where food and drink (*annapānaṁ*) were provided to the *samaṇa-brāhmaṇas*, the poor (*daliddā*), way-farers (*vanibbakā*) and the beggars (*yācanakā*).[4]

UPOSATHA.

Then another outstanding practice towards leading a noble life was that of *uposatha* or keeping of Fast. This sabbath vow, *uposatha* (*upavāsa*), which is still widely observed as a religious vow by the ordinary people, and as a means to self-purification by individuals like Mahātmā Gāndhī, was observed on the New and Full Moon days (*pakkhadivase*)—on the fifteenth of each *pakkha* (*pannarasuposatha*).[5] On this day the eight-fold sabbath vows (*aṭṭhāṅga*) were taken,[6] especially the four abstinences (*caturaṅga*) from food (*āhāra*), bodily attentions (*śarīra-satkāra*), sexual intercourse (*abrahma*) and daily work (*vyāpāra*).[7] On the *uposatha* day, the bed was to be smaller than usual.[8] There was no killing of creatures on that day.[9] It was a solemn day for meditations or hearing the *dhamma* by men and women alike.[10]

MINOR CUSTOMS.

And thus their life rolled on. The general *milieu* of Indian life in those days was, as it might have been apparent by now, to a surprising degree, the same as in modern India, in spite of the two thousand years and more that have played so much havoc with the political history of this country. One cannot but be struck

1. *I-Tsing's Travels* ed. by Takakusu, p. 163.
2. Specially J., III, pp. 471-3 GG. 71-6.
3. J., IV, pp. 34-G. 53.
4. J., II, pp. 470 *ff*; IV, pp. 39, 53, 237; V, pp. 383 *ff*; VI, pp. 42, 96, *etc.*
5. J., I, p. 390; II, p. 190; III, pp. 292, 343; IV, pp. 318, 320-G. 114-*pāṭihāriyapakkho*; V, pp. 1, 458; VI, pp. 1, 96, 121-G. 524; 169, 186, 257; In Buddha's time the 8th and the 14th days were also observed, probably in the *Saṅgha*; *Mahāvagga*, II, 1, 1.
6. J., IV, pp. 318, 320-G. 114: they were the eight *sīlas*: against taking life, theft impurity, lying, intoxicating liquors, eating at forbidden hours, worldly amusements, unguents and ornaments.
7. J., VI, p. 169; *Cf.* Hoernle on *Uvāsagadasāo*, note 87.
8. J., VI, p 1 (*cullasayanaka*).
9. J., VI, p. 346-*uposathamāghāta*.
10. J., III, p. 445.

by the wonderful persistency of the manners and customs of the people. To take a few examples: The old custom of saying "Long life to you (*jīva*)" to a person who sneezed and of replying "The same to you (*paṭijīva*)" is preserved.[1] The custom of patting with satisfaction on the back of the one who has done good deeds is also present in the stories.[2] We can even see this little belief, that the throbbing of the right eye of a woman is a symptom of some calamity to happen, strongly rooted in the minds of the people.[3] Those eyes were believed to be auspicious which had five graces and three circles very pure.[4] Even in those days the people, especially the women, were wont to cursing those who were supposed to have done some wrong to them, in some such words as these: "May thy mother, cruel priest, (the person who has wronged) feel all the bitter agony which tears my heart when I behold my precious Canda led to die; may thy wife feel all this bitter agony; may she see sons and husbands slain."[5] It was believed to be wrong to tell the name of a saintly teacher (*guruṭṭhānīya*).[6] Worshipping the saints by prostrating oneself on the ground with five contacts,[7] and also respecting them by thrice walking round them rightwise (*padakkhiṇaṁ*) and doing the four obeisances,[8] were common. Besides these, there were many beliefs and superstitions as we have already seen. As to general manners we see that honour and respect were always paid to the elders. We have also seen how the guest was honoured with the traditional Indian hospitality.

The limit of human life, as in older times,[9] was believed to be one hundred or at the most hundred and twenty years.[10] As to the disposal of the dead, we have a clear indication of the funeral pyre and the burning of the corpses. There were cemeteries (*susānaṁ*) with gates.[11] At the funeral the women, probably, wore red garments, had their hair dishevelled and torches in their hands.[12] Four men carried the corpse to the cemetery.[13] The dead body was placed on the wooden pile and, offerings of perfumes and flowers being made, fire was set to it.[14] Thus the general custom was of cremation and not of burial. Among the various causes of death to beings, these are mentioned: some die sunk in the sea, or seized therein by ravenous fish, some falling in the Ganges, or seized by crocodiles, some falling from a tree or pierced by a thorn, some struck by weapons of divers kinds, some by eating poison or hanging or

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1. J., II, pp. 16-7-G. 9-10; similar to the minor superstition of yawning: *Hiraṇyakeśi Gṛhya Sūtra*, I, 5, 16, 2.
2. J., III, p. 132-*tuṭṭho hatthena piṭṭhiṁ parimajji*.
3. J., VI, pp. 557-G. 2213-*dakkhiṇakkhi ca phandati*.
4. J., III, p. 294-*pañca pasādā, tīṇi maṇḍalāni*
5. J., IV, pp. 285-GG. 22-6; VI, pp. 148-9-GG. 682-9.
6. J., III, pp. 305 and G. 111; *Cf. Mahāvagga* I, 74, 1.
7. J., III, p. 470—*pañcaṅgāni paṭhaviṁ patiṭṭhāpetvā vanditvā*; *aṣṭāṅgapraṇipāta* is a later elaboration.
8. J., IV, p. 419.
9. See *Vedic Index*, I, p. 342.
10. J., II, pp. 16-G. 9-10.
11. J., I, pp. 175, 373, 456; II, p. 50 (*gosusānaṁ*); V, p. 458; VI, p. 365.
12. J., III, p. 374.
13. J., VI, pp. 464-G. 1635—*yathā petaṁ susānasmiṁ chhaḍḍetvā caturo janā*.
14. J., II, p. 230; III, p. 163.

falling from a precipice or by extreme cold or attacked by diseases of divers kinds.[1] Out of the various modes of ending life, that by drowning oneself is clearly instanced in the bankrupt of the *Ruru jātaka.*[2] We do not however hear of condemnation or approval of different forms of suicide. It seems cases of suicide were very rare.

SPORTS AND FESTIVITIES.

Was it, then, a life serious and morose, uneventful and stagnant, full of pain and misery devoid of any joy and amusement that these *Jātaka* people lived? We do not think so. On the other hand, the very wit and masterful humour that ring through these simple, inornate yet forceful, stories, reflect a mind which must be described as joyful, if not robust. And the various games and festivities of which we so often read, are the diversions of people who seek pleasure and amusement, of people who have plenty of leisure to enjoy and sufficient fortunes to provide for the simple means of enjoyment.[3]

As is natural, small boys and girls were fond of toys and playthings (*kīlābhaṇḍanaṁ*).[4] We have already seen[5] how children enjoyed themselves, taking delight in all sorts of games.

Playing with balls (*bhendukaṁ*) seems to have been a popular sport.[6] The ball with which Nalinikā played before Isisiṅga was beautifully painted with varied colours, tied to a string (*tantubaddhaṁ*) so that however far it was tost it would still return to her hands.[7]

Swings of rope there were, where even the kings sported themselves.[8] Water-sport (*udakakīlaṁ*) in rivers or tanks was a favourite pastime with the rich (*issarajātikā*) and the kings.[9] There were public places for sports (*kīlāmaṇḍalaṁ*).[10] Moreover, every great city in those days was surrounded by extensive gardens where people could find some relief. These gardens had beautiful ponds (*pokkharaṇī*) within, and were studded with all manners of trees, fruits and flowers.[11] *Uyyānakīlanaṁ* or garden-sports were common wherein even young ladies took part.[12] Probably kings had their own separate parks where, as we have seen, they betook themselves with their councillors for important discussions or with their subjects to enjoy music and dance.

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1. J., III, p. 345.
2. J., IV, p. 256.
3. See for the various games and recreations, shows and performances: *Brahmajāla—Suttanta: Dialogues* I, pp. 7-11; *Ācārāṅgasūtra*, I, 8, 1, 5-8; II, 12, 18 "Where women or men, old young or middle aged ones, are well-dressed and ornamented, sing, distribute portion or parcel out plenty of food, drink, dainties and spices."
4. J., VI, p. 6.
5. *Supra*, p. 266.
6. J., V, pp. 196, 203-G. 37: VI, p. 741.
7. J., V, pp. 196-G. 10; 203-G. 37: was it a rubber string with which the ball was tied?
8. J., VI, p. 341-*dolāya kīlituṁ.*
9. J., I, p. 458. VI, p. 341.
10. J., VI, p. 333.
11. J., II, p. 188.
12. J., IV, p. 376: VI, p. 157: *Cf. Udyānayātrās* of Vātsyāyana: *Kāmasūtra*, Chakladar op. cit., pp. 168-9.

Besides the various sports and amusements that enlivened the daily life of the people, there were frequent high days and holidays when they made merry with their friends and companions. On these festival days (*chaṇaṁ: ussavo*) which were proclaimed by beat of drum, there was great noise of sound and music of those that made merry.[1] The village-drummers and conch-blowers rejoiced to go to the towns, and made money by their art.[2] On these days even the farmers hang up their ploughs and joined in the festivities.[3] Even the poor-folk wore new clothes, went on with their wives hanging on their shoulders, and enjoyed with garlands, perfumes and drinks.[4] The most popular among these festivals was the *Kattikā* festival which was celebrated on the night of the Full Moon day of the month of *Kattikā* (*Kārtikī pūrnimā*), when the king went in a solemn procession round the city.[5] Equally celebrated was the Full Moon day of the month of *Aśvina* (*Cātumāsinī Komudī*) when the sky is beautifully clear and the orb of the full moon of the last month of the rains shines in all splendour.[6] This *Sarad Pūrṇimā* or *Kaumudī-Jāgara* is still the most favoured of the festivals, both among the simple folk and the cultured classes, in which the whole night is passed without sleep by playing at dice or similar other amusements. There were presumably many other festivals on the changes of the planets and of seasons (*nakkhatte : utu-pubbesu*).[7] On these and specially on the drinking festivals (*surānakkhataṁ: surāchaṇo*), people ate and drank strong drinks to their hearts' content. Besides the taverns (*surāpaṇa*), special drinking booths (*maṇḍapaṁ*) were put up on these days. People believed this drinking as time-honoured festival.[8]

THE *SAMAJJAS*.

Then there were frequent *Samajjas*,[9] where crowds of men, women and children gathered together and witnessed various kinds of shows and performances, dancing and music, ballad-recitations (*akkhānaṁ*), and pantomimes, combats of elephants, horses and rams, bouts at quarter-staff (*daṇḍehi yuddhaṁ*) and wrestling. Boys and girls were fond of these social gatherings,[10] and the parents of the youths studying at the university schools, like Benares and Takkasilā, sent messages for their sons to come and see the festivals.[11] The palace-court of the king (*rājaṅgaṇaṁ*) was the usual place where these gatherings were held, and the king himself would make a proclamation by beat of drum and invite

1. J., V, p. 428.
2. J., I, pp. 283-4.
3. J., VI, pp. 328-G. 1445 —*Unnaṅgala māsam imaṁ karentu.*
4. J., I, p. 499 ; III, p. 446.
5. J., I, pp. 499-500-G. 143 ; II, p. 372 ; V, pp. 212-4.
6. J., VI, pp. 221-2-G. 947, 949, 953 (*uttamo ussavo*).
7. J., VI, pp. 524-G. 1974.
8. J., I, pp. 362, 489 ; III, p. 287 ; IV, pp. 116-6 ; V, pp. 427-8.
9. See for a fuller significance of the term, Bhandarkar, *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, 21, pp. 395 *ff* ; *I.A.*, XLII, pp. 255 *ff* ; also *Ibid*, XLVII, pp. 221 *ff* ; *Aśoka*, pp. 19-21; F. W. Thomas, *J. R. A. S.*, 1914, pp. 392 *ff*. 752 ; 1918, 122 *ff* , M. M. Bose, *I. H. Q.*, IV, pp. 111-3 ; "*Samāja* was of two kinds : in one the people were treated to dainty dishes, in the other to dancing, music, wrestling and other performances... Both the kinds of *Samājas* seem to have been celebrated by Aśoka. But when he began to preach *Dhamma*, he naturally tabooed those where animals were slain to serve meat." (*R. E.* I.) As there was nothing in the other *samājas* for him to object to, he retained them : Bhandarkar, *Aśoka*, p. 201.
10. J., VI, p. 7.
11. J., III, p. 538.

the people to come there and witness the performances.[1] A pavilion (*maṇḍapaṁ*) was set up at the palace-door: a throne (*pallaṅka*) was set apart for the king: around him sat slaves, women of the harem, courtiers, Brāhmaṇas and the citizens. In the courtyard were fixed seats, circle by circle, and tier by tier (*Cakkāticakke: mañcātimañce*).[2] Among a sort of Olympic games arranged here, wrestling (*mallayuddhaṁ*) was the most popular.[3] The wrestling-ring (*yuddhamaṇḍalaṁ*) was gaily decorated. Both the wrestlers went down into the ring, and strutted about, jumping, shouting, clapping their hands.[4] They struck their doubled arms (*diguṇam bhujaṁ*) to each other: one tried to strike down the other.[5] Then there were wonderful feats of archery as noticed before.[6] Fights of rams[7] and elephants[8] and horse-playing[9] were also common. Dramatic festivities (*nāṭakāni*) were also instituted.[10] In the *Guttila Jātaka*,[11] we witness a musical competition between two master-musicians amidst a big gathering of people in the palace courtyard. Outside the palace courtyard, again, we see people enjoying themselves with various sights and performances: acrobatic feats[12] snake-charmer's tricks,[13] and so on. The people took great interest in all these games and performances and, when delighted, they would give out *sādhukāras*, would shout and roar, clap their hands and even throw away their garments and ornaments, probably as a reward for the skilful performer.[14] Of outdoor festivities we hear of *samajjas* arranged on mountain-tops (*giriaggasamajja*),[15] where feasting was indulged in and, possibly also, theatrical performances were instituted, as in later days.[16] In all these festivals and festivities, religion seems to have played a very insignificant part, if at all.[17] They were, for the most part, purely secular amusements. Besides the festivals and occasional festivities, there were daily *goṣṭhis* (*goṭṭhaṁ*)[18] or social gatherings where people diverted themselves in pleasant talks and gossips on varied subjects.[19]

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1. J., II, p. 253; IV, p. 458; VI, pp. 7, 277-G. 1202.
2. J., II, p. 253; IV, pp. 81-2; VI, p. 277.
3. J., III, p. 160; IV, pp. 81-2; VI, pp. 277-G. 1202.
4. J., IV, pp. 81-2.
5. J., VI, pp. 277-G. 1203.
6. *Supra*, pp. 311-2.
7. J., III, p. 82.
8. J., II, pp. 46-9; IV, p. 95; V, p. 286.
9. J., VI, p. 275.
10. J., V, p. 282.
11. J., II, pp. 253-4.
12. *e.g.*, J., III, pp. 541-G. 112.
13. J., II, p. 267; IV, pp. 457-8.
14. J., II, pp. 90, 253-4; III, pp. 344, 506; V, p. 130.
15. J., III, p. 538.
16. The Jogimārā cave (2nd B.C.) on the Rāmgarh, hill (Chhoṭā Nāgpur) seems, according to Bloch, to have been used, if not for the performance of plays, at any rate for purposes of recitation of poems or some similar end: *Archaeological Survey of India Report*, 1903-4, pp. 123 *ff*: See Keith, *Sanskrit Drama*, pp. 358, *ff*.
17. Once we hear of people offering *bali* to ogres and sprites on a *nakkhatta*: J., I, p. 425.
18. J., IV, pp. 223-G. 53.
19. Vātsyāyana gives a detailed description of these *goṣṭhis*: See Chakladar, *op. cit.*, pp. 163-7.

We are thus able to see, that the life that these people led was not at all morbid or dreamy-like, as is generally believed to have been the case in regard to Ancient Indian life in general. It was a life born of everyday struggles and developed through intermittant pleasures and amusements, fairs and festivals, joy and beauty, which alone could preserve the soul of the race, as of individual.[1]

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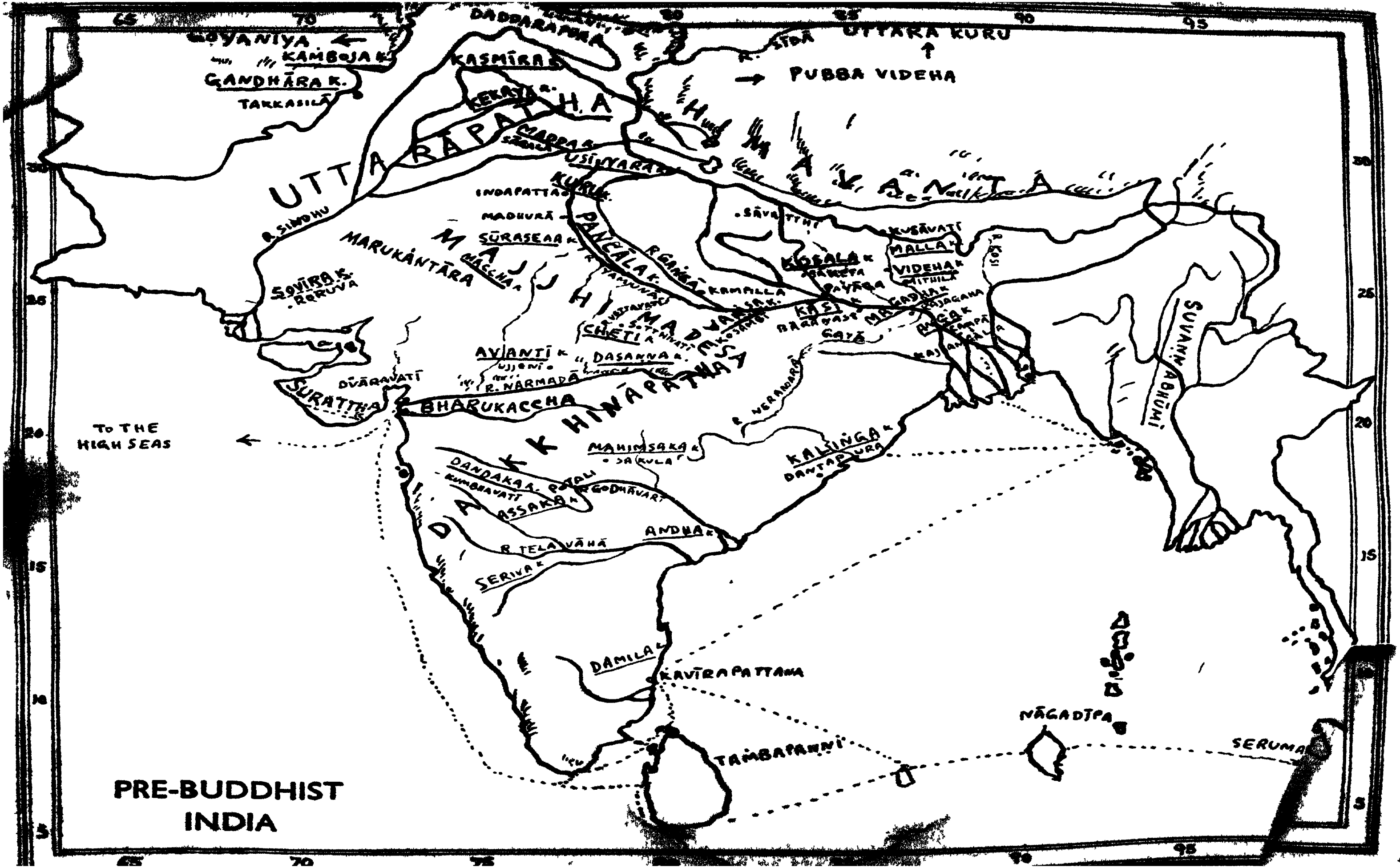
1. How incorrect do these words of Oldenberg seem to be in the light of our findings: "Without a past living in their memory, without a present which they might utilise in love and hate, without a future for which men might hope and work, they dreamed morbid and proud dreams of that which is beyond all times and of the peculiar government which is within these everlasting realms... The Indian has above all at an early stage, turned aside from that which chiefly preserves a people young and struggle for home, country and laws." *Buddha*, pp. 3, 12.



GOYANIYA
KAMBOJA K.
GANDHĀRA K.
TAKKASILĀ
DADDARAPURA
KASMĪRA K.
KEKAYA K.
UTTARĀPATHA
MADDA K.
SĀGALA
USĪNĀRA K.
KURU K.
INDAPATTA
MADHURĀ
SŪRASENA K.
MACCHA K.
MAJJHIMADESA
PAÑCĀLA K.
R. GANGĀ
R. YAMUNĀ
KAMPILLA
VAMSA K.
KOSAMBĪ
CHETI K.
SOTTHIVATI
AVANTĪ K.
UJJENĪ
DASANNA K.
R. NARMADĀ
MARUKANTĀRA
R. SINDHU
SOVĪRA K.
RORUVA
DVĀRAVATĪ
SURATTHA
BHARUKACCHA
TO THE HIGH SEAS
DAKKHINĀPATHA
MAHIMSAKA K.
DANDAKA K.
KUMBHAVATĪ
ASSAKA K.
R. GODHĀVARĪ
R. TELAVĀHĀ
ANDHA K.
SERIVA K.
DAMILA K.
KAVĪRAPATTANA
TAMBAPANNĪ
NĀGADĪPA
SERUMA
KALINGA K.
DANTAPURA
R. NERANJARĀ
KĀSI K.
BĀRĀNASĪ
GAYĀ
MAGADHA K.
RĀJAGAHA
ANGA K.
CAMPĀ
KOSALA K.
SAKETA
AYUJJHĀ
SĀVATTHI
MALLA K.
KUSĀVATĪ
VIDEHA K.
MITHILĀ
R. KOSI
HIMAVANTĀ
SUVANNABHŪMI
R. SĪDĀ
UTTARA KURU
PUBBA VIDEHA
PRE-BUDDHIST INDIA

SECTION V

GEOGRAPHY OF THE JĀTAKAS

INTRODUCTION

IT is an admitted fact that the study of the history of any country remains imperfect without the study of its geography. History and geography are, indeed, the two inseparable sciences. The immense influence which the physical features of a country exercise over the character of its people and their political, economic and social destiny can never be overlooked. In fact "a knowledge of space, no less than that of time, of geography, no less than that of chronology, is an indispensable pre-requisite of a serious historical study."[1]

In the following pages we shall attempt to glean as much information as the *Jātakas* can give about the geography of India and the outside world known to them.

Here, as also in the historical study, we have to bear in mind that the *Jātakas* do not belong to any particular date or place. They are popular stories which were current among the people from very early times, and which remained with the people, subject to individual narrators. This may, at first, appear to take away much of the value that attaches to the geographical knowledge contained in them, but, in reality, it is not so. The information we receive is, barring a few exceptions, much older and, hence, valuable.

A question may arise here, whether the *Jātakas*, being considered as only a part of the larger Buddhist *Pāli* Literature, can be worthy of a separate treatment at all as regards geography. Our answer is that, while admitting the general agreement of the *Jātakas*, in this respect, with the Buddhist Canonical Literature, we feel that the very nature of our task demands such a treatment.

Attempts have been made, it is true, to utilise the geographical information supplied by the *Jātakas* in the reconstruction of ancient Indian history and geography.[2] But these are, more or less, of a casual character, and no systematic arrangement of this geographical data, on the lines on which we have, herein, proceeded, has as yet been made.

In our attempt to do so, we shall have to face many a fictitious or fabulous name. But that is, at the same time, no reason why we should discard it altogether. This will be clear when we remember that the names of some of the countries, cities, mountains and rivers occuring in the *Purāṇas*

1. Raychoudhury, *I. H. Q.*, IV, p. 228.

2. Prominent amongst these may be mentioned: Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*; Nundo Lal De, *Geographical Dictionary of Ancient India*; D. R. Bhandarkar, *Carmichael Lectures*, 1918; H. C. Raychoudhury, *Political History of Ancient India*; *Studies in Indian Antiquities*; Cunningham, *Ancient Geography of India*, ed. by S. N. Majumdar. The most recent being, B. C. Law, *Geography of Early Buddhism*, London, 1932. *Geographical Essays*, Calcutta, 1938.

and the *Epics*, which were considered to be fictitious or fabulous years ago,[1] have, now in the light of further research, come to be regarded as based on facts.[2] This makes it incumbent upon us to put down the results of our geographical knowledge derived from the *Jātakas*, bearing always in mind that that which looks fabulous now may prove to be a fact in future.

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1. A characteristic example is furnished by this, that when "Mr. Wilford collected an account of the river Nile and its source, and reconstructed a map out of the *Purāṇas*, H. H. Wilson called him an "injudicious writer," Cunningham remarked that his essay was a "wild speculation," St. Martin stated him to be the first victim of the "imposture geographical literature of the Hindus." But it was from this very source that best information was secured, and the source of the river Nile traced and discovered by the 19th century explorer Lieut. J. H. Speke. See *C. A. G. I.*, Introd., p. xxxviii.

2. *Paurāṇic Seven Dvīpas* and their identification by V. Venkatachellam, *Q. J. M. S.*, XV, pp. 62, 119, 238; XVI, pp. 116, 262; XVII, p. 94; *cf.* Raychoudhury, "*India in Purāṇic Cosmography*" in *J. D. L.*, XIX; for seven divisions of *Jambūdvīpa*, Jayaswal, *I. A.*, LXII., pp. 167 *ff.*; also *Traimāsik.* Quarterly organ of The Forbes Gujarātī Sāhityasabhā, Bombay, Vol. I.

CHAPTER I

GENERAL OUTLOOK

THOSE were the days of brisk trade and commerce, both inland and sea-borne, between India and a large part of the outside world. The *Jātakas* abound in sea-going references, and they quite frequently refer to brisk inland trade carried on by means of caravans.[1] This, naturally, brought the trading folk in close contact with different parts of the country and with other foreign countries, and thus expanded their geographical knowledge through personal experience. Now, these trading people, when they returned home from their far-off journey on land and water, told their experiences to their relatives and friends, and thus the knowledge of the outside world was easily broad-casted. It was through this process, that the people of India knew well that in the far-off kingdom of Baveru (Babylon), there did not exist various kinds of birds; it was through this medium again, that they knew how prosperous the country of Suvaṇṇabhūmi (Lower Burma) was. It was through this personal experiences of the travellers, also, that the numerous cities and villages, ports and seas, rivers and mountains, plains and deserts became familiar to the people. Besides this, the itinerant mendicants (*paribbājakas*) of whom we hear a lot in these stories, helped a great deal in spreading geographical knowledge.

In this way the *Jātakas* know the entire track of the country, from Gandhāra and Kamboja in the North-west to Kaliṅga, Andha and Kāvīrapaṭṭaṇa in the South-east on one side, and from Kasmīra and across the Himālayas on the North to Assaka, Avantī and Mahiṁsaka in the South on the other. Besides these, the foreign lands like Baveru, Tambapaṇṇi, Suvaṇṇabhūmi and other oceanic countries are known.

JĀTAKA CONCEPTION OF THE WORLD.

Here, it may be of use to know what was the *Jātaka* conception about the world in general and India in particular. The earth was recognised as a round sphere (*Cakkavāla*), surrounded on all sides by the sea,[2] and *Jambudīpa* was only a part of the bigger sphere.[3] The earth was believed to be 24 *nahuta yojanas* in thickness, and split in two like unto a strong stout cloth garment.[4]

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1. Details of these evidences of our commercial life in those days as given in the *Jātakas* are presented in the chapter on Exchange: *Supra.* pp. 225-37.

2. J., III, p. 484—"*Sāgareṇa parikkhittaṁ Cakkaṁ ca parimaṇḍalaṁ*"; IV, p. 214.

3. J., IV, p. 214; *cf.* Hardy, *Manual of Buddhism*, p. 4.

4. J., I, pp. 321-2; III, p. 42—"*Cattālīsasahassādhikānidveyojanasatasahassāni bahalā... Baliṭṭhaddha sāṭako viya phalitā*"; a *nahuta*=ten thousand. VI., p. 486; *cf. Visuddhimagga, P. T. S.*, I, p. 205.

FOUR *MAHĀDĪPAS.*

The world was comprised of four *Mahādīpas* (*Catunnaṁ Mahādīpānaṁ*) or the four great Continents,[1] surrounded by 2000 *dīpas* or doabs.[2] Fortunately for us, the *Jātakas* do furnish us with the names of these Great Continents. They are: Uttarakuru, Pubba Videha, Apara Goyāna and Jaṁbudīpa.[3]

UTTARAKURU is mentioned as such once in the *Sonananda Jātaka* wherefrom we learn that it was to the north of the Himālayas. This is in perfect agreement with the statement of the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*[4] that Uttarakuru lay beyond the Himālayas (*pareṇa Himavantaṁ*). It is placed immediately to the south of *Uttaraḥ payasām nidhiḥ*—the Northern Deep or the Arctic Ocean—by the *Rāmāyaṇa.*[5] Both the Greek and Indian writers describe Uttarakuru as a semi-mythic region where there was perpetual happiness and bliss.[6] It is, nevertheless, identified with Siberia.[7]

As to PUBBAVIDEHA we have no internal data to identify it. But a passage of the *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa*[8] which calls BHADRĀŚVA as *PURVA-DVĪPA* makes us feel certain of the identity between Pubbavideha and Bhadrāśva which is, in turn, identifiable with Eastern Turkestan and North China.[9]

APARAGOYĀNA, similarly, should be taken to be identical with the *Paurāṇic KETUMALA* which is, in turn, identifiable with the region of Western Turkestan.[10]

As regards JAṀBUDĪPA, the fourth of our great continents, we have plenty of references in the *Brāhmaṇic* as well as in the Buddhist and Jaina literature. It is mentioned quite frequently in the *Jātakas.*[11] But they, we mean the *Jātakas,* nowhere give any clear idea of the size or extent of this country. The *Mahā-ummagga Jātaka,*[12] indeed, knows that Jaṁbudīpa was encompassed (*paribbata*) by the ocean (*sāgara*), but this, in no way, clears

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1. J., II, p. 313; III, pp. 239, 481—G. 91; VI, pp. 3, 432.
2. J., II, p. 313; III, p. 239—"*Dvīpa* originally meant land having water (and not sea) on two (and not all) of its sides." See, *C. A. G. I.*, Intro., p. xxxvii.
3. J., VI, pp. 278—G. 1212; "*Purato Videhe passa Goyāṇiye ca pacchato, Kuruyo Jaṁbudīpañca maṇimhi passa nimmitaṁ*," *Cf.* Hardy, *op. cit.*, and *loc. cit.*; Cowell and Neil, *Divyāvadāna*, pp. 214 *ff*; Law, *A Study of the Mahāvastu*, pp. 4, 14; Watters, *Yuan Chwang*, I, pp. 31, 6; according to the *Paurāṇic* Geography, the world was comprised of 7 concentric *dvīpas*, *viz.*, Jaṁbū, Śāka, Kuśa, Śālmala, Krauñca, Gomeda and Puṣkara; for the attempted identifications of these, see V. Venkatachellam, *op. & loc. cit. cf.* Kasten Ronnow, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, London, Vol. V, pp. 253-284.
4. VIII, 14, 4; *Vedic Index*, I, p. 84.
5. IV, 43, 56.
6. McCrindle, *Ancient India as described in Classical Literature*, pp. 63, 113 & notes; *Mārk. P.* 59, 18 *ff*; *Digha Nakāya. The Āṭānāṭiya Suttanta, Dialogues of the Buddha*, III, pp. 192-4 Muir, *Original Sanskrit Texts*, 1, 492.
7. Jayaswal, *I. A.*, LXII, p. 170. *Cf.* Raychoudhury, *Studies in Indian Antiquities*, pp. 71 *ff*.
8. *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa* 45, 24; 46, 35.
9. Raychaudhury, *op. cit.*, pp. 75-6, Bhadrāśva is said to have been watered by the Sītā, the mythical prototype of the Yārkand and Yellow Rivers. Sītā is our Sīdā mentioned in J., VI, p. 100, *Gāthās* 424-5. *Uttara Himavante—Cf. Uttarādhyayana Sūtra*, XI, 28.
10. Raychaudhury, *op. cit.*, p. 75.
11. See Dines Anderson, *Index to the Jātaka*, p. 56.
12. J., VI, p. 464—G. 1637.

up the matter. However, it seems quite certain that the traditional conception of Jaṁbudīpa was much wider than that of India proper as we understand it now. And if Mr. Jayaswal's interpretation of Jaṁbudīpa of the *Purāṇas* as comprising the whole of the Continent of Asia be accepted, and if the Aśokan Inscriptions, as pointed out by him, have a similar wider denotation, we should not then hesitate to ascribe the same denotation to our Jaṁbudīpa.[1] At any rate, we shall not be far wide of the mark, we hope, if we say that by Jaṁbudīpa the *Jātakas*, for all practical purposes, meant India-cum-Afghanistan.[2]

1. Jayaswal, *I. A.*, LXII, pp. 170 *ff*.

2. For detailed information about the development of the name Jaṁbūdīpa, see V. Venkatachellam, *Q. J. M. S.*, XVII, p. 102; *cf.* also Raychaudhury, *Studies in Indian Antiquities*, pp. 78 *ff*.

CHAPTER II

DIVISIONS OF INDIA

THE traditional division of India into five regions is found throughout in Indian Literature. In the *Atharvaveda*,[1] already, we have this division of India as a familiar practice. So also in the well-known passage of the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*,[2] we find India divided into five great *diks*, *viz*., *Prācya* (Eastern),[3] *Dakṣiṇā* (Southern),[4] *Pratīcī* (Western), *Udīchī* (Northern),[5] and *Dhruvā Madhyamā* (Central).[6] In later times, these five '*diks*' or directions are clearly stated to be *Deśas* or countries. The *Purānas*, also, know these five regions, though they, sometimes, add two more, *viz*., the *Vindhya* and the *Himavanta* regions, thus making the number seven.[7] Rājaśekhara, in the beginning of the tenth century A.D., clearly gives the boundaries of these five divisions in the following manner: "To the east of Bārānasī (Benares) is the eastern country; to the south of Māhiṣmatī is the Dakṣiṇāpatha or the Deccan; to the west of Devasabhā is the western country; to the north of Pṛthūdaka (mod, Pehoā, about 14 miles west of Thāṇeśwar) is the Uttarāpatha, and the tract lying between Vinaśana and Prayāga is called Antarvedi (or Madhyadeśa).[8] The same division was adopted by the Chinese Travellers also.[9]

The *Jātakas*, also, are familiar with these divisions of India. Uttarāpatha is mentioned three times[10]; Dakkhiṇāpatha is mentioned in the *Sarabhanga* and *Indriya Jātakas*[11]; Majjhimadesa is similarly mentioned a number of times[12]; The names of the other two divisions, *viz*., the Prācya and the Aparānta do not, however, find mention in the *Jātakas*. But their non-mention does not prove that they were unknown to the *Jātakas*, for the countries like Sovīra,[13] Bharu[14] and Suraṭṭha,[15] mentioned in the *Jātakas*, are apparently to be located in the Aparānta division; so also Kajaṅgala,

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1. III, 27; IV, 40; XII, 3; XIX, 17; *Cf*. H. C. Chakladar, *Social Life in Ancient India*, p. 41.
2. VIII, 14.
3. *Prācya* also appears in the *Śat. Brāh*. I, 7, 3, 8; See *Ved. Ind*., II, 46.
4. *Dakṣiṇāpadā* is mentioned in the *Ṛgveda*, X, 61, 8; *cf*. Oldenburg, *Buddha*, p. 394, note.
5. *Udīcyas* are mentioned in the *Śat. Brāh*. XI, 4, 1, 1.
6. See *Ved. Ind*., II. pp. 125-7.
7. *Cf*., *e.g*., *Brahmāṇḍa p*. 34, 64; "*Tairidam Bhāratam varṣam saptakhaṇḍam kṛtam purā*"; Raychaudhury, *op. cit*., p. 92.
8. *Kāvyamīmāṁsā*, (G. O. S. Series), pp. 93. *ff*.
9. See Cunningham, *op. cit*., pp. 13-14; the boundary of the *Madhyadeśa*, the *Āryāvarta* of the *Dharma Sūtras*, seems, gradually, to have expanded itself from Prayāga and Benares, to the east of Aṅga-Kajaṅgala, as the Āryans spread over the country.
10. J., II, pp. 31, 287; IV, p. 79.
11. J., III, p. 463; V, p. 133.
12. J., III, pp. 115, 364, 463; V, p. 134.
13. J., III, p. 470.
14. J., II, pp. 171-2; IV, p. 137.
15. J., III, p. 463; V, p. 133.

mentioned in the *Kapota Jātaka*[1] and the *Bhisa Jātaka*,[2] is clearly the western boundary of the Prācya Deśa.

HIMAVANTA REGION.

Besides the above five divisions or regions, the *Jātakas* know the Himālaya region as a separate division altogether.[3] This region is very frequently alluded to, and the *Jātakas* grow, oftentimes, eloquent over the description of that region showing, thereby, a great deal of observation.[4] This Himavanta region is also known to the *Purāṇas* as *Parvatāśraya* or the "mountain region."[5]

BOUNDARIES.

Unfortunately, the *Jātakas* are perfectly silent about the respective boundaries of these divisions. Only incidentally we come across the names of some of the countries or cities which are there said to have been included in particular divisions. Thus Videha was a kingdom in Majjhimadesa;[6] Takkasilā is said to be outside Majjhimadesa;[7] the country of Arañjara, again, was situated in the Central region;[8] Avantī was included in Dakkhiṇāpatha;[9] the district of Kaṁsa was a part of the Uttarāpatha.[10]

UTTARĀPATHA AND DAKKHIṆĀPATHA.

One remarkable fact now remains to be noticed in this connection. The *Jātakas* seem to have retained the original significance of the terms *Uttarāpatha* and *Dakkhiṇāpatha* as meaning, respectively, "the Northern High Road" and "the Southern High Road." It is clear that originally two great trade routes, both Uttarāpatha and Dakkhiṇāpatha, lent their names to the regions through which they passed.[11] It is in this sense that the districts of Kaṁsa and Uttaramadhurā, which lay on the Northern High Road,[12] are included in Uttarāpatha,[13] and that Avanti, which lay on the Southern High Road,[14] is included in Dakkhiṇāpatha.[15]

1. J., III. p. 226.
2. J., IV, p. 310.
3. See Andersen's *Index*, p. 181.
4. *Cf.* J. IV, pp. 286-7; V, pp. 415-6; VI, pp. 496-7.
5. See *Brahmāṇda pp.* 34, 64; Buddhagoṣa, in his commentary on the *Kathāvatthu*, mentions two territorial names of the two post-Aśokan Buddhist Schools, *viz.*, *Hemavatika*, and *Uttarāpathaka*, thus distinguishing between the two regions: Barua, *Old Brāhmī Inscriptions*, pp. 219-220.
6. J., III, p. 364.
7. J., III, p. 115.
8. J., III, p. 463; V, p. 134.
9. J., III, p. 463; V, p. 133.
10. J., IV, p. 79.
11. Barua, *Old Brāhmī Inscriptions*, pp. 218-220.
12. We know, from the *Gandhāra Jātaka*, III, p. 365, that traders went from Videha to Gandhāra. This route seems to have extended from Videha, across the rivers Gaṅgā and Yamunā, through the desert on to Takkasilā, the Gandhāra capital.
13. J., IV, 79.
14. This route extended from Sāvatthī to Paṭiṭṭhāna; Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, p. 103.
15. J., III, p. 463; V, p. 133. About these trade-routes in detail, see *Supra*, pp. 225-28.

CHAPTER III

GEOGRAPHICAL LEXICON

In order to arrange systematically the mass of geographical material found in the *Jātakas*, we have felt it advisable to place it in a lexiconic order. All the geographical names found in the *Atītavatthu* portions of the *Jātakas* have been arranged in alphabetical order, together with their descriptions as given in the *Jātakas*, their places of reference, and identification and location wherever possible. We have not touched the Introductory portions for this information as we have confined ourselves only to the *Atītavatthu* portion throughout our book, though the former are, in themselves, valuable and have been utilised by other writers.

No.	*Name*	*Description*	*Reference*	*Identification*
1	Aggimāla	A sea (*samudda*) : It was like a blazing fire giving out streaks like that of the midday sun ; merchants from Bharukaccha passed through it in quest of riches ; gold was abundantly found there.	IV, 139 ; 140-G. 108.	It refers "either to the Arabian coast near Aden or some portion of the Somali coast"; Jayaswal, *J. B. B. O. R. S.*, VI, p. 195 and footnote.
2	Aṅga	A kingdom (*raṭṭha*).	II, 211-G. 152 ; IV, 454 ; V. 316; VI, 256, 274. G. 1182.	Identical with the country about the modern districts of Bhāgl-pur and Monghyr : De, *G. D.*, p. 7 ; *C. A . G. I.*, p. 546 .

No.	Name	Description	Reference	Identification
		Its capital was Caṁpā (or Kālacaṁpā)	VII, 31, 32, 42, 256.	See Caṁpā.
		The river Caṁpā flowed between Aṅga and Magadha.	IV, 454, 455.	Modern Cāndan: *P. H. A. I.*, p. 75.
3	Añjana	A mountain situated in the *Mahāaṭavī* or the Great Forest.	V, 133.	*Cf. Mārk P.* 58, 11 ; *Rāmāyaṇa, Kiṣkindhā Kāṇḍa*, 37, 5 ; De, *G. D.*, p. 8, indentifies it with the Suleiman range in the Punjab. Can it not have some connection with the forest of that name near Sāketa? See below.
4	Añjana	A forest near Sāketa.	III, 270 ; 272-G. 70.	Mr. Chakladar identifies it with the Kālakavana of the *Dharmasūtras* and the Kālakārāma of the Buddhists. *I. H. Q.*, IV, pp. 93-4. See Kālamatthika.
5	Adhogaṅgā		II, 283, 329 ; V, 3.	Downward course of the Ganges.
6	Anotatta	A great lake in the Himavanta region.	I, 232 : III, 257, 264, 379; IV, 213, 368, 379; V, 314, 320, 321, 392;	It is the Anu-ta of Yuan Chwang; Watters, *op. cit.*, 1, p. 30. Some identify it with the famous

No.	*Name*	*Description*	*Reference*	*Identification*
			VI, 432.	Mânasa lake, and others with the Rāvaṇhrad or Laṅgā; De, *G. D.*, p. 8. But recent explorers in the Mid-Asia tend to locate it in the vast tract of water near the water-divide of the Kārākoram pass where the headwaters of the Yārkand (Sītā) and the Shyok tributary of the Indus approach. See J. C. Vidyālaṅkār, *Proc. Sixth Oriental Conference*, 1930, pp. 109-10.
		Near by was the table-land of Manosilā.	I, 232; IV, 379; V, 392.	*Cf.* Sven Hedin, *Trans-Himalaya*, II, p. 123.
7	Andhapura	A city; a river named Telavāhā flowed between it and the Seriva Kingdom.	I, 111.	Capital of the Āndhras; De, *op. cit.*, p. 7; perhaps an ancient name of mod. Bezwāḍā: *P. H. A. I.*, p. 64.
8	Ayojjhā	A city.	IV, 82.	Once famous Ayodhyā: it is the A-yu-te of Yuan Chwang who [illegible]ces it 600 *li* (100 miles) to the

No.	*Name*	*Description*	*Reference*	*Identification*
				south-east of the neighbourhood of Navadevakula, a city identified with Newāl in Uṇāo dist. U. P: Law, *G. E. B.* pp. 23-4; the modern ruined city of Ajudhyā which is confined to the north-east corner of the old site, is only a mile from Faizābād; *C. A. G. I.*, p. 466.
9	Arañjaragiri.	A mountain-chain in Majjhimadesa.	III, 463; V, 134; VI, 493, G. 1745; 514.	Cannot be identified with any certainty; it may have been the eastern extension of the Vindhya range. See Kontimārā.
		It was near or on the R. Kontimārā	VI, 493. G. 1745.	?
10	Ariṭṭhapura.	A city in the Sivi Kingdom. It lay on the road from Mithilā to Pañcāla.	IV, 401, V, 210, 212; VI 419.	Perhaps the same as the Aristobothra of Ptolemy on the north of the Punjāb; De, *G. D.* p. 11; if it was the same as the Śivapura mentioned by Patañjali, it is to be located near the mod-

No.	Name	Description	Reference	Identification
				ern Shorkot in Jhāṅg; *P.* H. *A. I.*, p. 170.
11	Avantī	A kingdom in Dakkhiṇāpatha; its capital was Ujjeni.	III, 463; IV, 390: 397-G. 40; V, 133; IV, 390.	It roughly corresponds to modern Mālwā, Nimār and adjoining parts of C. P.: Law, *G. E. B.*, p. 22; *P. H. A. I.*, p. 102. Bhandarkar, *C. L.* p. 45.
12	Asitañjanā	A city in the district of Kaṁsa in Uttarāpatha.	IV, 79, 82.	Not identifiable; King Kaṁsa of the Great Epic, however, ruled at Mathurā: See *Harivaṁśa*, ch. 5, also *Manorathapūraṇī*
13	Assaka	A kingdom: it is associated with Avantī: Capital Potali.	III, 3; V, 317-G. 99. *Ibid.* II, 155; III, 3.	As it is clearly associated with Avantī, it must be located in the south, being different from that of the Greeks in the North; it is identical with that mentioned in the *Suttanipāta*, 977, as situated on the Godāvarī; an Asikanagara is mentioned in the *Hāthigumphā Inscription* of Khāravela.

No.	Name	Description	Reference	Identification
14	Assakaṇṇagiri	A mountain.	VI, 125-G. 556	Somewhere beyond the Himālayas: See *Sutta Nipāta Commentary*, II, 443.
15	Assapura	A city said to have been built by the second son of King Upacara to the south of the Ceta Kingdom.	III, 460.	Perhaps identical with that mentioned in the *Mahā-Assapura-Suttanta* of the *Majjhima Nikāya*, I, 4, 6, as situated in the Aṅga country; it cannot be definitely located.
16	Ahidīpa	Same as Kāradīpa an island near Nāgadīpa which could be reached from Kāvīrapattana in a short time.	IV. 238.	If Nāgadīpa be located in Nicobar (see *infra*) Ahidīpa should be placed near the Andamans: See Nāgadipa.
17	Ākāsagaṅgā	Ganges.	III, 344; V, 124	Certainly Ganges in its earlier course. high upon the Himālaya mountains; *cf.* *Mahābhārata*, *Vanaparva*, ch. 127; it is the Svargaṅgā of the *Amarakośa*, V, 44.
18	Indapatta	A city-capital of Kuru Kingdom.	II, 213, 366, 368; III, 400; IV, 361; V, 57,	It is the Indraprastha of the *Mahābhārata* and the *Purāṇas*; it

No.	*Name*	*Description*	*Reference*	*Identification*
			59, 67, 457, 474, 484, 510, 511 ; VI, 255, 272-G. 1179 : 311, 323-G. 1431-3; 324-G. 1434.	is, obviously, identified with Old Delhi where the fort *Purāṇā Kilā* is still popularly known as Indrapat ; De, *G. D.* pp. 77-8.
		It extended over seven leagues; the road starting from Indapatta to Takkasilā met the road from Benares to the same destination.	V, 484 ; VI, 275. V, 457.	
19	Isipatana	A park (*udapāno*)	II, 354.	It is Sārnāth, 6 miles from Benares.
20	Isadhara	A mountain—one of the 7 mountains encircling Sineru.	VI, 125-G.556.	The *Mahāvastu* calls it Iśāndhara.
21	Ujjenī	A city—Capital of Avantī; merchants came here from Benares.	II, 248, 250 : IV, 390. II, 248.	It is modern Ujjeni on the bank of the Siprā.
22	Uttarakuru	One of the four great Continents.	V, 316.	Siberia : See *Supra*, p. 364.
23	Uttarapañcāla	A kingdom: capital was Kaṁpillanagara, city in Kaṁpilla	III, 379 : VI, 405 ; III, 379 ; II, 213, 214-G.	Northern portion of the country which was originally north and

No.	*Name*	*Description*	*Reference*	*Identification*
		Kingdom.	1547; III, 79, 461; IV, 430; V, 21, 98; VI, 311, 392, 405, 415, 426, 466.	west of Delhi, from the foot of the Himālayas to the river Chambal: De, *G. D.* p. 145; it roughly corresponds to Budaon, Farrukābād and the adjoining districts of U. P., *C.A.G.I.*, pp. 412, 705.
		A city in Kuru Kingdom.	IV, 444.	
24	Uttara-madhurā	A city in Uttarāpatha.	IV, 79.	It is clearly Mathurā, generally identified with Maholi, 5 miles to the S. W. of the present town of Mathurā: Growse, *Mathurā*, pp. 32, 54: De, *op. cit.* pp. 115-6
25	Uttara-himavanta	Northern Himālayas.	III, 377, 471; IV, 114, 119, 328, 367, 368; V, 42; VI, 56.	It refers to the Trans-Himālayan region.
26	Uttarāpatha	Northern Division of India.	II, 287; IV, 79.	Supra, p. 367.
27	Udakapabbata	A mountain in Himavanta.	V, 38.	Occurs at *Apadāna* II, 434.
28	Uddhagaṅgā	The Ganges.	II, 283; VI, 427.	The Upper course of the Ganges.

No.	*Name*	*Description*	*Reference*	*Identification*
29	Upakārī	A town in Pañcāla kingdom lying on the way from the Uttarapañcāla city to the bank of the Ganges, the distance of which was ½ *yojana* and a *gāvuta*.	VI, 450, 458, 427, 430.	Occurs at *Buddhavaṁśa commentary*, 165.
30	Upariganġā	The Ganges.	VI, 230-31	Same as Uddhagangā—the upper course of the Ganges.
31	Ekabala	A Kingdom.	VI, 390.	May be a foreign country B. C. Sen, *op. cit.*, p 40
32	Kaṁsabhoga	The kingdom of Kamsa in Uttarāpatha ; capital Asitañjanā.	IV, 79.	Corresponding to the country round Mathurā over which the Yādava King Kaṁsa ruled
33	Kajangala	A town	III, 226-G. 133-4 ; IV, 310-G. 87.	It is the Ka-chu-wen-ki-lo of Yuan Chwang who says that it was 2000 *li* (*i.e.*, 333 miles) in circuit; he gives the location as 400 *li* (67 miles) east of Champā ; Watters, *Yuan Chwang*, II, p. 182; Cunningham locates it at the

No.	*Name*	*Description*	*Reference*	*Identification*
				modern town of Kankjol, 18 miles south of Rājmahāl : *C. A. G. I.*, p. 548; De, *G. D.*, p. 83.
34	Kañcanaguhā	A cave in the Himālaya region; down the Cittakūṭa mountain· nearby was the Rajatapabbata with a cave, Phalıkaguhā.	I, 491, 492; II, 6, 9. II, 176. II, 6.	It is mentioned in the *Udāna commentary*, 71, 105, as the dwelling-place of maned lions (*kesarasīhā.*)
35	Kañcanapabbata	A mountain in the Himavanta.	II, 396, 397, 399 ; VI, 100.	Perhaps it is a mountain among the chain of the Altai range which may rightly stand for all "golden" hills : *Cf.* Jayaswāl *I. A.* LXII, p. 170.
36	Kaṇṇapeṇṇā (veṇṇā)	A river in the Mahiṁsaka kingdom flowing from Lake Saṅkhapāla ; at its bend stood the mountain Candaka.	V. 162, 163.	It occurs in Khāravela's Inscription (L. 4), if we accept Jayaswal's reading as *Kaṇhaveṇāgatāya*, *J. B. O. R. S.*, III, p. 454 ; IV, 374, which is however challenged by Barua, *Old Brāhmī Inscriptions* p. 11, 208 *ff.*, who reads as *Kalingāgatāya ;* it is

No.	*Name*	*Description*	*Reference*	*Identification*
				identical with the modern Wain or Waingaṅgā which has for its main tributary the Kanhan. The Kanhan and the Wain unite in the district of Bhandara and the united stream comes down to meet the Wardhā in the district of Chandan; Jayaswal, *J. B. O. R. S.* IV, pp. 374-5 ; De, *op. cit.*, p. 104.
37	Kaṇṇamuṇḍā	A lake in Himavanta.	II, 104	The *Sutta Nipāta commentary*, II, 407, says that its waters never grow hot.
38	Kaṁpilla	A city-capital of Uttarapañcāla	III, 379 ; V, 35-G. 95 ; VI, 433-G. 1500.	Identical with modern Kāmpil on the old Ganges, 28 miles N. E. of Fategaḍh in the Farrukhābād dist. U. P. De, *G. D.* p. 188 *C. A. G. I.* p. 413.
		A kingdom : Capital Uttarapañcālanagara.	III, 79 : V, 21, 98 : VI, 391, 464.	
39	Kaṁbojaka	A country. It was famous for its horses ; its people were considered as non-Āryans.	V, 445-G. 315 ; VI, 461-G. 242 ; VI, 208-G. 903.	It was long thought to be the region round about modern Rajaori the ancient Rājapura (*Cf.* Watters,

No.	*Name*	*Description*	*Reference*	*Identification*
				op. cit., I. pp. 284 *ff.*) including the Hazārā district of the N. W. F. P., Bhandarkar, *Aśoka*, p. 31 ; Jayaswal *I. A*, lxii, pp. 130-1 ; but recent research more correctly locates it in the modern Ghālchā territory to the north of Kashmir: See J.C. Vidyālaṅkār, *op. cit.*, pp. 102 *ff.*
40	**Kammāsadamma**	A town in Kuru country.	V, 511, 35.	It is not identified ; it was here that the Buddha delivered two profound discourses, *viz.*, ***Mahānidāna*** and ***Mahāsatipaṭṭhāna Suttantas*** of the ***Dīgha Nikāya:*** Law, *G. E. B.*, p. 17.
41	**Karaṇḍaka**	A forest.	IV, 95.	?
42	**Karaṁbiya**	A sea-port-(*paṭṭana*).	V, 75.	*Cf. Milindapañho.* p. 201.
43	**Karavīka**	A mountain—one among the 7 encircling Sineru.	VI, 125-G. 556	The *Mahāvastu* II, 300, calls it Khadiraka.

No.	*Name*	*Description*	*Reference*	*Identification*
44	Kalyāṇī	A river in Ceylon (Tambapaṇṇi): on the other side was Nāgadipa	II, 128. V, 124-G. 48.	It is modern Kaelani-Gaṅgā in Ceylon: See *J.P.T. S.*, 1888, p. 20. Law. *G. E. B.* p. 71. According to legends Kalyāṇī was at one time much further from the sea than it is now: *Mahāvaṁsa*, XXII, 12 *ff*.
45	Kaviṭṭha	A forest on the banks of the Godāvarī extending over 3 *yojanas*.	V, 123. 133.	According to Buddhaghosa, *Sutta N. Com.*, II. 581, it was an island in the fork of the river.
46	Kasmīra	A kingdom spoken together with Gandhāra.	III, 365, 378.	Evidently the same as modern Kashmir.
47	Kākaneru	A mountain.	VI, 204-G. 880; 212-G. 916.	Probably a peak of the Sineru range. See Sineru.
48	Kāradīpa	An island near Nāgadipa: same as Ahidīpa.	IV, 238.	See Ahidīpa. Kāradīpa receives its name from the *Kāra* trees which grew there.
49	Kālapabbata	A mountain in Himavanta, on which was the table-land of Manosilā.	VI, 265.	Same as Kālagiri; not identifiable. See *Mahāvastu*, II, 300.

No.	*Name*	*Description*	*Reference*	*Identification*
50	Kālacampā	A city-Capital of Aṅga.	VI, 31, 42, 256.	See Campā.
51	Kālamatthika	A forest.	IV, 82, 88.	?
52	Kālagiri	A mountain in Himavanta.	VI, 302-G. 1334 : 304, 309, 326.	Same as Kālapabbata.
53	Kaliṅga	A kingdom ; its capital was Dantapura.	II, 367, 381 ; III, 3, 6, 376, 381, 540, 541-G. 112 ; IV, 230; VI, 487, 521-G. 1949 ; 574.	It corresponds to the country lying on the South of Orissa and north of Draviḍa on the border of the Sea. *C. A.* G. *I.*, pp. 734-5 ; Pargiter, *Mārk.* P., p. 334.
54	Kāsī	A kingdom.	Too numerous. See Andersen, *Index*, pp. 31-2.	Modern country of Kāsī, though much diminished in extent, is still a petty state and has Benares as its capital.
		Capital—Bārāṇasī ; its extent was 300 leagues ;	*Ibid*. pp. 90-2. I, 125 ; III, 304 ; IV, 442.	According to Yuan Chwang it, *i.e.*, the country of Po-lo-nissa or Vārāṇasī was 4000 *li* or 667 miles in circuit ; *C.A.G.I.*, p. 499.
		Kāsi cloth was famous, priced at 100000 pieces.	II, 443, III, 10-11 ; IV, 352 ; V, 78 ; VI, 49, 50, 54, 151, 450, 500, 506.	The *Banārasī Sārī* is still a very valued thing.

No.	Name	Description	Reference	Identification
55	Kiṁbilā	A town.	VI, 121-G. 521	Is it Kihiṁbalā of the *Cullavaṁsa*? (*P. T. S.*) I, pp. 12, 46: *Mahāvaṁsa* 46, 12-13. Also *Anguttara Commentary*, II, 642.
56	Kuṁbhavatī	A city—Capital of Dandaki.	III. 463: V, 134.	According to the *Rāmāyaṇa*, vii, 79, 18, the name of the capital of Daṇḍaka was Madhumanta, while the *Mahāvastu*, Senart's ed. p. 363, places it at Govardhana (Nāsik): *P. H. A.*, I. p. 62.
57	Kuru	A kingdom.	II, 214-G. 154: III. 400: IV, 361, 444; V, 57, 457, 474, 484; VI, 255, 278, 322, 325, 329.	"The ancient Kuru country may be said to have comprised the Kurukṣetra and Thāneśwar. The district formerly included Sonepat, Āmin Kernāl, and Pāṇipat, and was situated between the Saraswatī (mod. Sarsuti) on the north and the Dṛṣadvatī (mod. Rākshi) on the south; De *G. D.* p. 110; *C. A. G. I.*, p. 701.

No.	Name	Description	Reference	Identification
		Its extent was 300 leagues; its capital was Indapatta.	V, 484. See below.	See Indapatta.
58	Kusamāla	An ocean; green (*nīlavaṇṇa*) and grassy-like; merchants from Bharukaccha went there for trading purposes; here a great quantity of precious emeralds was to be found.	IV, 140-G. 112.	Ocean named probably after the Kuśadvīpa of the *Purāṇas*, identified with Nubia on the N. E. coast of Africa. This identification led to Captain Speke's discovery of the Source of the Nile (Scoff, *Periplus*, p. 230); the Kushites were masters of Nubia as early as the 22nd-18th cent. B. C., as their name appears in inscriptions of that period: Jayaswal, *J.B.O.R.S.*, VI, p. 195.
59	Kusāvatī	A city—capital of Malla country; it is said to have been 100 leagues far from Sāgala, the capital of Madda kingdom.	I, 392; V, 278, 285, 293, 294, 297. V, 290.	An older name of Kusīnārā, so much famous in the Buddhist period, being the place where the Buddha obtained *Parinirvāṇa*; it was, very probably, near the modern village of Kāsiā, on the smaller Gaṇḍak

No.	Name	Description	Reference	Identification
				37 miles to the east of Gorakhpur and to the north-west of Bettia ; here, in the large *Stūpa* behind the Nirvāna-temple, was discovered an inscribed copper-plate with the words "(*parini*) *rvāṇa caitye tāmrapaṭṭa iti.*" Law, *G. E. B.*, p. 14 & note. *C.A G.I.*, pp. 713-4 ; De, *G. D.*, pp 11-2 ; *J. R. A. S.*, 1913, p. 152.
60	Kekaka	A city (*Rājadhānī*) spoken together with two other great cities *viz.*, Uttarapañcāla and Indappatta.	II, 213.	Also called Kekaya. The capital of the Kekayas, according to the *Rāmāyana*, was Rājagṛha (different from the Magadhan Capital) or Girivraja, which is identified by Cunningham with Girjāk or Jalālpur on the Jhelum ; *C. A. G. I.*, p. 685 ; Pargiter, *Mārk*, p. 318 and note.

No.	Name	Description	Reference	
		A country spoken together with Pañcāla and Kuru, and with Maccha Sūrasena and Madda.	II, 214-G. 154; VI, 280-G. 1228.	According to the Rāmāyana, the Kekayas were settled between Gandhāra and the Beās in the Punjāb; Raychaudhury, *P. H. A. I.*, p. 41.
61	Ketumatī	A river flowing down the Vipula hill.	VI, 518-G. 1930; 519.	?
62	Kebukā	A river.	III, 91-G. 106; 92-G. 107.	?
63	Kelāsa	A mountain; white with snow.	I, 321; IV, 232; V, 39, 52; VI, 490-G. 1718; 515-G. 1918.	It is the well-known Kailāsa mountain. "It is a spur of the Gangri range; it is the Kangrinpoche of the Tibetans, situated about 25 miles north of Mānas-sarovara beyond the Gangri which is also Darchin, and to the east of the "Niti Pass." De, *G. D.*, pp. 82-3; for its fine description, *cf.* Sven Hedin, *op. cit.*, II, ch. 51.

No.	*Name*	*Description*	*Reference*	*Identification*
64	Kokanada	A country(?) famous for lute-making.	V, 281, 290.	Pargiter identifies it with the Kokaṅkanas, mentioned in the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* as a people in the North West classed with the Trigartas and Darvas; *Mārk.* P., p. 372 and note; 380 and note; if it be so, it can, very well, be identical with Kikiangna of Yuan Chwang which is identified by Stein with Waziristan; *C. A. G. I.*, p. 679. It is one of the group of countries named after trees, like Uduṁbara. See J. Przyluski, *Journal Asiatique*, 1926, pp. 25 *ff*.
65	Koṭuṁbara	A country famous for linen clothes (*khomakoṭuṁbarāṇi*).	VI, 47-G. 166; 500-G. 1801.	It is so mentioned in the *Milinda-pañho—Questions of King Milinda*, (*S. B. E.*) I, p. 2. We long suspected its identity with Auduṁbara and, to our agreeable surprise, found a support in

No.	*Name*	*Description*	*Reference*	*Identification*
				Prof. J. Przyluski who, on philological grounds, connects the two words and makes them of Austro-Asiatic origin; Bagchi, *Pre-Āryan and Pre-Dravidian in India* pp. 149-160.
66	Kontimārā	A river, on which stood the mountain Arañjara; it was 5 leagues far from Suvaṇṇagiritāla and 10 leagues from Jetuttara.	VI, 493, 514.	
67	Kosambī	A city—capital of Vamsa Kingdom.	IV, 28, 56, 392; VI, 237-G. 1057, 238-G. 1070.	Identical with modern Kosam—an old village on the Jumnā, 30 miles S. W. of Allāhābād, *C. A. G. I.*, p. 709. Now see. Law, *Kosambī in Ancient Literature* in *Memoirs of Archaeological Survey of India.*
68	Kosala	A Kingdom.	I, 331, 332; III, 116, 270; V, 315.	In ancient times it was bounded on the west by Pañcāla, on the

No.	Name	Description	Reference	Identification
				south by the Sarpikā or Syandıkā (Sai) river, on the east by the Sadānīrā, wihch separated it from Videha, and on the north by the Nepal hills: it corresponds roughly to the modern Oudh. *P. H. A. I.*, p. 70.
		Its capital cities were Sāketa and Sāvatthī.	III, 270, 272-G. 70 : V, 13 ; I, 331 ; III, 115, 168 ; V, 134 ; VI, 123-G. 546.	See Sāketa and Sāvatthī.
69	Kosikī	A river—a tributary of the Ganges in the Himavanta region.	V, 2, 5-G. 11.	Identical with the modern Kusi or Kosı ; De, *G. D.*, p. 97 ; it flows into the Ganges on its north bank through the district of Purnea ; it has shifted its course : Pargiter, *Mārk. P.*, p. 292. See discussion, *Indian Culture*, I and II.
70	Khuramāla	A sea, "where fish with bodies like men and sharp razor-like snouts dive in and out	IV, 139-G. 106.	According to Mr. Jayaswāl, "the Babylonian National legend of their Man-Fish (Oannes) who was

No.	*Name*	*Description*	*Reference*	*Identification*
		of water" ; merchants from Bharukaccha passed by it in search of wealth ; diamonds were found there.		supposed to have lived in the sea and civilized them, is well-known. "*Khur*" was a Babylonian God mentioned in their inscriptions of the time of Khammurabi (2200 B. C.) ; Sayce, *Religions of Ancient Egypt and Babylon*, p. 79 ; Jayaswāl, *J. B. O. R. S.*, VI, p. 195.
71	Khema	A lake in Bārāṇasī.	IV, 424, 427 ; V, 356, 374-G. 145.	
72	Khemā	A river, flowing straight from the Himavanta.	V, 199-G. 19.	If it has any connection with Khemavatīnagara or simply Khema, the birth-place of the Buddha Krakuchchada, it may be located near Gutiva, 4 miles to the south of Tilaura in the Nepalese Terai ; P. C. Mukerji, *Antiquities of Terai, Nepal*, pp. 49, 55 ; De, *G. D.*, p. 99.

No.	*Name*	*Description*	*Reference*	*Identification*
73	Gaggali	A village-built on the southern bank of the Ganges.	VI, 431.	?
74	Gaṅgā	A river; there was a great natural lake very near to the river; when there was a flood, the two became one;	See Anderson's *Index*; II, 79 V, 392.	It is of course the river Ganges; for its course, see De, *G. D.*, p. 61; *I.A.*, L., pp. 8, 33, 65; Malalasekara's *Dictionary*, I, pp 733-5
		"Whatever streams pour themselves into the Gaṅgā, all these lose names and kind";	VI, 359-G. ?	
		the river had winter floods (*himodaka*);	II, 450.	
		there were red fish in the river:	III, 52	
		it came on the way between Uttarapañcāla and Mithilā;	VI. 427.	
		it met the Yamunā at a certain place;	II, 151.	The confluence is at Prayāga or Allāhābād, as is well-known.
		its another name was Bhāgīrasī.	V, 255-G. 2 7; VI, 204-G. 879.	Named after Bhagīratha; D. N. Sen, *I. A.*, L. p. 192.
75	Gandhamādana	A mountain in Himavanta.	III, 452-3, 478-G. 86; IV, 16, 287-G. 40-1, 438; V, 63-G.163, 196-G. 14,	According to Mr. De, it was a part of the Rudra-Himālaya, *G. D.*, p. 60. For description

No.	*Name*	*Description*	*Reference*	*Identification*
			395-G. 222, VI, 79-G. 304, 83, 518-G. 1936, 519, 528-G. 2010, 533, G. 2054, 579-G. 2376.	in Literature see Malalasekara, *op. cit.* I, pp 746-8
76	Gandhāra	A kingdom,	I, 191, 273, 285, 317, 395; II. 217, III, 364, 365, 367-G. 77, VI, 500-G 1796.	Occurring in the *Vedic* Literature under the name Gandhāris, *Vedic Index,* I, pp 218-9; it comprised the districts of Peshāwar and Rāwalpindī in the Northern Punjāb; *P. H. A. I*, p 39, it lay on both sides of the Indus; see also, Jayaswāl, *I. A.* LXII, pp. 131-2.
		famous for its bright robes (*Indagopakavaṇṇābhā Gandhārā Paṇḍu Kambalā*).	VI, 500-G. 1796.	
		Capital Takkasilā—a great centre of learning, it included Kasmīra, it had trade relations with Videha.	I, 191, 273, 285, 317, 395, II, 217; III, 377 III, 365, *Ibid.*	See under Takkasilā, the older capital seems to have been Puṣkarāvatī; De, *op. cit.*, p. 61, *C. A. G. I.*, pp. 56-8; 676; Puṣkarāvatī (Pencelaotis of

No.	**Name**	**Description**	**Reference**	**Identification**
				Arrian) is represented by the modern Prang and Charsadda, 17 miles N. E. of Peshāwar, on the Swāt river, *P. H. A. I.*, p. 39
77	**Gambhīra**	A port (*pattanagāmo*).	I. 239.	Has it any connection with the river of the same name which flows 7 or 8 miles north of Anurādhapura, Ceylon *Cf. Mahāvaṁsa*, (*P T.S.*) p. 290 Law, *G E. B* p. 71.
78	**Gayā**	A river — a sacred *tittha* for offering sacrificial gifts, spoken together with Bāhukā, Dona and Timbaru.	V, 388-G. 199.	It is the same as the river Phalgu on which stands Gayā. It is still a sacred place where pilgrims flock; See Barua, *Gayā and Buddah Gayā*, p. 87 and note, 239-240.
79	**Garahita**	A mountain.	II, 186.	?

No.	*Name*	*Description*	*Reference*	*Identification*
80	Gijjhakūta	A mountain.	II, 50. 55 III, 255. 484, V, 424. VI, 204, 212.	Cunningham has identified it with the lofty hill now called Śailagiri, *C. A. G. I.*, p 534; it lies two miles and a half to the S. E. of the present town of Rājgir, it is also called Giryek hill; Law, *G. E. B.*, p. 41.
		It was near Rājagaha.	II, 55.	
81	Godhāvarī	A river, near which was the forest of Kavitthavana. 3 leagues in extent.	V, 132. 136	Mod. Godāvarī, it has its source in Brahmagiri situated on the side of a village called Tryambaka, twenty miles from Nāsik. De, *G. D.*, p. 69; it falls into the Bay of Bengal.
82	Goyānīya	One of the four great continents.	VI. 278-G. 1212.	*Supra.* p. 364.
83	Govaddhana	A village in the Kamsa district in Uttarāpatha.	IV. 80.	Perhaps connected with the mountain by name Govardhana near Mathurā of the Epic. *Cf. Harivaṁśa*, ch. 55.
84	Ghanasela	A mountain in the kingdom of Avantī in Dakkhināpatha.	III, 463; V, 133	?
85	Cakkadaha	A Lake	IV, 232.	?

No.	*Name*	*Description*	*Reference*	*Identification*
86	Cakkavāla	A mountain.	VI, 282.	?
87	Caṇḍoraṇa	A mountain in the Himavanta region.	IV, 90, 93-G. 4, 6.	It should have probably been a part of the Altāi mountain which in the Mongolian (*altai-ula*) means the 'mountains of gold.' Jayaswāl, *I. A.*, LXII, p. 170.
88	Candapassa	A mountain in the Himavanta region.	IV. 283, 288 ; V, 38.	,,
89	Candaka	A mountain, which stood on a bend of the river Kaṇṇapeṇṇā in Mahimsaka Kingdom.	V, 162.	It may, possibly, be located somewhere near the Wardhā river in the district of Chanda. *J. B. O. R. S.*, IV, p. 375 ; De identifies it with the Malayagiri-Malabār Ghāṭs ; *G. D.*, p. 46.
90	Campā	A city—Capital of Aṅga kingdom ; it was situated on the river Campā which flowed between Aṅga and Magadha ; it was 60 leagues from Mithilā,	IV, 32 ; VI, 31, 42, 256; IV, 454. VI, 32.	Its actual site, as pointed out by Cunningham, is probably marked by two villages named Campāpura and Campānagara, which still exist near Pāthārghāṭā—a very ancient site covered with

No.	*Name*	*Description*	*Reference*	*Identification*
		it was a very busy trading centre from which traders sailed to Suvannabhūmī.	VI, 34.	ruins—24 miles to the east of Bhāgalpur, *C.A.G.I.*, pp. 546-7. It is very probable that these emigrant-traders settled in Suvannabhūmī (or Lower Burmā) first, and then further East, and established the great settlement of the same name—Campā in Indo-China. See R. C. Majumdar, *Campā*, intro., pp. xxii-xxiii, De. *J.A.S B*, 1914, Elliot, *Hinduism and Buddhism*, III, pp. 137 *ff*.
91	Cittakūta	A mountain in the Himavanta.	II, 107, 176, III, 208, 209, 247, 248; IV, 212-4, 215-218, 423-4, 427, 430; V, 337-8, 352, 354-8, 365, 381; VI, 125, 126-G. 561, 127.	If it is the same as mentioned in the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Purāṇas* it may be identified with the hill lying 65 miles W. S. W. of Allāhābād, Raychaudhury, *Studies in Indian Antiquities*, p. 134; but the *Jātaka*'s association of it with the Himālayas is rather inexplicable.

No.	*Name*	*Description*	*Reference*	*Identification*
92	Ceta (ti)	A kingdom	I, 253, III, 454, VI 514-G. 1910.	It is Cedi mentioned as early as the *Rg-Veda* (viii, 5, 37-9).
		It is stated to be 30 leagues distant from Jetuttara, the capital of the Sivi Kingdom.	VI, 514.	Even in Vedic times it was probably situated in the same locality as in the later period (*Ved. Ind.*, I, p. 263.) *i.e.*, along the south-bank of the Jumnā, from the river Chambal on the N. W., to Karwi on the S. E. thus roughly corresponding to modern Bundelkhand and a part of C. P., Pargiter, *Mārk, P.*, p. 359 ; *C. A. G. I.*, p. 725 ; De, *G. D.*, p. 48.
		There was a high road between Kāsi and Ceti, which, being infested with roving bands of marauders, was not safe.	I, 253-4.	
		Its capital was Sotthivatī.	III, 454.	
93	Chaddanta	A lake in the Himavanta.	V, 37, 38, 39.	It is mentioned in the *Anguttara Nikāya*, (*P. T. S.*) IV, p. 101. It is not identifiable.
94	Jambudīpa	One of the four Great Continents.	See Andersen's *Index*.	*Supra*. p. 364.
95	Jetuttara	A city—capital of Sivi kingdom.	VI, 480, 484-G.-1698, 486, 487, 514, 545, 566, 574, 580, 592.	*Cf.* ***Mahāvamsa*, 89, 5 ; it should be located near Nagarī, a small town 11 miles north of Chitor**

No.	*Name*	*Description*	*Reference*	*Identification*
				in Rājputānā, where several coins bearing the legend "*Majjhamikāya Sivi Janapadassa*" have been found. It is however the Jettaraur of Alberunī, the capital of Mewār: *C. A. G. I.*, p. 669, De, *G. D.*, p. 81.
96	Takkasilā	A city—capital of Gandhāra, it was a great seat of learning.	See Andersen's *Index*. p. 61.	It was known to the Greeks as 'Taxila' it has been located by Cunningham near the ruins near Shāh-dheri, 12 miles N. W. of Rāwalpindi, *C. A. G. I.*, pp. 680-1; see for the description of the ruins Marshall, *A Guide to Taxila*, pp. 1-4.
97	Tambapanni	An Island There was a city named Sirisavatthu, paddy grew wild.	II, 127, 129	It is Tāmraparni of the *Purāṇas* and Taprobane of the Greeks, the first among whom to mention it is said to be Onesikritos, the pilot of Alexander's ship; Mc-Crindle, *Ancient India as described in Classical Literature.* pp.

No.	*Name*	*Description*	*Reference*	*Identification*
				102 *ff.* It is to be identified with Ceylon.
98	Tikūta	A mountain spoken with Mallagiri and Paṇḍaraka.	IV, 438-G. 169.	It is probably identical with the *Trikakud* of the Vedic Literature, which is identified with the modern Trikoṭa, a lofty mountain to the north of the Punjāb and south of Kāshmīr, containing a holy spring: *Ved. Ind.*, I, p. 329: De, *G. D.*, p. 205.
99	Timbaru	A *tittha* or a sacred place for offering gifts spoken together with Bāhukā, Gayā, and Doṇa.	V, 385-G. 199.	?
100	Telavāhā	A river on which stood Andhapura to which traders from the Seriva kingdom came after crossing the river.	I, 111.	Dr. Bhandarkar identifies it with the modern Tel or Telingiri; both flowing not far from each other and on the common confines of Madras and the Central Provinces: *I. A.*, 1918, p. 71; *Aśoka*, p. 34; Dr. Raychaudhury however says that "if 'Seri' or

No.	Name	Description	Reference	Identification
				'Śrī-rājya' refers to the Gaṅga kingdom of Mysore, Telavāhā may have been another name of the Tuṅgabhadrā-Kṛṣṇā and Andhapura identical with Bezwādā." *P.H.A.I.*, p. 64.
101	Thūna	A Brāhmaṇa village coming between Mithilā and the Himavanta.	VI, 62.	It occurs also in *Mahāvagga*, V, 13, 12 and *Divyāvadāna*, p. 22; it has not been identified. Prof. Majumdar, however, on the description of it in the *Mahāvagga* as the Western boundary of the Buddhist Middle Country, proposes to identify it with Thāneśwar which is said by Yuan Chwang to be the said boundary: *C. A G. I.*, Intro. p. xliii; the *Jātaka* description would however seem to indicate its position to the north of Mithilā and south of the Himālayas.

No.	Name	Description	Reference	Identification
102	Dakkhināpatha	The Southern division of India.	III. 463 , V. 133.	*Supra*. p. 367.
103	Dandakahiraññа	A mountain in the Himavanta , it was reached after crossing the three ranges of mountains from Benares.	II, 33, 36, 38	?
104	Daddara	A mountain in the Himavanta	II, 67-G 41 , III, 16.	Most probably, it is the same as Dardura mountain mentioned in the *Purānas*. See *Mārk*, *P*., 57, 13 , it should be located north of Kāshmīr and among the Hindukush.
105	Daddarapura	A city.	III, 461.	We propose to connect it with the Darada people mentioned in the *Purāṇas Mārk P.*, 57, 38; *Visṇu*, *P.*, II, III; it should then be located in the present Dārdistān: See Aurel Stein, *Khotān*, pp. 14-18; the Daradas are known to the Greek writers: McCrindle, *op. cit.*, p. 51 and note *Cf. I. A.*, 1884, p. 345.

No.	*Name*	*Description*	*Reference*	*Identification*
106	Dadhimāla	A sea—looking like milk and curds ; merchants from Bharukaccha came there seeking for riches ; silver was produced in abundance there.	IV, 140-G. 110.	According to Mr. Jayaswāl, the Dadhimāla sea by the Kuśa country is evidently what we call the Red Sea, both the names having been derived from the appearance of the sea thickened by the peculiar matter which floats in it : *J. B. O. R. S.*, VI, p. 195.
107	Dantapura	A city—capital of Kalinga.	II. 367, 371, 381 ; III, 3, 376 ; IV, 230, 231, 232, 236.	Various identifications have been put forward: Cunningham placed it in Rājā Mahendri, 30 miles to the N.E. of Coringa: *C.A.G.I.*, pp. 592-3: De identifies it with Dantan on the Kāsāi in the district of Midnāpore ; *ibid.*, p. 735 ; De, *G. D.*, p. 53. Mr. G. Rāmdās places it in the neighbourhood of Chicacole : *E. I.* XIV, p. 361 ; M. Sylvan Lévi however correctly identifies it with the Paloura of Ptolemy

No.	*Name*	*Description*	*Reference*	*Identification*
				and accepts its location as given by Mr. Rāmdās: *Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian in Ind.* 163. *ff.* 171. The place must be near the Chilka lake and the old route from Mālud: *J. B. O. R. S.*, XXI, pp. 137-8.
108	Damila	A kingdom; very near to it was an island named Kāra-dīpa; its chief port was Kāvīrapaṭṭana.	IV, 238.	It is the Limurike of Ptolemy which, according to Dr. Caldwell, was a mistake for Ḍamir-ike (See Mc-Crindle's *Ptolemy*, p. 49) '*ike*' in Tamil meaning country. It is identified with Kerala or the Malabār coast. De, *G. D.*, p. 52.
109	Dasaṇṇa	A kingdom; it was famous for sharp-edged swords (*tikk-hiṇadhāraṁ asiṁ*).	III, 338-G. 39; VI, 238-G. 1065.	The '*Periplus*' mentions Dosarene as famous for Ivory (Scoff. *Periplus*, pp. 47, 253) Nonnos mentions the "serried ranks of the Dosareans"; McCrindle, *Ancient India as described in Classical Literature*, p. 198; the country is

No.	*Name*	*Description*	*Reference*	*Identification*
				generally identified with Vidiśā or Bhilsā region in C. P.: Law, *G. E. B.*, p. 26. De, *G. D.*, p. 54.
110	Dunnivittha	A village in Kalinga and some 5 *yojanas* far from Arañjaragiri	VI, 514, 521	?
111	Dona	A *tittha*—a sacred place for offering gifts; spoken together with Gayā and Bāhukā and Timbaru.	V, 388-G. 199	?
112	Dvārakā	A city.	IV, 85-G. 141.	Same as Dvāravatī.
113	Dvāravatī	A city: on one side of it was the sea and on the other mountains: it was very strongly built.	IV, 82, 83, 84, 85.	It is the 'Barake' of the *Periplus*, p 389. Originally it was situated near the mountain Girnār; perhaps in later days it came to be recognised as the same as modern Dvārkā on the seashore on the extreme west coast of Kāthiāwād: *Purātattva*, IV, pp. 101 *ff*. *Nāgarī Pracāriṇī Patrikā*, 12 (N. S.), pp. 97 *ff*.

No.	Name	Description	Reference	Identification
114	Dhammapāla	A village in Kāsi kingdom.	IV, 50.	?
115	Nandamūlaka	A mountain in the Uttarahimavanta.	III, 240, 245, 304, 377, 379, 407, 433, 439, 471, 472; IV, 114-6, 342, 367-8, 370; V, 248.	?
116	Nammadā	A river spoken together with the sea and the Ganges as containing big crabs.	II, 344-G. 51; IV, 392, 397-G. 40.	It is the river Nammadus of the *Periplus*, Scoff, *op. cit.* p. 30, and the Nai-mo-te of Yuan Chwang, Watters, *op. cit.* II, p. 241; it is the modern Narmadā which rises in the Amarakaṇṭaka mountain and falls into the gulf of Cambay.
117	Nalamāla	A sea: which, had the appearance of an expanse of reeds or a grove of bamboos; merchants from Bharukaccha passed across it in quest of riches: it was full of coral of the colour of the bamboos.	IV, 140, 141-G. 114.	It was a canal which took the *Jātaka* mariners from Kuśanīla country into the volcano sea (*Valabhā mukha*). It existed, as pointed out by Mr. Jayaswāl, in the time of Seti I, 1380 B.C.; this canal joined the Red Sea near the Bitter lake with

No.	*Name*	*Description*	*Reference*	*Identification*
				the Nile and made a navigation from the Red Sea into the Mediterranean possible. The canal ceased to exist in the next millennium, as in 609 B. C., Necho started building another canal without success. *J. B. O. R. S.*, VI, p. 195.
118	Nāgadīpa	An island: it was on one side of Tambapaṇṇi and the river Kalyāni was on the other; it came on the way of the mariners from Bharukaccha to Suvaṇṇabhūmi.	II, 128; III, 187-8; IV, 238.	The name of this island occurs in the *Mahābhārata* and the *Purāṇas* as one of the 9 divisions of India (or rather Greater India). *C. A. G. I.*, pp. 8-9; and App. 1. Unfortunately it has not been definitely identified; Gerini's identification of it with Ceylon is not conclusive: *Researches on Ptolemy's Geography*, p. 380; *Cf. J. C. A. S.*, 1848, p. 71; Tennett *Ceylon* etc., I, pp. 331-2 and notes; Senaveratana, *The Story of the Sinhalese*, I, p. 2,

No.	*Name*	*Description*	*Reference*	*Identification*
				seems to locate it in the North-western part of Ceylon; Jayaswāl's identification of it with Nicobār is however noteworthy: *History of India*, 150 *A. D.*—350 *A. D.*, p. 155: Majumdar's suggested identification of it with Elephaṇṭā is out of question. For the traditional origin of Nicobār Islands, See Barbe, *J. R. A. S.*, 1846, pp. 344-6.
119	Nārivana	A forest in the Himavanta.	V, 152.	?
120	Nālika	A mountain in the Himavanta, on the N. W. of which was the lake Mucalinda.	VI, 518-G. 1942-3, 59.	?
121	Nisabha	A mountain near the Himavanta.	VI, 204-G. 880, 212-G. 916.	It is probably the same as the Niṣadha of the *Purāṇas*. It should be identified with the 'Paropanisad' of the Greeks, now called the Hindukush: *I. A.* LXII, p. 169; De, *G. D.* p. 141.

No.	*Name*	*Description*	*Reference*	*Identification*
122	**Nemindhara**	A mountain among the seven encircling the R. Sīdā.	VI, 125-G. 557.	*Cf.* Hardy, *op. cit.*, p. 12 ; probably it was a peak in the Kārākorum range.
123	**Nerañjarā**	A river.	IV, 392, 397-G. 40.	It is identical with the modern Nilājan or Lilājan at a short distance to the east of Bodhgayā, which has its source near Simeria in the district of Hazāribāgh. Mohanā and Nilājan unite to form the river Phalgu. Law, *G. E. B.*, p. 39 ; Barua, *Gayā and Buddha Gayā*, p. 101.
124	**Neru**	A mountain in the Himavanta ; 'noblest of mountains.'	III, 247-G. 22, 248-G. 25.	See Meru.
125	**Pañcāla**	A kingdom.	II, 214-G. 154 ; III, 80-G. 90-1, 381 ; VI, 412-G. 1461, 424-G. 1491.	Same as Uttarapañcāla.
126	**Paṇḍaraka**	A mountain—spoken together with Mallagiri and Tikūṭa.	IV, 438-G. 169.	It is perhaps the Pāṇḍūra of the *Purāṇas*, *Cf.*, *e.g.*, *Mārk. P.*, 55, 10, which calls it the 'loftiest

No.	*Name*	*Description*	*Reference*	*Identification*
				of mountains.' It is there also mentioned shortly after Trikūṭa. It may be located in the Rudra Himālayas or Garwāl. De, *G. D.*, p. 196.
127	Payāga	A *tittha*—a sacred place for bathing where flowed the river Yamunā.	VI, 198-G. 857.	It must be taken to mean the confluence of the Ganges and the Jumnā, *i. e.*, at Allāhābād: Barua, *op. cit.*, p. 87 note.
128	Pāragaṅgā	A river	VI, 427.	It implies probably the downward course of the Ganges.
129	Pupphavatī	A city—older name of Benares.	IV, 119; VI, 131, 145-G. 655-662, 146.	Banares?
130	Pubbavideha	One of the four great Continents.	VI, 278-G. 1212.	*Supra*, p. 364.
131	Poṭali	A city—capital of Assaka Kingdom.	II, 155, 156; III, 3.	It is the same as Poṭana of the *Dīgha Nikāya*, and Pauḍanya of the *Mahābhārata*. Mr. De considers it as the same as

No.	*Name*	*Description*	*Reference*	*Identification*
				Paṭitthāna—modern Paiṭhan, on the north bank of the river Godāvarī, 28 miles to the south of Auraṅgābād; *G. D.*, pp. 157-9.
132	Bandhumatī	A city.	VI, 480.	?
133	Bahukā	A river—spoken of together with the Gayā river.	V, 388-G. 199.	It is probably the same as the Bahudā of the *Mahābhārata* and identical with the river Dhabalā now called Dhumela or Burhā-Rāptī, a feeder of the Rāptī in Oudh: *Cf.* De, *op. cit.*, 16. Pargiter, however, identifies it with the Rāmagaṅgā which joins the Ganges on the left near Kanauj: *Mārk, P.*, pp. 291-2; See Barua, *Gayā and Buddhagayā*, p. 87 note.
134	Bārāṇasī	City—Capital of Kāsi; it was 12 leagues in extent and a great centre of trade.	See Anderson's *Index*. V, I, 125, 314; II, 244; III, 87, 239, 410, 446; IV, 214, 269, 378; VI, 160.	Modern Benares.

No.	*Name*	*Description*	*Reference*	*Identification*
135	Bāveru	A kingdom, where traders from India sailed for trading purposes. It is said that there were no birds, and peacock was first introduced there by the Indian traders.	III, 126, 127.	It is correctly identified with ancient Babylon. See Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India* p. 104; *C. H. I.*, I, p. 396. The fact of the taking of the peacock from India receives a tacit support from the Greek and Roman sources. See McCrindle, *The Invasion of India*, pp. 362-3; *Cf. C. H. I.*, I, p. 396, Lévi, *Annuaire de L'Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes*, 1913-4.
136	Bāhīya	A kingdom. whose foresters were known.	I, 421-G. 107; III, 432-G. 15.	Identical with Bāhlīka known to the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, See *Ved. Ind.* II, p. 67. It lay between the Chenab and the Sutlej. The Bāhlikas were probably settlers from Balkh, the capital of Bactria. They lived by robbery, as Mr. De says; according

No.	Name	Description	Reference	Identification
				to a Passage from the *Mahābhārata* quoted by Majumdar, the Bāhīkas were also called Jārtikas. (Jāṭs) and Āraṭṭas (the Arattai of the *Periplus*) *C. A. G. I.*, pp. 686-7. *Cf.* Pargiter, *Mārk, P.*, p. 311 note.
137	**Brahmavaddhana**	A city—another name of Bārāṇasī.	IV, 119; V, 312, 313, 314, 316.	Benares ?
138	**Bharu**	A kingdom of which Bharukachha was a sea-port town.	II, 171, 172; IV, 137.	It must have been a small kingdom with Bharukaccha (Broach) as its capital. Huen-Tsang gives a short but graphic description of it—his Po-lu-ka-che-po; according to him "it was 2400 or 2500 *li* in circuit *i.e.*, about 400 miles; the soil was brackish and vegetation sparse. Salt was made by boiling water and the people were supported by the sea."

No.	*Name*	*Description*	*Reference*	*Identification*
				Watters, *Yuan Chwang*, II, p. 241. This may equate it with modern Gujarāt.
139	Bharukaccha	A sea-port town of Bharu kingdom. From the port, traders went to Suvaṇṇabhūmi probably *via* Taṁbapaṇṇi and Nāgadīpa—and also towards the west across the Arabian Sea and the Persian gulf.	III, 188, 190-G. 57 ; IV, 137, 138, 139-G. 106, 140-G. 108, 110, 112, 141-G. 114, 116, 142. III, 188. III, 126-7. IV, 137-142.	It is Barygaza of Ptolemy and the *Periplus* and Bargoza of Strabo: See McCrindle, *Ancient India as Described in Classical Literature*. pp. 78 *ff*; Scoff. *The Periplus*, pp. 40, 287. It is modern Broach.
140	Bhāgīrathī	A river.	V, 255-G. 27 ; VI, 204-G. 879.	It is the name given to the stream which rises at Gangotri in the mountains of Garwāl (in the Rudra Himālaya) and is considered to be the primary and the holiest source of the Ganges. See De, *The early Course of the Ganges, I. A.*, L, p. 10. Later on

No.	*Name*	*Description*	*Reference*	*Identification*
				it became synonymous with the Ganges. Tradition connects it with Bhagiratha, the Āryan hero: D. N. Sen, *Trans-Himālayan Reminiscences in Pāli Literature*, *I. A.*, L, p. 192.
141	Bheṇṇākaṭa	A country (*Janapada*).	VI, 237-G. 1062.	It is most probably the same as Beṇṇākaṭaka occurring in the *Nāsik Inscriptions* where it is taken to be situated in the dist. of Govardhana (*i.e.*, Nāsik): *E.I.*, VIII, pp. 67-71; *A. S. W. I.*, IV, p. 104; Rapson, *Coins of the Andhras*, Introd., pp. xxix, xxvii. Mr. V. S. Bakhle however rightly separates Beṇṇākaṭaka from the 'Govaddhanasa' and looks for Beṇṇākaṭaka outside the dist. of Nāsik. He has successfully tried to identify the country with the tract round about modern Kolhāpur and watered

No.	*Name*	*Description*	*Reference*	*Identification*
				by Beṇā or the modern Kṛṣṇā *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, III (N. S.), pp. 187 *ff*. Beṇṇākarpara is mentioned as a *Bhāga* of King Pravarasena II in the *Seoni Copper plate Grant* (Circa 430 A. D.) Fleet, *Gupta Inscriptions*, No. 56. A city by name Beṇṇāyada occurs also in two old Jaina stories given in Jacobi's *Erzahlungen* (Trans. J.J. Meyer, *Hindu Tales*, pp. 205, 223), which we take to be the same as our Bennākaṭa.
142	Bhogavatī	The golden city of the Nāga Varuṇa: a glorious description of its splendours is given in several *gāthās*.	VI, 269-G. 1164.	It is considered as a mythical city. But Mr. De in his remarkable work on '*The Rasātala or the Underworld*' identifies it with Balkh—the Bactria of the Greeks. "The name of Bhogavatī" he says, "is the Sanskritized form

No.	*Name*	*Description*	*Reference*	*Identification*
				of Bakhdhi mentioned in the *Avestā* (*Vendidād*), ch. I, (S.B.E. Vol. I, p. 2,) which was the ancient name of Balkh." *I. H. Q.*, II, pp. 518-9. According to Strabo, Balkh was the ornament of all Ariana: McCrindle, *Ancient India*, pp. 100 *ff*. Hamilton and Falconer, *Strabo*, II, pp. 252-3. It is however also possible that the place is identical with its namesake Bhogavatīpura Nāgapura, the capital of Śāvaka—the Tamilian form of Jāvā. See S. K. Aiyangar, *Some Contributions*, pp. 374 *ff*; it was also, another name for Ujjayinī: Raychaudhury, *P. H. A. I.*, p. 378. It seems from all this that Bhogavatī was essentially a general name for a Nāga capital.

No.	*Name*	*Description*	*Reference*	*Identification*
143	**Magadha**	Kingdom.	I, 143, 154, 199, 213, 373, 444, 466 : II, 55, 211 ; III. 479 : IV, 325, 454 ; V, 171-G. 170, 316, 317-G. 99.	It roughly corresponds to the present Patna and Gaya districts of Bihar, *P. H. A. I.*, p. 78.
		Its capital was Rājagaha. The country was rich with paddy-fields. The river Campā flowed between it and Aṅga.	I, 143. IV, 154.	
		Two Magadha villages *viz.*, Sālindiya and Macala are mentioned.	III, 293, 298 ; IV, 276, 279 ; I, 199.	
144	Macala	A village in Magadha.	I, 199.	?
145	Maccha	A kingdom—spoken together with Pañcāla, Sūrasena, Madda and Kekaya.	VI, 280-G. 1228.	Equivalent to Matsya. The Matsya people are known to the Vedic Literature; See *Ved. Index*, [illegible] pp. 121-2. It originally included parts of modern states

No.	Name	Description	Reference	[illegible]ification
				of Alwar, Jaipur and Bharatpur; See Bhandarkar, *C. L.* 1918, p. 53, De, *G. D.*, 128; *C. A. G. I.*, p. 387.
146	Majjhimadesa	Middle country— a division of India. "In it lived wise men who posed one with questions, called upon one to return thanks, and to repeat a form of blessing and reproved the incompetent."	III, 115-6, 364, 463; V, 134.	*Supra*, p. 367.
147	Manipassa	A mountain in the Himavanta	V, 38.	A Maniśaila is mentioned in the *Mārk, P.*, pp 55,4. It cannot be identified.
148	Madda	A kingdom—capital Sāgala	IV 230, V, 283. VI, 280-G 1228.	It was located between the Rāvī and the Chenāb, occupying the modern district of Siālkot. (*Sāgala*)· *C. H. I.*, I, p. 121, *P. H. A. I.*, p. 43.

No.	Name	Description	Reference	Identification
149	Manosilā	A mountain near the Anotatta lake in the Himavanta.	I, 232; III, 379; V, 392, 423	The word *Manosilā* means red-arsenic rock. Sven Hedin, in his '*Trans-Himalaya*,' Vol. II, p. 123, speaks of a Cinnabar red hill lying on the north side of a slightly indented bay of the Western shore: See, *I. A.* Vol. L. p. 162.
150	Malla	A kingdom—capital Kusāvatī.	IV, 327, 331-G. 137; V, 278.	It may correspond to the territory round about Kāsia which preserves the ruins of the old Kuśāvatī and Kusīnārā. *Cf. P. H. A. I.*, p. 88.
151	Mallagiri	A mountain-spoken together with Paṇḍaraka and Tikūta.	IV, 438-G. 169.	It was probably some peak of the Kārākorum mountains which are situated, according to the *Mahābhārata*, between the Nīla and Niṣadha, *i.e.*, the Kuenlen and the Hindukush: De, *G. D.* p. 122. It is perhaps identical with the Maleus of Pliny. McCrindle, *Ancient India as Described in Classical Literature*, p. 109.

No.	*Name*	*Description*	*Reference*	*Identification*
152	Mahiṁsaka	A kingdom. Its capital city was Sakula. It was outside the boundary of Magadharaṭṭha. The river Kaṇṇapeṇṇā issuing out of the lake of Mānusiya, flowed in the kingdom and on its bend stood the mount Candaka.	I, 356; V, 162, 337; V, 337. V, 162.	Nowhere in the *Purāṇas* or in the Buddhist Pāli Literature does this name occur. One is however readily tempted to connect it with the people variously termed in the *Purāṇas* as Māhiṣakas, Mahiṣas, Māhiṣmakas: See Pargiter, *Mārk, P.*, p. 333. But without going into the controversy about the identity between Mahiṣamaṇḍala and Mysore or Māhiṣmatī (See discussion between Rice and Fleet reprinted in *Q. J. M. S.*, III, pp. 53-76), we may state that Mahiṁsaka appears clearly to be different from Māhiṣmatī; for, Mahiṁsaka was watered by the Kaṇṇapeṇṇā, while Māhiṣmatī stood on the Narmadā *Cf.* Munshi, *I. A.*, LI, pp. 217 *ff.* *J. R. A. S.* 1910, pp. 867 *ff.*

No.	Name	Description	Reference	Identification
				Here we are reminded of Khāravela's *Hāthigumphā Inscription* wherein, if we accept Jayaswāl's reading, we find the Mūṣikas on the Kannabennā: *J. B. O. R. S.*, III p. 442; IV, 374-5; Barua, however, reads '*Asika*': See *Old Brāhmī Inscriptions*, pp. 11, 207-9. If however our identity of Mahiṁsaka with Mūṣika be correct, the country can be located about the districts of Bhandara and Chanda in C. P., *Cf.* Jayaswāl, *loc. cit.*
153	Mānusiya	A lake near the city of Sakula in the Mahimsaka kingdom.	V. 337-8.	?
154	Migasammatā	A river in the Himavanta. It poured its waters into the Gaṅgā.	VI, 72 75, 76,79, 80, 83, 84, 87 , VI, 72.	
155	Mithilā	A city—Capital of Videha. It was 7 *yojanas* in extent.	See *Index. sub. voc.* VI, 246.	It has been identified with the small town of Janakpur just

No.	*Name*	*Description*	*Reference*	*Identification*
		It was 60 *yojanas* far from Campā. At its four gates were four market towns named Yavamajjaka.	VI, 32. VI, 330.	within the Nepāl border, north of which the Muzaffarpur and the Darbhaṅgā districts meet. *C. A. G. I.*, p. 718; *P. H. A. I.*, p. 33.
156	Mucalinda	A lake in the Himavanta spread over with white scented lotus.	VI, 518-G. 1943; 519, 534-G. 2065; 535-G. 2069; 536-G. 2079; 539-G. 2109-11, 582.	It is very probably identical with the lake Mucukunda located 3 miles to the west of Dholpur in Kāśmir: De, *G. D.* p. 132.
157	Mejjhāraññā	A great forest of the country of King Mejjha.	III, 310, 311-G. 127; IV, 389-G. 24; V, 267-G 96.	The *Mahābhārata* mentions a Medyāraṇya, which should perhaps be taken as identical with our Mejjhāraññā. See Sörensen's *Index*, p. 477. What particular locality it indicates we are unable to ascertain. See discussion on Mejjha, *Supra*, pp. 29-30.
158	Mejjha	A kingdom.	IV, 388; V, 267-G. 96.	Not identifiable. See above.

No.	Name	Description	Reference	Identification
159	Meru	A mountain	IV, 462-G. 236.	According to Mr. Sherring, all local traditions fix Mount Meru as lying direct to the north of the Almorā district (*Western Tibet* p. 40). It is Mount Meros of Alexander's historians, near mount Nysa or Niṣadha, our Nisabha—mod. Hindukush; De, *G. D.* pp. 130. 197; McCrindle, *Invasion of India by Alexander*, pp. 338-40.
160	Molinī	A city—another name of Benares.	IV. 15, 20-G. 32, 21.	?
161	Yamunā	A river.	II, 151; VI, 158, 161, 162, 163, 164-G. 750; 170, 172-G. 765; 197, 198-G. 85[illegible]; 200-G. 867 : 217.	It is modern Jumnā, having its source in the Bhandarapuccha range in the Himālayas; De, *G. D.* p. 215.
		It met the Gaṅgā at a certain place.	II. 151.	Evidently at Prayāg or Allāhābād.
		Its fish are p[illegible]ised.	II.15[illegible] *Gāthā* (?)	

No.	*Name*	*Description*	*Reference*	*Identification*
		The whirlpool (*āvatta*) in the river was well known as it was considered dangerous for a man to go there.	VI, 161-2.	The spot is not identified.
162	Yavamajjaka	A market-town (*nigama*). It is a general name applied to the four market towns distinguished as eastern, southern, western and northern, according to their respective positions near the gateways of the city of Mithilā.	VI, 330-1	These must have long perished if they ever existed at all, as Janakpur itself, the modern representative of Mithilā, is only a small town. See Mithilā.
163	Yāmuna	A mountain.	IV, 200-G. 867.	It is mentioned in the ***Rāmāyaṇa*** 4, 40, 19-'***Yāmunañ ca mahāgirim.***' It is the portion of the Bhandarapuccha range where the Yamunā has got its source. It is also called Kālinda-giri: De. *G. D.* p. 215.
164	Yugandhara	A mountain spoken together with Sineru.	I, 322; IV, 213, 214.	It must be a trans-Himālayan range.

No.	***Name***	***Description***	***Reference***	***Identification***
165	**Rajatapabbata**	A mountain in the Himavanta.	II, 6, 7.	Apparently one of the shining peaks of the great Himalayan Range.
166	**Ramma**	A city—an older name for Bārāṇasī.	IV, 119, 120, 122-G. 78.	?
167	**Rājagaha**	A city—capital of Magadha.	I. 143, 154, 162, 350, 373, 444, 446, 466, 468, 469, 489 ; II, 55 : III, 238, 293, 479 ; IV, 37, 38, 276 ; V, 161, 247 ; VI, 271-G. 1175.	It must be identified with the old Rājagṛha or Girivraja—the ancient capital of Magadha. known in Huentsang's time as Kuṣāgārapura—Kiu-she-kie-lo-pu-lo : Watters, *Yuan Chwang*, II, 149 *ff*; The Chinese traveller has left us a living picture of this old city, which was, however, burned down by fire already during the reign of Bimbisāra, who built a new capital near by called the new Rājagṛha—mod. Rājgir : *C. A. G. I.*, pp. 528 *ff*; Watters, *op. cit.*, p. 162. Law, *G. E. B.*, p. 11 n.

No.	Name	Description	Reference	Identification
		On the N. E. of it was a Brāhmana village named Sālindiya.	III. 293 ; IV. 276.	
		It was surrounded by mountains (Giribbaja), one of which was the Vepulla.	III. 479 ; VI, 271.	These are the famous five hills. well-known to Hindu, Buddhist and Jaina traditions and are now called Vaibhāra, Vipula, Ratna, Udaya and Sonagiri ; De, *G. D.*, pp. 66 *ff.*
168	Roruva	A city—Capital of Sovīra Kingdom.	III. 740.	It is the same as the Roruka of the *Dīgha Nikāya*, XIX, 36. A Roruka is also mentioned in the *Divyāvadāna*. (Cowell and Neil, pp. 544 *ff.*) which scholars usually identify with the Roruka of the *Nikāya* and Roruva of the *Jātaka*. Prof. Jinavijaya, however, has shown that the Roruka of the *Divyāvadāna* seems to be different from this but identical

No.	Name	Description	Reference	Identification
				with what Yuan Chwang calls the O-lao-lo-ka (according to Watters II, 298) or Ho-lo-lo-kia (according to Beal, II 322), *i e.*, Rallaka or Roruka *Purā-tatva*. I, pp 281 *ff* All the same we have nothing to do with Yuan Chwang s Roruka which was situated to the north of Khotān Watters, *op. cit.*, and *l c.* Our Roruka was a famous city of Sovīra which is often combined with Sindhu, and so it must be located near Sindh. In upper Sindh we find such ancient places as Alor and Rori-Bhakar Alor, as Cunningham pointed out long ago, is known to have been the capital of Upper Sindh for many years. The original name of Alor, says the same Archaeologist, must have

No.	*Name*	*Description*	*Reference*	*Identification*
				been Rora. All this would lead us to look for Roruva near about the ruins of Alor. *C. A. G. I.* pp. 294 *ff*.
169	Rohanta	A lake in the Himavanta.	IV, 413.	?
170	Lambacūlaka	A market town (*nigama*) in the Kingdom (*vijita*) of King Pajaka or Caṇḍapajjota.	III, 463 ; V, 133.	?
171	Vaṁsa	A kingdom with Kosambī as its capital.	IV, 28 ; VI, 236-G. 1056.	It is identical with Vaccha of the Jainas, and Vatsa of the Classical Sanskrit Literature. See Hoernle, *Uvāsagadasão*, II, App. I., p. 7 ; K. H. Deb, *Udayana Vatsarāja*. Prof. Oldenburg *Buddha*, p. 393, 407 note, is inclined to identify the *Vaṁśas* with the Vaśas of the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, VIII, 14, 3, spoken invariably with the Kurus the Pāñcālas and the Uśinaras,

No.	*Name*	*Description*	*Reference*	*Identification*
				but this is, as Dr. Raychaudhury points out, only a conjecture lacking any proof: *P. H. A. I.* p. 92. Yuan Chwang, speaking of the land of the Vatsas as the Kauśāmbī country, gives the extent as 6000 *li* (1200 miles): Watters, *op. cit.*, I. p. 365. The country lay round about modern Kosam on the Yamunā, 30 miles to the S. W. of Allāhābād.
172	Vaṁka	A mountain. It was 30 *yojanas* far from the Ceta capital Sotthīvatī and 60 *yojanas* from Jetuttara, the Sivi capital. The journey between it and Jetuttara took 2 months.	VI, 491-G. 1726; 513-G. 1904-5; 520, 523-G. 1969; 524-G. 1975; 525, 580, 592. VI, 518-20; 514, 592. " VI, 592.	*The Saṁyutta Nikāya* (*P. T. S.*) II, pp. 191-2, says that Vaṁkapabbata was an older name of the Vepulla mountain near Rājagaha. See Law, *Annals B. O. R. I.*, VIII, p. 164. But the *Jātaka*, curiously enough, distinguishes between the two (VI, 518-9) and locates Vaṁka in the Himālayas.

No.	*Name*	*Description*	*Reference*	*Identification*
173	Valabhāmukha	A sea (*samudda*), "where the water is sucked away and rises on every side; water thus sucked away on all sides rises in sheer precipices leaving what looks like a wall, a terrific roar is heard which seems as it would burst the ear and break the heart." It was terrible inhuman sea. It was reached through the Nalamāla Canal.	VI, 141-G. 116, 142.	See Nalamāla. It should be identified with the Mediterranean Sea wherein volcanoes are still to be seen.
174	Videha.	A kingdom: capital Mithılā.	I, 137; II, 39, 333; III, 364, 365, 366, 378; IV 355; V, 164; VI, 30, 42, 95, 220, 411, 463.	It is identical with the ancient Tirabhukti, *i.e.*, modern Tirhut in Bihār. It was bounded on the East by the Kauśikī (Kosi), on the South by the Ganges on the West by the Sadānīrā (Gaṇḍak or Rāpti) and on the North by the Himālayas. *C. A. G. I.*, p. 718. *P. H. A. I.*, p. 33.

No.	Name	Description	Reference	Identification
		It is said to have been located in the Majjhimapadesa It was 300 *yojanas* in extent and contained 16,000 villages. Trade was carried on between Videha and Gandhāra.	III, 365 III, 366 367-G 76. III, 365	For these particulars, see Dr. Pran-Nath *A Study in the Economic Condition of Ancient India*, pp. 49-50 and notes. *Cf. Paramatthadīpanī*—a commentary on the *Therī-Gāthā*, pp. 277-8 (*P. T. S.*)
175	Vipula	A mountain to the north of the Gandhamādana mountain.	VI, 518-G. 1938, 519.	It is probably the Bepyrrhos of Ptolemy which with Damassa comes in Eastern Himalayas; S. N. Majumdar, *Ptolemy*, pp. 76-81, 204-7.
176	Vetaranī	A river of the Yama	III, 472-G 71 IV, 273-G 147-8, V, 269-G 119-20, VI, 105, 250-G 1116-7.	*Cf Samyutta* (*P. T. S.*), I., p. 21, also Hopkins, *Epic Mythology*, *sub-voc.* It is not a mythical river but has been variously identified with (1) Vetaranī in Orissā, (2) Dantura, which rises

No.	*Name*	*Description*	*Reference*	*Identification*
				near Nāsik and is in the north of Bassein, (3) a river in Kurukṣetra and (4) a river in Gharwāl: on the road between Kedāra and Badrināth. Law, *G. E. B.* p. 40.
177	Vettavatī	A city—situated on the bank of the river of that name in the Mejjha kingdom.	IV. 388.	It is no doubt identical with the Vetravatī mentioned in Kālidāsa's *Meghadūtaṁ*, 25.
178	Vettavatī	A river on which stood the city of Vettavatī.	IV, 388.	It is mentioned in the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, pp. 57, 20; *cf.* also *Milindapañho*, p. 114. It is identified with the modern Beṭwā which rises near Bhopāl and flows into the Jumnā; Pargiter, *Mārk. P.*, p. 295. There was another river of this name in western India as Pargiter points out. *Ibid.*

No.	*Name*	*Description*	*Reference*	*Identification*
179	**Vepulla**	A mountain.	I, 445; IV, 232: VI 271, 326.	Same as Vipula, one of the five hills surrounding Rājagaha. Cunningham identifies it with the Caityaka named in the *Mahābhārata* list of the five hills, as its summit is even now crowned with the ruins of a lofty *Caitya*. *C. A. G. I.*, pp. 531-2.
180	Sakula	A city—capital of Mahiṁsaka. Not very far from it was a village of hunters.	V, 337.	It is not identifiable. If our conjectural identification of Mahiṁsaka with the Mūṣikas be correct, then the capital city which Khāravela's army destroyed must have been this Sakula. Unfortunately the Inscription is silent about the name. If it was Sakula it must be located on the Kṛṣṇā river.
181	Saṁkhapāla.	A lake in the Mahiṁsaka kingdom from which flowed the Kaṇṇabeṇṇā river.	V, 162.	Not identifiable.

No.	*Name*	*Description*	*Reference*	*Identification*
182	Sāketa	A city—capital of Kosala. Nearby was the forest of Añjanavana.	III, 270, 272-G. 70, V, 13, VI, 228-G. 999, III, 272-G. 70.	*Cf. Mahāvastu* (Senart's ed.) I. 348. Sāketa was an earlier capital of Kosala than Sāvatthi, but later than Ayojjā. Sāketa is not the same as Ayodhyā as is often supposed See *C. A. G. I.*, p. 464. Bhandarkar. *C. L.*, p. 51 (1918). Prof. Rhys Davids has successfully pointed out that both the cities were existing in the time of the Buddha, possibly adjoining each other like London and Westminster: *Buddhist India*, p. 39. It is identified with the ruins at Sujānkot (or Sanchankot) 34 miles N. W. of Unão in Oudh. on the river Sai: *Ibid.* De, *G. D.* p. 174. It is the Sāgeda of Ptolemy and the Shachi of Fa-Hian: De, *op. cit.*, p. 174. Legge, *Travels of Fa-Hian*, p. 54.

No.	*Name*	*Description*	*Reference*	*Identification*
183	**Sāgala**	A city—capital of Madda	IV, 230 ; V. 283, 285, 290.	It is equivalent to Sanskrit Sākala *Cf. M. B. H.—'tatah sākala—(sāgala) mabhyetya Madrānāṁ puṭabhedanaṁ'. P. H. A. I.*, p. 43. It should not be confused with the Sangala of the Greeks which is identical with Saṅkala of Pāṇini : *C. A. G. I.*, p. 686. McCrindle, *Ancient India*, p. 37 note. Sāgala, however, has been identified more correctly with Siālkoṭ in the Lahore division : *C. A. G. I.*, p. 686 ; Smith, *Early History of India*, (3rd Ed.) p. 75. It was destroyed by the Macedonians, but was subsequently rebuilt by Demetrios, one of the Greaco-Bactrian Kings who, in honour of his father Euthydemos, named the city Euthydemia. *I. A.*, 1884, p. 350.

No.	Name	Description	Reference	Identification
184	Sātoḍikā	A river in, or rather on, the border (*sīmantare*) of Surattha country (*janapada*)	III, 463 : V, 133.	It cannot be identified. The probability seems that it flowed on the East or South-East border of modern Kathiāwāḍ (Surattha—Saurāṣtra) as the sage Mendissara is said to have settled on its bank after passing the Kavitthaka forest situated on the Godāvarī. Is it the Sītodaka of the *Arthaśāstra* ? See *Indian Culture*, I, p. 259.
185	Sālindiya	A village of the Brāhmanas to the E. or N. E. of Rājagaha.	III, 293, 298 ; IV, 276, 279.	?
186	Sāvatthī	A city—capital of Kosala.	I, 331 ; III, 115, 168 ; V, 13 ; VI, 123-G. 546.	It is the famous city of the Buddhists where the Tathāgata delivered many of his discourses. It was 6 leagues N. of Sāketa, 45 leagues N. W. of Rājagaha, more than 100 leagues N. E. of Suppāraka, 30 leagues from Sankassa and on the bank of the

No.	Name	Description	Reference	Identification
				Aciravatī; *Buddhist India*, p. 40. It is identified with the great ruined city called Sahet-mahet on the south bank of the Rāpti, bearing identity, according to Dr. B. C. Law, with Aciravati of Buddhist fame, between Akaona and Balrāmpur. It is the She-wei of Fa-Hian and She-lo-fa-si-ti of Huen Tsang, *C. A. G. I.*, pp. 467 *ff*. See now Law, *Śrāvastī in Indian Literature*, A.S.R.
187	Sineru	A mountain	I, 202, 322; V, 314, 332; VI, 174, 278-G. 1213, 362, 432, 486-G. 1703. 575, 586.	It is the same as Sumeru or Meru simply. See under Meru.
		At its foot were heaps of golden sands (*Ratanavāluka*)	V, 314; VI. 362.	*Cf.* the association of Meru with the Vālukārnava to the N. of the Himavanta in the *MBH*: Raychaudhury, *Studies in Indian Antiquities*; p. 64 note, and

No.	*Name*	*Description*	*Reference*	*Identification*
				the Poh-lu-ka of Yuan Chwang, Watters, I, p. 64 *ff*. It corresponds to the Gobi desert in Central Asia.
188	Sindhu	A country, famous for its sturdy and speedy horses.	V, 259-G. 46	*Cf* for instance, Kautilya's *Arthaśāstra*. Bk. II, ch. 30. It is Sindh.
189	Simbalī	A lake, situated across the seven seas from Jambudīpa, where lived the Supaṇṇas.	III, 91-G 106, VI, 256.	Simbali is equivalent to Śālmala, a foreign country of the *Purāṇas* which is identified by De with Chaldia. *I. H. Q.*, II, p. 535, *G. D*, p 175. Śālmala-Simbala are Austro-Asiatic words. *Cf.* J. Pryzluski in *Pre-Aryan and Pre-Drāvidian in India*, pp. 7-8, *Cf.* also Simbala of the *Ṛgveda*, III, 53, 22, taken by Sāyaṇa to denote the flower of the Śālmala or the silk-cotton tree: *Ved. Ind.*, II, 380. So that our lake should be

No.	*Name*	*Description*	*Reference*	*Identification*
				located somewhere in Chaldea if Mr. De is right in his identification.
190	Sirisavatthu	A city in the island of Tambapaṇṇī, where lived the *Yakkhas.*	II, 127.	It is mentioned in the Ceylonese chronicle *Mahāvaṁsa* as Sirivatthu where Vijaya slaughtered the *Yakkha* aborigines and established himself. *Cf.* Wijesingha, *Mahāvaṁso,* p. 32. But it is not identified. A Sirisapada occurs in a Barhut votive label, the similarity of which with our Sirisavatthu is noticed by Barua and Sinha who do not, however, hazard any identification. *Barhut Inscriptions*, p. 27.
191	Sivi	A kingdom.	IV, 401, 411; V, 210; VI, 419, 424, 480.	The Sivi people are seen to have occupied different places at different times. The Śivas of the *Ṛgveda,* VII, 187, were settled

No.	Name	Description	Reference	Identification
		Its one capital was Ariṭṭhapura. The other was Jetuttara.	IV, 401; V, 210; VI, 419; VI, 480 *ff*.	on or about the Indus in the neighbourhood of the Alīnas, Pakthas, Bhalānasas and Viśāṇins. See *Ved. Ind.*, II, pp. 381-2. Thus these Śiva people were identical with the Siboi of the early Greek writers who also dwelt between the Indus and the Akesines (Asiknī) in Alexander's time. Again, the discovery of a steatite relief representing the story of Uśīnara, king of Śibi, as related in the *MBH*, makes it probable that the present Swat (Suvāstu) valley was the home of the ancient Sivis: De, *G. D.*, p. 188. In the Epic times they are shown to have occupied the land to the north of Kurukṣetra: Pargiter, *J. R. A. S.*,

No.	Name	Description	Reference	Identification
				1908, p. 322. Even the *Jātakas* know of two settlements: one with Ariṭṭhapura as the capital thus locating itself in the Shorkoṭ region of Punjāb, and the other with Jetuttara as the capital thus identifying itself with the region round Nagari, 11 miles north of Chitor: See *C. A. G. I.*, p. 669; *P. H. A. I.*, p. 170.
192	Sīdā	A river in the Uttarahimavanta region. It was deep and unnavigable (*duratikame*)—because, says the Commentator, the water was so delicate that even a peacock's feather will not float but sink to the bottom—surrounded by the golden mountains which blazed like a fire of reeds. It	VI, 100-G. 424; 125-G. 557.	It is of course the Sītā of the *Purāṇas: e.g., Viṣṇu P.*, Bk. II, ch. II; *Mārk. P.*, 56-6-7 and of the *Jaina Uttarādhyayana Sūtra*, XI, 28, which says "it is the best of the rivers with its dark waters." Some take it to be the modern Jaxartes or the Sarik-kul river which rises in the plateau south of Jssyk-kul

No.	*Name*	*Description*	*Reference*	*Identification*
		was filled with creepers and fragrant plants.		lake in the Thian-Shan mountains: McCrindle, *Ptolemy*, p. 280; *J. A. S. B.*, 1838, p. 282; Beal, *Buddhist Records*, I, 12 note But it is more correct to identify it with the Yārkand or Zarafshan, as the Paurāṇic description of it as the Eastern river shows. See Watters, *Yuan Chwang*, I, p. 32, II, pp. 283 *ff.* Raychaudhury, *Studies in Indian Antiquities*, pp. 75-6.
193	Sīhapura	A city to the west of the Ceta—capital Sotthivatī	III, 460.	It may be identical, though we are not sure, with Yuan Chwang's Singha hu-lo or Singhapura situated at 700 *li* or 117 miles to the S. E. of Taxila identified with Ketas by Cunningham, *C. A. G. I.*, pp. 144 *ff.*

No.	Name	Description	Reference	Identification
194	Sudassana	A city—an older name for Bārāṇasī.	IV, 119; V, 177, 191-G. 240.	
195	Sudassana	A mountain—one of the seven mountains.	VI, 125-G. 556, 204-G. 880, 212-G. 916.	?
196	Suppāraka	A seaport town, not directly mentioned, but clearly to be noticed in the name given to the master-mariner in the *Suppāraka Jātaka*, where, on the contrary, Bharukaccha stands out more prominently, thus indicating that Suppāraka was a later development but earlier than the time of Aśoka, or may be, *vice versa*.	IV, 137, 138, 139-G. 105-7; 140-G. 109-11 141-G. 113-15.	It is the well-known Sūrpāraka of the *Periplus:* Scoff, *op. cit.*, p. 43, and the Soupara of Ptolemy: *I. A.* 1884, p. 325, and is identical with the modern Sopārā in the Thāṇā district 37 miles from Bombay and 4 miles from Bassein, where one of the edicts of Aśoka was found: Bhandarkar, *Aśoka*, pp. 254-5; *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, XV, pp. 273 *ff.* Its connection with the Ophir of the Bible does not seem to be tenable. *Cf. J. B. H. S.*, I, pp. 65-77.

No.	*Name*	*Description*	*Reference*	*Identification*
197	Surattha	Country (*Janapada*) on the borders of which flowed the river Sātoḍikā.	III, 463 ; V, 133.	Mentioned as early as in the *Baudhāyana Sūtra*, I, 1, 29, "*Surāṣṭrāḥ, Dakṣiṇāpathāḥ.*" It is the Saraoastos of Strabo : Hamilton and Falconer, *Strabo*, II, pp. 252-3 ; McCrindle, *Ancient India*, p.355; the Syrastrene of Ptolemy, Bk. III, Ch. I, and the *Periplus:* Scoff, *op. cit.*, pp. 39, 40, the Horatae of Pliny—*I. A.*, 1884 p. 355, and the Sula-cha of Yuan Chwang: Watters, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 248-9 ; *C.A.G.I.*, p. 373. Yuan Chwang gives the circuit as 4000 *li* or about 667 miles. The author of the *Periplus* speaks of it as a "fertile country, yielding wheat and rice and sesame oil and clarified butter, cotton and the Indian cloths made therefrom of the coarser

No.	*Name*	*Description*	*Reference*	*Identification*
				sorts: very many cattle are pastured there and the men are of great stature and black in colour." (p. 39). It is of course modern Soraṭh. (Horaṭh is a dialectical variant) or Kāṭhiāwāḍ. The name also survives in modern Surat which owes its name to Arabic domination (Scoff, *op. cit.*, p. 176), but which has no connection with Sauvīra as Rhys Davids wrongly supposes. *B. I.*, p. 38.
198	Suriyapassa	A mountain in the Himavanta.	V, 30.	Some peak in the Himālayas which cannot be accurately located. *Cf. Saurye nāma Himavataḥ śṛnge* in Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya*. (Kielhorn's ed.) I, p. 150. Raychaudhury, *op. cit.*, p. 103 and note.

No.	Name	Description	Reference	Identification
199	Surundhama	A city—an older name of Bārāṇasī.	IV, 104, 113-G. 58, 119.	?
200	Suvaṇṇapabbata	A mountain in the Himavanta.	V, 38, 42-G. 105, 47; VI, 514.	Some peak adjoining the Meru which is said to be a golden mount · '*Meruḥ kanakaparvataḥ*-' *Mārk. P.*, 54, 14 *Cf. Alberuni*, (Sachau's) I, 147. It must be a part of the Altai range, the Mongolian name for which (Altain-ula) means "mountain of gold." Jayaswāl, *I. A.*, 1933, p. 170.
201	Suvaṇṇabhūmi	A country—whereto traders from Bharukaccha, Benares and Campā sailed in quest of riches.	III, 188; IV, 15; VI, 34.	It is the Golden Khersonese of Ptolemy. *I. A.*, 1884, p. 372. It is mentioned in the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya, Bk. II, Ch. 11, as a gold-producing land. It is identified with the country extending beyond the eastern and northern coasts of the Bay of Bengal or Ramannadesa, *i.e.*, Lower Burma or Pegu and

No.	*Name*	*Description*	*Reference*	*Identification*
				Moulmein according to Smith: *Ep. Ind.* XVII, p. 312; Phayre in *J. A. S. B.*, 1873, p. 24.
202	Sūrasena	A kingdom—mentioned together with the Macchas, Maddas and Kekakas.	VI, 280-G. 1228.	It is the Sourasenoi of the Greek writers with Methora (or Madhurā) as the capital. See McCrindle *Invasion of India by Alexander*, p. 184 n. It comprised the country round Mathurā or modern Muttra district: Pargiter, *Mārk, P.*, pp. 351-2, *C. A. G. I.*, p. 706.
203	Seriva	A kingdom—separated from Andhapura by the R. Telavāhā.	I, 111.	A Seriyāpuṭa (*i.e.*, a seaport town of Seriya) is mentioned in a votive label on the Stūpa of Barhut: Barua and Sinha, *Bharhut Inscriptions*, p. 32. "It seems that Seriyāpuṭa was like Suppāraka and Bharukaccha, an important port on

No.	Name	Description	Reference	Identification
				the western coast of India." *Ibid* p. 132. It probably is identical with Śrīrājya or the later Gaṅga kingdom of Mysore: Raychaudhury, *P. H. A. I.*, p. 64. See Telavāhā.
204	Seruma	An island inhabited by the Nāgas at that time—situated somewhere between Bharukaccha and Suvaṇṇabhūmi. It was famous for the fragrant Timira flowers.	III, 187, 189-G. 56.	The *Jātaka* says "*Tasmin kāle Nāgadīpo Serumadīpo nāma hoti,*" *i.e.*, the Nāga settlement was at that time called Serumadīpa. It can be easily inferred from this that the Nāgas had different settlements simultaneously or at different times. See Nāgadipa. From the story we also learn that Seruma lay on the way from Bharukaccha to Suvaṇṇabhūmi or Lower Burma. I propose to identify it with the Paurāṇic Kaśerudvīpa located in the Malay Peninsula: *C. A.*

No.	*Name*	*Description*	*Reference*	*Identification*
				G. I., p. 752, Jayaswāl, *History of India*, 150-350 *A. D.* p. 155. Firstly because, the description given in the *Jātaka* agrees with that location ; secondly, in the Tibetan version of the same story it is Kaśeru (*Tibetan Tales*, pp. 228, 231) ; thirdly, the two words Seruma and Kaśeru are only two differently-pronounced forms of one and the same word. *Cf. Lābu-Alābu-Kalābu ; Timun-Antemon Katimun ; Tumba-Otumba-Koṭumba ;* all these are loan words of Austro-Asiatic root and prevalent in the Far-Eastern islands. See J. Pryzluski in *op. cit.*, pp. 149 *ff.* Prof. Dikshitar's identification of Kaśerudvīpa with Krazeh or

No.	*Name*	*Description*	*Reference*	*Identification*
				Kasĕh referring to Maṇipur and Assam in general still known as Khāsia hills, goes only to support our proposition: *Some Aspects of the Vāyu Purāṇa*, p. 18. Prof. Rhys Davids's doubt as to its connection with Sumer or Akkad is out of the question. *B. I.*, p. 104. n.
205	Soṭumbarā	A river.	VI. 507-G. 1861.	It is not mentioned, as far as we know in any other work. It looks like a different dialectical pronunciation of Odumbarā or Koḍumbarā—all from one and the same Austro-Asiatic root '*ḍuma*' or *Tuṁba* which is a name of a fruit "a sort of Coloquintida which the Botanists call *Lagenaria vulgaris*" or gourd. The river then will have to be located in the Punjāb where

No.	*Name*	*Description*	*Reference*	*Identification*
				a country of Udumbara was known. See Przyluski, *op. cit.*, pp. 149 *ff.*
206	Sotthivatī	A city—capital of the Cetiya kingdom where ruled King Upacara.	III, 454.	It is, as shown by De, the Sūktimati or Śuktisāvaya of the *Mahābhārata*; *G. D.*, p. 196. The *Mahābhārata* also mentions a river by the name of Sūktimatī, which is said to break through the Kolāhala hills and flow by the capital of Rājā-Uparicara of Chedi; Pargiter identifies the river with the modern Ken and places Sūktimatī near the modern town of Bandā. *Mārk. P.*, p. 359 note. See also Raychaudhury, *Studies in Indian Antiquities*, pp. 114 *ff.*; 125, 134.
207	Sovīra	A kingdom—capital Roruva.	III, 470.	It is Sauvīra, frequently coupled together with Sindhu in the

No.	Name	Description	Reference	Identification
				Purāṇas and other works. See, for instance, *Mārk. P.*, pp. 57, 37; *Milinda Pañha* (*S. B. E. XXXVI*) p. 269. Various identifications have been proposed, but no satisfactory decision has been reached. Buddhist writings, besides the present *Jātaka* (*cf. Dīgha Nikāya* XIX, 36) give Roruka as the capital city of Sovīra. Roruva, as we saw (see under Roruva) is represented by the modern Alor, or Rora in Upper Sindh. Cunningham while discussing the identification of Alor—*C. A. G. I.*, pp. 294 *ff.*, did not notice this Roruka of the Buddhists and thus, unhesitatingly, separated Souvīra which he identified with the distant Vadri or Eder, a district

No.	*Name*	*Description*	*Reference*	*Identification*
				in Gujarāt Province at the head of the gulf of Cambay—*Ibid*, pp. 565 *ff*. On the other hand Paurānic evidence is clear in locating Sovīra just adjoining Sindha and between the Indus and the Jhelum. Moreover, we have the support of that keen observer Alberuni, who places Sauvīra in Multān and Jāhrāwār. (Sachau, *Alberuni* I, pp. 298, 300.) Sauvīra, again, has been considered as one among the various places that can lay claim to be identical with the Ophir of Solomon's voyages. In fact, as it seems to us, Sauvīra—Sovīra—has more than any other—Suppāra for instance—the nearest approach, on phonological grounds,

No.	Name	Description	Reference	Identification
				to the Sophir, the Septuagint version of Ophir. We do not share the opinion of the learned editor of the *Periplus* tha[illegible] scholarship has been consid[illegible] sufficiently sure in discred[illegible]ing India altogether to have possessed that golden land—be it Suppāra or Sovīra or the Malabār coast— and locating it (Ophir) on the Arabian coast of the Persian gulf." Scoff, The *Periplus*, p. 175.
208	**Hatthipura**	A city, to the east of Sotthivatī, the capital of Cetiya kingdom.	III, 460.	Difficult to identify. It may possibly be connected with the famous Hastināpura which is identified with an old town in Mawānā Tahshil, 22 miles N. E. of Meerut: *C. A. G. I.*, pp. 701-2.

No.	*Name*	*Description*	*Reference*	*Identification*
209	**Himavanta**	A mountain-range.	See Anderson, *Index*, pp. 183-4.	It is the famous range of mountains to the North of India so frequently mentioned in Indian Literature since the *Ṛgveda*, X, 121, 4; but varying in extent at different times. "The oldest designation of the range is Himavat—the Imaos of classical Greek writers. The current name Himālaya is first met with in the *Bhagavad-Gītā* and the works of Kālidāsa (*himālayo nāma Nagādhirājaḥ*), though some scholars equate it with Simalia—queen of the snow mountains—known to the ancient Babylonians." Raychaudhury, *Studies in Indian Antiquities* p. 101. *Cf.* McCrindle, *Megasthenes and Arrian*, p. 182 n; *Ancient India*, p. 16 n. It is the Hemodos or

No.	*Name*	*Description*	*Reference*	*Identification*
				Emodos of the Greeks and the Hi-mo-ta-lo of Yuan Chwang; *Ibid*; Watters, Yuan Chwang, II, pp. 274 *ff*; *I. A.* 1[illegible]3, p. [illegible]
210	Himavanta-padesa	The Himālaya region, on the eastern side of this region were green flowing streams having their source in slight and gentle mountain slopes.	V, 419.	It should denote the region o[illegible] and near the slopes of the great mountain chain stretching from Kashmir to Assam. *Cf.* De, *G. D.* p. 75.
211	Hiraññavatī	A city—another name of Bhogavatī, the capital of the Nāga king Varuna.	VI, 269-G. 1164.	See Bhogavatī.
212	Hemavatā	A river.	IV, 437.	It may refer to some or any river flowing from the Himālayas.

SUMMING UP

THUS flits away, across the dim past, a pageant of the people and a panorama of this ancient land. The picture may have been blurred and indistinct in some places. But on the whole, we believe, it is homogeneous and impressive.

From the hoary past we first tried to trace the foot-falls of history down to the period of the Buddha. Those glimpses of political history gave us an idea of the rise and fall of different peoples and kingdoms; and at last we reached the point wherefrom we began to survey the cultural stage of the Mahājanapada period—of the period which immediately preceded the Buddha, who is undoubtedly a prominent landmark on the continuous and chequered path of Indian civilization.

We saw the country divided into small kingdoms, normally at peace but occasionally vying with one another for supremacy. Each kingdom had its king—generally an autocrat. The system of administration was simple, yet not unorganised. The *rājadhānī* or the capital city, being the seat of government, was well built and fortified, with a population of varied character. The *nigamas* were busy market-towns. The *gāmas* or the villages, where dwelt the vast millions of the toiling masses, were silent yet serene.

The economic condition of the people was not too bad. We did not see anything like the two extremes of poverty and riches, though the general mass cannot be said to have been content and happy. The country was, no doubt, prosperous and busy with trade and commerce.

Society was formed of classes in the practical sense, and of castes in the theoretical sense. The classes were those of the *Khattiyas*, the *Brāhmaṇas*, the *Gahapatis* and the *Dāsakammakaras*. Family was the unit of social structure. People lived among relations of their own (*ñāti*). The position of women cannot be described as satisfactory when judged according to the modern standard. Arts and sciences were many and flourishing. People still believed in a variety of superstitions, while there was a slow but steady movement going on among the philosophers and the ascetics of the day towards a more rationalistic way of thinking and living. The common folk were, nevertheless, content with their life of sports and festivities.

Nature does not seem to have turned her face from the people in those days. Famine and pestilence, however, were not unheard of. But, after all, these are only temporary phases. The endless and aimless life of the people rolls on day by day, for centuries and centuries, even as the waves of the sea roll on for ever, in storm and in calm.

And so our task ends.

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